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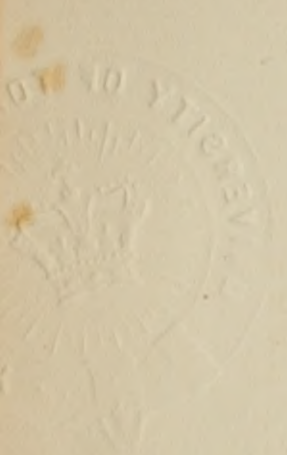
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# The Forum

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SEPTEMBER, 1900.

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## ANTI-ENGLISH FEELING AMONG THE GERMANS AND ITS CAUSES.

It is well known how apt people are, after they have paid a visit to Paris or to the Rhine, to give us their opinion about the French or about the Germans, in general. They may have spoken to a dozen of each nationality, but their conversation with these few individuals was very likely to have been extremely scant and scrappy. Yet for all that they have formed their opinion, and whenever the subject turns up they are always ready to judge millions by the few they have seen. They will declare all Frenchmen to be untrustworthy, all Germans to be rude, or, on the contrary, all Frenchmen to be charming, and all Teutons to be very learned. Their opinion has been formed, and if anybody differs from them they have always one reply: "We have been to Paris," or "We have been to Cologne."

The citizens of the United States fare even worse. They are generally judged from what is seen of Americans spending their holidays in England, whether on a personally conducted tour or travelling with families and servants, whether hailing from Boston or from Chicago or elsewhere; and the result of this combined photograph may well be imagined. Yet it is curious to see how lasting these impressions are, and how constantly they come to the surface again in conversations and discussions, though, if pressed a little, the detractors as well as

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the panegyrists of the typical American have little more to say than,

“I do not (or I do) like you, Dr. Fell,  
The reason why I cannot tell.”

All this was very different formerly. There was a time, no doubt, when every American, man, woman, or child, and everything American, was hated and ridiculed in England, and there are people still living who can remember this race hatred, which remained alive for a generation or two after the American Colonies had gained their independence. Victories and defeats will always leave behind such impressions; and the tone adopted by English writers, such as Charles Dickens and many others, was certainly by no means friendly or flattering toward the republicans of the United States. Nay, it was exasperating, inasmuch as ridicule is always more offensive than downright hostile criticism; and, unfortunately, it has not been entirely forgotten even to the present day, at least on the American side.

But, in all other respects, what a marvellous change has taken place during the last generation in the mutual feeling between England and the United States! The old feuds are almost entirely closed and forgotten, and it is felt that the Americans are far more useful to England as *bona-fide* rivals than as discontented fellow-subjects. And that rivalry extends not only to commerce, but to literature, art, science, and social culture in general, in all of which the United States may no longer fear any comparison with England. The fact is that England can no longer patronize, but has to respect, the citizens of the United States; and if she has not quite forgotten that she was the mother and the Americans her children, neither are the Americans unwilling to admit that in political, social, and scientific progress they owe much to England, and that the glorious past of Great Britain is their own in every sense of the word.

No one can fail to perceive this when he takes his American friends to the House of Commons or to the English universities. It is their old House of Commons, and Oxford and Cambridge are their old universities. They are very often much better informed in English history and antiquities, and in what they have to see, to study, and to admire, than the sightseers of England. Shakespeare is their own; Lord Bacon is their old philosopher; and if they criticise some acts of the present Lord Salisbury, are they not lost in admiration of Hatfield, the abode of the Cecils for so many generations? And how many American families are there who, after having made a large



fortune, or at all events, after having secured an independence for themselves and their children, come to England, to the old country, and stay there and feel at home, as if they had been born in it? These Anglo-Americans are outspoken enough, but do we hear from them any scurrilous abuse of things English? They are republicans at heart, no doubt, but do they wish for a better commonwealth than they find in England under the present Queen and Parliament?

And where are English of any distinction received with more generous and hearty hospitality than in the United States? Our best men of science are invited to lecture there; our theatre companies migrate to New York, and American actors fill their places in England. There are, no doubt, differences between English and Americans — each party knows them — but they are so difficult to define, particularly if they are to be made intelligible to strangers, that we are told of a recent proposal at the Exhibition in Paris to distinguish Americans by a visible badge, so that they might not be mistaken for English, who are not over-popular in the French capital just now. Could they not be recognized without such a badge? We ourselves can easily detect an American by his accent, though there is little of that accent in the Southern States.

Froude was praised in America for the excellent English of his lectures; but, as a newspaper remarked, he was sometimes hardly intelligible on account of his strong English accent. Why should not the Americans have their own accent, like the Scotch and the Irish, without in any way being ashamed of it. There was a well-known professor at Oxford who invariably dropped his h's. This is considered a great sin; but "Why should I pronounce all these h's?" said he. "In the county where I was born and bred they did not pronounce an *h* at the beginning of a word, just as we omit it in 'honor' and 'hour.' " And have not the English dropped the old *h* in such words as *which*, and *when*, thus confusing *which* and *witch*; likewise in *why*, though always pronouncing and writing the *h* in *how*. Such variations, though they startle us at first, may well be tolerated, and they exist more or less in all dialects.

But while in all these respects, in language, in science, in art, in political and ethical principles, and in religion also, the people of the United States and of England may be called one people, varying only slightly, like dialect varieties of one and the same language, one can hardly trust one's eyes in reading some of the English and American newspapers, which pour the most villainous abuse on each other,

and seem to have one object only — that of fanning the embers of enmity and war between the two countries. An answer can easily be given on the American side. Newspapers, we are told, are very much influenced there by Irish writers, and every Irishman in America is a mortal enemy to England. At the present moment, we are told that much, nay everything, depends on the Irish vote; and those who want to secure Irish voters must rant against old England. As England has committed no very heinous offence against Ireland of late, her behavior against the Boers of the Transvaal is taken hold of as a good election cry against her; and the President is given to understand that, in order to secure the Irish vote, if he does not actually send ships and soldiers to the Cape to fight for the Boers—that is, against England—he must, at all events, insist on England's submitting her case, and that of the Boers, to arbitration. This, however, would be tantamount to a declaration of war against England, an eventuality by no means unwelcome, it would seem, to a certain section of the Irish Party. When the Boers published their ultimatum, and challenged their suzerain and protecting power to the arbitrament of war, what could England do but defend her Colonial Empire? Had she submitted to arbitration, she would have simply conceded the point at issue between herself and Krüger. Krüger would have become *ipso facto* what he had so long desired, a sovereign among sovereigns, a president among presidents, and probably the richest president in the world. Unfortunately, at this very time, the German and the Scandinavian votes in the United States, which have often served as a counterweight to the Irish vote, are influenced by the same suspicion or hatred against England, so that it is by no means easy for an American statesman not to be influenced by these electioneering clamors.

It is said that the most respected, and, in the end, the most influential, statesmen in America fully understand the great difficulties of England. They remember that the North never would have consented to arbitration at the time of the secession of the Southern States, and that the concession of belligerent rights was all that could be granted at the time, and was granted by the North to the South with us, as by England to the Transvaal. But why should there be all this manœuvring for the good will, nay, for the neutrality, of the United States in a quarrel which they may certainly deplore as men, but which they could not possibly prevent without increasing the terrible miseries of war, and inducing a lasting hatred among the greatest nations of the world.



If the Germans had their own way at present, there is little doubt they would rush into war with England. Their newspapers have simply gone mad in their hatred of Great Britain. They would like to constitute themselves the defenders of humanity, though they could only add to the horrors of war. They received great credit for the display of their severely neutral, not to say complacent, attitude at the time of the Armenian massacres. They knew they could not have helped their fellow-Christians in Turkey; they could only have increased the horrible bloodshed so resignedly witnessed by them in Europe. Fortunately, Germany is an empire; Prussia is a monarchy; and the people know that the right of peace and war does not belong to them, but to their King and Emperor.

The United States is a Republic, and England may well be called a constitutional republic, under a monarch; but Germany is proud to be a real empire or monarchy, and may, indeed, be proud to follow such a guide as it has at present. Hence, it follows that the inflammatory cries uttered in Germany, whether in the chambers or in the newspapers, can do but little direct harm. Not a single Pomeranian will be sent to the Cape. Such powder magazines of eloquence may be fired with impunity in Germany, but not so in the United States, and not so in England. The right to declare war belongs, in England, also to the sovereign, but the sinews of war must be granted by Parliament; so that a war without Parliamentary sanction is not to be thought of in England. The same applies to the United States; and whatever power the Executive may sometimes claim, no war can be thought of without the sanction of the representatives of the people. In form it may be the same in Germany, but in fact the Germans know best whose word in those matters is law.

In this and in many other respects England and the United States are at one. They have reached the same degree in political education, and both possess all the necessary guarantees of freedom to the people and of the independence of the Executive. And that is the very reason why history hereafter will wonder that these two Anglo-Saxon powers should never have thought of making their united strength felt for good in the political controversies of the world. The two together, agreed as they are on what is possible in the self-government of the people, and on the rules that ought to regulate the free intercourse of all nations, might surely conclude such a treaty as binds France and Russia together. They might even form an Areopagus, to be joined hereafter by any nation agreeing with them

on the general principles of international morality. They speak the same language, they share in the same history, they are, in fact, of the same blood and bone. Why should they not make their character felt abroad, by combining their moral forces, by standing always together, where injustice is threatened or done, where slavery under one name or another is practised, where the true ideals of civilized and progressive humanity are trodden under foot?

Unfortunately, at present, as soon as there is the faintest indication of such an approach to a more intimate relation between these two nations, other nations begin to be afraid. They profess to see in every such attempt an intrigue directed against themselves, though it can be an intrigue only if there is anything to be intrigued against. Is there? Of course, commercial questions, which now occupy the principal place in international diplomacy, may be viewed in a different way by Germany, by the United States, and by England. But here, too, the views of England and the United States are not to be mistaken. England is committed to free trade, the United States to protection. It is a pity that it should be so; but the two nations, the American and the English, have come to a mutual understanding, and it is difficult to see why their undisguised rivalry should be poisoned by foreign whisperings. Surely what applies to individuals applies to states also. In private life also we know of whisperers and mischief-makers; and there is only one way of dealing with them, to ignore them — to live them down and trust that truth will prevail in the end. Why should diplomatists imagine that they are privileged, or that they can tell or suggest untruths with impunity?

Take the well-known reply of a Russian general who, when he was found to have told a diplomatic lie, exclaimed, with considerable warmth, "I am ready to die for my Emperor; should I be afraid to lie for him?" This is the old diplomacy. But one cannot even recommend the advice given more recently by Bismarck to a young diplomatist always to speak the truth, "since," he said, "no one will believe what a diplomatist says." What is required is real truthfulness in all communications between nations as between individuals. It may seem a low view to take of statesmen and diplomatists to look upon them as the solicitors of their nations. It is well known that Lord Salisbury once apologized to the solicitors of England for having compared them to Gladstone. But it is quite true that solicitors must be either honest and straightforward or nothing. Solicitors have certainly to stand up for the interests of their clients; but no respect-



able firm of lawyers would consider it right to tell an untruth for the benefit of their clients. They would do their best for them, but they would rather leave a case alone, if they were required to tell an untruth or to act fraudulently. And the same lesson has long been learned by our diplomatists. No one would suppose an ambassador to take the most unfavorable view of his own country's case; but of that those who act as counsel for other countries are fully aware, and they would at last arrive at a compromise, just as lawyers in a case of contested inheritance would recommend concessions on both sides till they should arrive at a settlement tolerable for one side and not intolerable for the other.

Much mischief is done in such contests by irresponsible outsiders, the same kind of mischief which in political matters is done by people who write anonymously in the newspapers. Newspapers vary considerably in character in different countries. Nobody would mistake a French newspaper for a German or an English one, even though it were translated into German or English. English newspapers are mostly commercial undertakings, and they make no secret of it. They live on their advertisements; and if they are to be bribed at all, it can only be done either by advertisements or by early information of important events. German newspapers profess to be more patriotic, but it will take a long time before they recover from the revelations made by Bismarck as to the Press Bureau and its ramifications. If the press was raised in Germany by Bismarck himself turning journalist, it received a most damaging blow by his disclosures as to the employment of the famous, or rather infamous, Reptile fund. It cannot be doubted that both the press and the Government are so ashamed of that Reptile period that nothing of the kind will be attempted again; but the mischief once done is not so easily undone.

Even over the Schleswig-Holstein troubles the tone adopted by the German papers against England has not been such as it ought to be between two great nations. England desired to be enlightened on the Schleswig-Holstein question, which even the "Times" professed itself unable to unravel. Nor can it be denied that at that time Germany had reason to complain of England. Palmerston's flippant foreign policy gave just offence to the patriots of Germany. The Treaty of London was really an insult to Germany; and when the Prussian minister was told that he might please himself, and that the treaty would be as good with or without the signature of Prussia, this was most offensive. But the minister was not deceived; and

when at last he was ordered by his own Government to sign the treaty, he prophesied, and prophesied truly, that the first cannon shot in Europe would tear that treaty to tatters.

It is not too much to say that Palmerston's, and, to a certain extent, Lord John Russell's, foreign policy served to unite Germany against an injustice felt by all; but it wrought permanent mischief in producing a feeling of suspicion and mistrust against England in the hearts of all German patriots, who did not know that the foreign policy of that period was also strongly disapproved of by the best among English statesmen, and that the English people were carried away by their enthusiasm for the Danish princess, and forgot at the time the political consequences of their inconsiderate behavior toward their old friend and ally. Such things will happen, but they are certainly to be regretted. If people, however, imagine that in the Austro-Prussian war also the undivided sympathy of England went toward Austria, they are greatly mistaken. There are, and there always will be, parties in England; yet the great mass of the people never flinched, but expressed their sympathies openly with the Prussian army and Prussian Government, as representing more legitimately than Austria the genuine Protestant element of Germany.

Then followed the Franco-German War. It was feared by some, and wished by others, that England should stand by France, which has always counted a large number of friends, particularly in aristocratic circles, where it is still counted as the highest distinction of a noble family to have come over from France with the Norman Conqueror. But the great mass of the people, and the Government also, in spite of the occasional waverings intelligible during a Gladstonian ministry, were decidedly German. No unfriendly act against Germany would have been sanctioned by Parliament; and all these stories so sedulously propagated by the German press were either false or futile. It was stated again and again that among the French arms carried off by the German army were many of English manufacture. That is very possible. These arms might have been bought long ago, or might have been smuggled in by merchants caring more for profits than for the risks they ran. Who does not remember the charge brought against Lord Palmerston at the time of the Prusso-Danish War, that arms actually stamped with his own name had been found? The name of the firm was Palmer & Son, and this, by Anglophobe patriots, had been read "Palmerston," as if the name of a Prime Minister were ever stamped on guns or cannons. But it should be re-



membered once for all that private enterprise in smuggling and selling arms and warlike munitions can never be altogether stopped ; and when, during the Indian Mutiny, many arms were found there even of English manufacture, there were not wanting people in England who declared it was better that such arms should have been bought from English than from French or German manufacturers.

It is curious that while these promiscuous charges were brought against England by the German press the German Government never complained, and accepted the official explanations which were given whenever it seemed necessary. During all that time the German newspapers never ceased from troubling. Facts which stared them in their faces were ignored or denied, and it was entirely forgotten that England owed something to France also. The French statesmen and officers had personal friends in England, comrades from the time of the Crimean War, during which Germany stood so severely neutral, and seemed not always displeased with Russian victories. What more could Germany expect from literary men in England than Carlyle's triumphant panegyric, and what more could she expect than the participation of the English public in the peace rejoicings of the German societies in London and the other large towns?

But nothing will convince German writers even now that the feeling in England was not anti-German ; that England is not full of envy at seeing the powerful development of Germany ; and that the commercial classes in particular are not frightened by the competition of the great German houses. Now, supposing all this were true, where would be the harm ? If one newspaper, for instance, formerly of small importance, suddenly rises into prominence and draws away advertisements from other papers, what do these other papers feel and, possibly, say, unless they were very discreet ? It is but human nature that they should try to hold their own, or, perhaps, outbid their rivals, and warn them against being too conceited. And what human nature is in private life, that it also is between nation and nation. Let there be rivalry, by all means, and let each country run as hard as it can in the race ; but, surely, this kind of *Concurrenz* does not mean envy, hatred, and malice. If England tries to hold her own, if she wants even to extend her influence and her commercial ramifications, don't let that be called intrigue. England, when looking at the returns of exports and imports, and of other commercial statistics, is not yet frightened. Even her far-from-successful military operations at the Cape need not perturb her. She has thrown

all her weight on her naval forces, and has not thought much of defence by land. Suddenly she is called on to throw a force of 230,000 men, with horses and other requirements of war, over six thousand miles of sea. She has done what no other country has ever done, or could have done; and yet there are still more than 200,000 men ready to embark and continue the war. There is, besides, the whole native army of India, which is burning to fight for England, particularly the Goorkhas and the Sikhs—no contemptible fighting material—whose aid, in case of real danger, would certainly not be refused by England. They would not disgrace their uniforms as others less dark have done.

England has now concentrated her military forces. She was abused at first for not having learned that simple strategic measure; and now that she has learned it, she is called cowardly for bringing overwhelming forces against the enemy. Certainly the present war, in spite of all its misfortune, may give some idea of the naval and military resources of England; and it will be well to weigh this seriously, instead of treating such an army as a *quantité négligéable*.

But what is most extraordinary is to see the Germans in Germany and the Germans in America undisguisedly rejoicing over every mishap of the English army. Nothing can be more degrading to a nation than open *Schadenfreude* at the defeats even of its declared enemies. When Italy was defeated by Austria or Austria by Italy, did the Germans rub their hands or shout? They behaved as men ought to behave who witness so terrible a tragedy as war. It is curious, but it is true, nevertheless, that the Germans in America have kept aloof from the American amusement of twisting the tail of the British lion. That their present pronounced feeling of hostility against England should be due to the American war against Spain and the conquest of Cuba and the Philippine Islands is difficult to believe, though it is repeated again and again.

There is, no doubt, a strong party in the United States to whom these recent conquests are anything but welcome, and they have taken it into their head that England egged on America. True it is that during the war with Spain, England observed a very friendly neutrality toward the United States, and did not support the claims of Spain. But how does that affect the Germans, whether in Germany or in America? They have been asked, and they have not withheld their answer. They declare that during all that time the most disgraceful lies about German plans were cabled from England to Amer-



ica. We must believe it, but we ask by whom were they cabled? By the Government? By the newspapers? By financial speculators? No one could say. Certainly nothing of the kind has attracted public attention in England, or has risen to the level of Parliamentary notice. Did Germany wish to annex the Philippines, or any other islands? In that case, it is quite possible that England may have raised her voice, but why should she not? Why should England alone be excluded from bidding for the Philippine Islands, if she ever dreamed of such a thing? And why should the Germans in America call this a "sowing of distrust between America and Germany," and call upon the Germans of America to resent it? These are nothing but pure inventions, which can be scattered broadcast without influencing a single real friend of either America or Germany. How any man in his senses could hold England and the English Government responsible for such hallucination passes one's understanding. But let us even admit that these rumors were true, would they constitute such a heinous crime as the German papers in America make them out to be?

In these days of newspapers we must harden our hearts in unbelief against many statements published on the highest authority. We know as a matter of fact that the relations between the English and German Governments were perfectly friendly when the German papers blew the war-trumpet against England every morning. One trembles if one thinks what might have happened if there had not been an Emperor who knew that a man might be a very good German without cursing England. What splendid days they were when England went to Germany for her ideals, and Germany came to England for such practical improvements as railways, steamers, men-of-war, gas, electricity, and machines of every kind. Even now, with all the professed hatred of everything English, Germany is full of English games, English horses, English fashions, and even English Tauchnitz editions. It is quite true, and cannot be justified, that Englishmen travelling on the Continent are occasionally overbearing, often reserved or proud; but are not Germans in England occasionally insulting, and often self-asserting and regardless of the toes of their neighbors?

With all that there is as yet no hatred of Germany: Germans living in England have never been insulted, except they provoke retaliation. It might be easy enough to cull some anti-German sentiment from the newspapers, but there never was such an epidemic of political madness in England as there is at the present moment in

Germany. The German and English characters form complements of each other. Why not admire what is good in Germany and what is good in England? Why indulge in envy when each nation has so much to be proud of? If Germany, wherever she turns in her colonial expansion, finds the ground occupied by England, this is, no doubt, provoking, but it cannot be helped now. Property is property, and as little as England envies Germany her army should Germany boast that she will soon excel the navy of England. People do not know how much mischief may be done by a word at random spoken. Every individual German and Englishman ought to know that he may have the destinies of these two great nations in his hand, that he is, in fact, in a certain sense, the representative and ambassador of his country in his own small sphere; but this sphere is sometimes widening and spreading like a circle caused in a lake by the impact of a small stone. That personal responsibility seems to be far more truly felt by Russians and Americans than by either Englishmen or Germans.

It is not so very long ago that an English officer, very popular in London society, was harshly treated at a railway station in Germany. People are not aware how much ill-will against Germany, in the best and most influential society in England, was caused by that single incident. England hangs very closely together, and it is surprising to see how easy relationship by blood or by marriage is made out there between perfect strangers. English railway servants, those drawn from our lower class in England as in Germany, are certainly far less dictatorial, and treat their passengers far less *du haut en bas* than in Germany. All such apparently small things may bear fruit when it is least expected. A war of words between the two countries seems harmless enough, but a real war would be so terrible that humanity shudders at the very mention of it. There is an excellent phrase which one often hears at the end of a dispute in France, "Soyons raisonnables," not "Soyez raisonnables." Both Germans and Englishmen would do well to adopt this phrase, and say, before it is too late, "Soyons raisonnables."

F. MAX MÜLLER.



## THE KANSAS CITY FINANCIAL RESOLUTION.

THE proposition that this country should have an "American financial system, made by the American people for themselves," is calculated to appeal to national pride, but what does it mean? What is a "financial system" in the meaning of the resolution, and what advantage may there be in having one peculiar to ourselves?

The "financial system" contemplated is a monetary system, and more particularly a standard for the measurement of values. The declaration is that we should have an American standard of value, made by the American people for themselves, and, furthermore, that we should have two of them, gold and silver, valued to each other in the ratio of 16 to 1.

Now every one agrees that our institutions and laws should be designed for the advancement of our own interests, and with especial consideration for our own needs and conditions. But it is not necessary that the American people should originate everything they use. For example, there is the multiplication table. We may well accept the fact that twice two are four, and act upon it, although it is also accepted in England and on the continent of Europe. No advantage accrues to any particular country from a common use of the same multiplication table. It is only a compilation of facts fixed and unchangeable the world around. It constitutes a common basis for calculation and determination, and may be used with equal reliance and safety by everybody.

All of the mountains of the earth are measured from the sea level. No advantage is secured to the mountains of any particular country by reason of this practice. The sea is wholly disinterested and impartial in the service it renders. We always know where to find it, and a given height above the sea level is an intelligible and comparable thing to all.

The metric system of weights and measures has been adopted by many countries, and is expected eventually to supersede all other systems. Everybody recognizes that a great reform will have been consummated when common terms for weights and measures are used

by all the peoples who have relations with each other. It will save a vast amount of labor in computing equivalents, make the statistics of each country more accessible to the people of other countries, and promote intelligence and intercourse throughout the world.

We may extend the thought and conceive that a universal language would be a blessing to the world; bringing the inhabitants of all countries into close intellectual touch with each other, promoting the circulation of ideas, diffusing a more accurate knowledge of one another, and establishing more intimate relations. Is it conceivable that it would be advantageous to the United States to adopt a language "made by the American people for themselves"? Would disassociation from the speech and literature of the widely disseminated English language be other than a wanton folly? Is not the universality of our language the most potent of reasons for maintaining its use?

The general rule, then, is that in the expression of ideas that are common to all the world it is desirable to use common terms, intelligible everywhere. Does the expression of values come under the rule? Is the standard of value something for each country to have to itself alone, original, exclusive, and related only to local conditions? Or is it something relatively fixed and universal, which will serve as a basis of calculation and intercourse, by which the values of different commodities may be compared, and by which values in one country may be brought into relations with values over the world?

If there were no trade over boundary lines prices abroad would have no bearing upon prices at home, and no interest here. But in this age values in every country are related to values in every other country. They are interlocked and dependent upon each other. The great markets of the world are in hourly touch, and the values of the staple commodities are being constantly compared. It is impossible to detach the values of these staples in one country from their values elsewhere. Governmental action cannot disconnect them. It may obscure their relations. It may complicate the calculation, introduce elements of uncertainty, and involve the exchanges in risk and expense. But the markets will grope their way through the difficulties until they feel each other. Trade will go on, and somebody will pay for the uncertainties.

People cannot trade without some common idea or standard of value. They can do nothing by quoting prices in terms that have no significance to each other. They must get on some common ground, find some measure that has a value to each. If they use



different standards at home they must establish relations between them, fix their value to each other, and thus make them in effect one standard for the purposes of a transaction. But if their relations are unstable this must be done for every transaction, and their relations at a given time can never be foretold. The Mexican dollar has been worth in our money from \$.45 to \$.48 in the past year, with daily fluctuations; and all the business relations of that country with the world, and the prices at home of all staple articles of international value, have been involved in that uncertainty. Trade is facilitated, intercourse is simplified, and relations are made closer by a common standard. It is in the interest of commerce, of civilization. It brings producers and consumers nearer together, and promotes that vast system of exchanges which endows each man with the skill of all the race and with the resources of every land and clime.

To have each country in the world doing business by an independent standard of its own, with no stable relations to that used by any of the others, would be a commercial anarchy. Trade between the various countries would be like exchanges between a colony of boats on a choppy sea, while trade between countries using a common standard is on one firm, unbroken platform.

An independent monetary system for each country is, therefore, opposed to the general trend of order, harmony, intercourse, and common understanding among the nations. It is a lapse to primitive conditions. It belongs to a policy of isolation. It is opposed to the spirit and necessities of the age, which tend to unity and coöperation. A nation with great possibilities in foreign trade should be the last to sever the bond that links its markets to those of the world. It needs to do business on a common basis with its customers. Its merchants want to buy at home and sell abroad by the same measure. The grain of gold is now the one universal unit of value; and by maintaining fixed relations to it a nation's currency keeps fixed relations to the currency of all important countries. The producer who pays his costs by the gold standard and sells his goods in any part of the world by the same standard has no allowances to make for possible fluctuations in the relations of different kinds of money. His receipts and disbursements are on the same basis. Variations of exchange there will be, as there are variations in exchange between points in one country; but they cannot exceed the cost of shipping gold. The charge for making a remittance by banking agencies is not to be confounded with the cost of changing money of one standard into money of another. They

are two distinct charges, and the business man who is isolated from the rest of the world by an independent monetary system pays both.

Would it be advantageous or otherwise to the great industries of Pennsylvania for that State to have a monetary system bearing no stable relation to that used in the other States of this Union? A new calculation would be required every day to determine what a given sum in the money of Ohio would be worth in the money of Pennsylvania. A firm with its outlays in Pennsylvania and its income from other States would have its assets in dollars of one value and its liabilities in dollars of another value. Its salesmen outside of Pennsylvania would have to add to its scale of prices a percentage sufficient to cover the possible loss by a variation in the value of the money before payment was made. We have seen that the fluctuations between the money of Mexico and the money of the United States last year covered a range of about 6 per cent. A people which is competing for supremacy in the world's markets at a time when less than one per cent frequently determines the successful bidder on a contract cannot afford to be under such a handicap as that.

The farmers of Iowa, who sell their products by the Chicago market quotations, want a common money standard with Illinois. The buyer of produce in each local market pays the Chicago price, less freight, commissions, wastage, and every item that involves a possible loss in converting the produce back into money in hand. Any possible variation in the relations of the money of Iowa to the money of Illinois would have to be included in his risks and covered by his margin. Such a charge would be intolerable upon commerce between these States, and equally intolerable between the United States and the people who buy annually over a billion dollars' worth of our various products.

Nor is it correct to say that the inconveniences of an independent and fluctuating money standard apply only to the foreign trade. The staples of foreign trade are the staples of domestic trade. They are the common necessities of life, and the chief purchases of the people. Their prices being fixed in gold in international markets, their domestic prices will follow gold, no matter what the local currency may be. And if these things which the wage-earner must buy are to follow gold, his security demands that his wages be on the same basis. Otherwise, every fluctuation in the value of the currency to gold will affect the price of what he buys, but not of what he sells—a most helpless and unfortunate position.



And what are the supposed advantages of this financial isolation, with its confusion of values, and dislocation of world relations? It is said to protect the monetary supply of a country from outside disturbances. This argument would not hold good for a system based on silver if other countries also used silver, and hence cannot be consistently used by those who advocate the restoration of silver to its former place as one of the standard money metals of the world. But most of the leaders in the silver agitation are paper-money men, and it is only by inconvertible paper that a nation can have a financial system absolutely independent, and standing alone. Their reason for favoring such a system is to be found in the following paragraph of a recent speech by Senator Jones, of Nevada, in the United States Senate :

“For my part, I assert that a money exclusively national, a money which would not leave the country on the breaking out of war, and which could not be withdrawn from the country whenever a fright took possession of foreign investors, such money remaining always in the country to do the business of the country and to meet the wants of the people of the United States, would be an infinitely better money than gold. With every considerable withdrawal of money from the country, contraction takes place and the prices of commodities fall. With every considerable influx of money from abroad a great inflation of the currency takes place. One would suppose that an intelligent and progressive people would sufficiently understand the importance of steadiness of value in money to prevent great quantities of it from coming into the country to inflate prices, and then, when contracts are entered into and time transactions based on these inflated prices, permit that money to leave our shores in great quantities, compelling a contraction of the currency and consequent fall of prices, spreading ruin and devastation throughout the country.”

This argument assumes that there will be more extreme fluctuations in prices and greater liability to panics in a country where the money stock is a part of the world's stock, and where money may flow between it and other countries without obstruction, than in a country where the money stock is cut off from the world's supply. The assumption is not supported by reason or experience. In all other relations between the peoples of the world, improved communications and a consolidation of interests tend to make more even, steady, and reliable the conditions that are affected.

There is not nearly so great a chance for a crop failure in the world as for a crop failure in a single country ; and with modern facilities for transportation the price of wheat is less subject to extreme fluctuations than when each country had to depend upon its own product. And so, as the various peoples of the world come into closer relations, while indeed they become more sensitive to the conditions that affect each other, they also support and supplement each other

modifying everywhere the extreme effects of local conditions. If one country has a famine, another, from its surplus, sends it food; if one country has native resources, another furnishes capital for its development; if one country has a panic, another sends it money. As in the Baring crisis, Paris, Berlin, and New York sent money to London, so in 1893 London, Paris, and Berlin sent money to New York.

The view stated simply sees the liability to disturbing influences, and fails to take account of the steadying influences of an alliance with world-wide conditions. It is like seeing in insurance the liability to loss through others, and not seeing that through the alliance with others risk is minimized. It is a claim that local conditions are more uniform and regular than general conditions; that fluctuations are greater when all the markets of the world are modifying one another than where each market stands alone; that panics are locally less disastrous where each financial centre stands alone than where each is supported by the others. The argument will not stand scrutiny. It is not even in harmony with Senator Jones's favorite contention that a joint standard of two metals will fluctuate less than a single standard of either metal.

Furthermore, it is not true that business conditions in a country with an independent monetary system are uninfluenced by business conditions elsewhere. As already said, the values of the staples of commerce are influenced in every market by their value in every other market. At home they will not get far out of line with what they are abroad. They are more influenced by foreign prices than by any slight variation in the local volume of money. An influence that steadies the price of stocks or of produce in London, Paris, or Berlin, in time of panic, is the most potent of influences for supporting prices in the United States. When an extraordinary demand for money arises in a gold-standard country, gold flows to it from all parts of the world, as wheat flows from all markets to one where the highest prices prevail. A special demand for money in one country to move its crops, or meet any emergency, is thus distributed over the whole world, absorbing any surplus that may locally exist; minimizing the pressure where the greatest need is felt; and not only protecting the markets where panic is rife, but, by preventing extreme fluctuations there, protecting all other markets from disturbing influences. When stocks or produce are being forced down in London by pressure for money, it is better for prices in New York that money should go to London. Buying in London is then more potential than an equal



amount of buying in New York. It restores the equilibrium. It co-öperates with the natural forces.

The most changeable factor in prices and panics, and hence the one most commonly influential, is credit. No matter what the money of a country may be borrowing and lending will go on, and there will be periods of confidence and loan-expansion as well as periods of alarm and loan-contraction. They have their genesis in human nature; and any perturbation of foreign money markets will cause sympathetic and precautionary action at home, whether the countries have a common standard or not. Panic in foreign markets will cause a reduction of loans in domestic markets, and thus accomplish without the export of a dollar the only effect of outgoing gold. The ability of all markets to send aid at such a time to the seat of alarm and weakness is the best security against calamity there and its spread elsewhere. Again, when an emergency pressure for money exists in a given country, and the natural movement of money to that point starts from all parts of the world, it is a mistake to suppose that even an irredeemable paper currency is not influenced by the attraction. It is true that the paper currency cannot go, but capital will go. There will be efforts to convert the paper currency into gold, in order that it may be sent to the market where urgency exists. These efforts will depress the currency of the country as compared with gold. So, while the nominal stock in the country remains unchanged, its value compared to gold shrinks; and, as commodities follow gold, the purchasing power of the money stock has been as effectually lost as though part of it had left the country. Thus the influence of the foreign panic which is sought to be evaded works out obscurely, but yet in the same manner as when the standard is gold and shipments of that metal are attracted abroad.

Finally, the argument that an independent system is required because the standard of value adopted by the commercial world, namely, the gold standard, is an appreciating one has been abandoned. The chairman of the Kansas City Convention, Governor Thomas, and many other prominent advocates of free silver have admitted that gold is not, under the present volume of production, advancing in value as compared with commodities. The emergency that was said to exist exists no longer. The fall of prices, which was the evil to be arrested, has ceased. They urge, however, that as production has fluctuated in the past it may do so in the future, and that the free coinage of silver should be reëstablished to provide against a possible

decline in the gold yield. To this it may be replied that the gold yield of the world is of a more uniform and lasting character now than it has ever been before. In the past, gold was obtained chiefly from placer diggings, which were rapidly worked out. The present increase in the product has come from ore deposits, and is promoted by the new metallurgical processes which make available vast fields heretofore without value. There is a regularity and also a reliability as to the supply that were not to be counted on before, and which make it possible to look forward and estimate, and to conclude that whatever problems may attach to a failing supply of gold belong to another generation. It is not likely that the men of to-day will care to involve their own affairs in confusion and disaster, in order to avert possible ills, which, if they come at all, are certain to be so long deferred. The men of that time will have an abundance of literature on the subject to advise them, and perhaps some new light from conditions that do not now exist.

GEORGE E. ROBERTS.



## THE BUREAU OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS, ITS PAST AND FUTURE.

THE International American Congress was held in Washington in 1889 and 1890 for the purpose of "discussing and recommending for adoption to their respective governments some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise between them, and for considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse and means of direct communication between said countries, and to encourage such reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all and secure more extensive markets for the products of each of said countries."

Realizing that one of the essential prerequisites to a closer union between the various countries of the Western hemisphere was the confidence born of friendship resulting from a closer and more general knowledge of the social and economic conditions obtaining in the various portions of that hemisphere, and that improved business intercourse and extended trade relations could only come with a more perfect understanding of the various commercial methods, laws, local usages, trade regulations and requirements as well as a more extended and thorough knowledge of the products and natural resources of its various divisions, the Conference adopted a resolution creating an association, under the title of "The International Union of American Republics," for the prompt collection and distribution of commercial information. It further resolved that the Union should be represented by a Bureau, known as "The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics," to be established in the city of Washington, under the supervision of the Secretary of State of the United States, and that it should be charged with the care of all translations and publications, as well as with all correspondence pertaining to the International Union. The expenses of this Commercial Bureau were to be shared by all the Republics composing the Union.

This International Union was to continue in force during a period of ten years from the date of its organization; and, unless twelve

months before the expiration of said period a majority of the members of the Union should have given to the Secretary of State of the United States notice of their wish to terminate the Union at the end of its first period, the Union should continue to be maintained for another period of ten years and thereafter, under the same conditions, for successive periods of ten years each. The delegates of eighteen Republics accepted the report. The Bureau was duly established in August, 1890; and, by disseminating among the people of the United States information respecting the resources and business opportunities of the Latin American Republics; and, on the other hand, by making known to the people of South and Central America the many advantages offered to them by the markets of the United States, it sprang almost immediately into public favor.

Though the Conference had defined the purpose of the Bureau to be the publication of information relating to customs tariffs, port regulations, trade statistics, and such like data, and also to act as a medium of communication and correspondence for persons applying for such information, it was at once realized that these limits were too restricted; that information of a more general nature concerning the natural resources, as well as the political, social, and commercial conditions, of the respective countries, was so badly needed that the Bureau could not better serve the purpose for which it was founded than by trying to dispel the existing widespread ignorance. To contribute to this end the Bureau undertook to publish, besides the bulletins, tariffs, etc., which it was bound to bring out, handbooks to the various countries of Central and South America containing general and special information derived from official sources concerning the countries, their history, geography, resources, constitutions and trade, their mining, patent, and land laws, and other information of a useful nature.

The demand for the publications of the Bureau was very great from the first, far exceeding the supply made possible under its limited resources. This state of affairs very seriously affected its usefulness by preventing many thousands of persons from securing the information they desired, and to which they were entitled. From the establishment of the office until October, 1893, the bulletins were distributed gratuitously, and the editions of 5,000 and less of each of them were necessarily restricted to a few public libraries and commercial organizations, and to individuals directly interested in trade with the countries to which they referred. The applications for bulletins from the United States alone during the first year of the existence of the



Bureau numbered 38,000, and the other Republics applied for an almost equal number.

During the second year the general demand for these publications assumed such increased proportions, and so numerous did the requests for them from members of Congress for their constituents become, that at the first session of the Fifty-second Congress special editions of the principal bulletins were ordered printed by that body for distribution by senators and representatives. Not the least among the applicants for the Bureau's publications were the public schools of the United States, whose special attention had been directed to the study of Spanish-American affairs by the meeting of the International American Conference; but it was manifestly impossible fairly to distribute the Bureau publications among the public libraries in the United States and those in the sister Republics, as well as among the inhabitants of all the Republics interested. In 1893 the issue of monthly bulletins was inaugurated; the purpose being to procure and publish promptly, in English, Spanish, Portuguese, or French, information regarding the resources, industries, trade, manufactures, and the general progress of the several Republics, as well as the possibilities of profit in the development of their various industries.

The "Monthly Bulletin" is now published in an edition of 11,000 copies, of which over 9,000 are sent to the various countries of the Union, which, since the entry into it of Chile, in 1898, includes all the independent states of the Western hemisphere; the balance being distributed to other parts of the world. An extra edition of 5,000 copies has been published since July, 1900, by order of Congress, for distribution in the United States on the orders of senators and representatives.

To render the "Bulletin" more serviceable, the Bureau has endeavored to utilize all useful periodical publications, those of Europe as well as those of North and South America. At the present time over 1,700 periodicals, including daily papers, are received; and all important information contained in them is translated, compiled, and published in the "Bulletin" or arranged for reference. The more valuable periodicals are put on the Library's permanent files, while the others are sent to the Library of Congress for its reading room.

As a further means of extending the Bureau's sources of information, and of making the "Bulletin" a true reflex of the conditions prevailing in all the countries comprising the International Union, the coöperation has been sought of prominent persons in the various

Latin-American Republics, in the capacity of Honorary Corresponding Members of the International Union. These supply the Bureau from time to time with information which helps greatly to extend and complete our knowledge of the economic conditions and resources of the respective countries.

Beside the handbooks, the "Bulletin," and the various minor publications in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, the Bureau has issued in English and Spanish a "Commercial Directory of the American Republics, giving lists of manufacturers, merchants, shippers, bankers, etc., engaged in foreign trade, together with the names of officials, maps, commercial statistics, industrial data, and other information concerning the countries of the International Union of American Republics, the American colonies, and Hawaii." In accordance with a recommendation of the International American Conference—that "the Governments of the International Union adopt a common nomenclature, designating in alphabetical order and in equivalent terms, in English, Portuguese, and Spanish, the commodities on which import duties are levied, to be used by all the American nations, for the purpose of levying customs imports, and also to be used in shipping manifests, consular invoices, and other customs documents"—it has also published a commercial nomenclature of over 50,000 terms in the three languages mentioned. This code, the publication of which was only finished in 1897, has been adopted by the United States Treasury Department and by the Republic of Paraguay as a standard for use in their custom houses, and it is expected that other states will also adopt it.

The Bureau has recently undertaken the preparation of new editions of the various handbooks to the Republics, as the material progress throughout America since the date of the publication of the first editions of these works takes away from the value they had when issued. Two have already been published: Venezuela (1899) and Mexico (1900); those on the Argentine Republic and Brazil will shortly be on the press; while one on Chile is rapidly approaching completion. To add to the value of these publications, the Bureau has sought the assistance of various writers in the different Republics, whose authority on certain questions is universally recognized.

The Bureau has also in preparation new maps of some of the American Republics, compiled from the best official sources, on which all data of an economic nature, railways, telegraph lines, mining districts, areas of culture, etc., are indicated. The map of Mexico is



about to be issued, while maps of the Central American states are under way ; and it is proposed to issue on the same large scale (50 miles to the inch), as soon as completed, similar maps of all the South American Republics.

The necessity of forming a good library, especially of official publications, on the American states, was realized by the Conference which founded the Bureau ; and it provided that "two copies of all official documents which might pertain to matters having relation to the objects of the Union" should be sent to the Bureau by each country belonging to the Union. With this as a nucleus, the Bureau has built up, by gifts, purchase, or exchange, a library of over 6,000 volumes, besides a valuable collection of maps and photographs. It receives at present the official newspapers of all the Republics, and most of their periodical publications and scientific magazines. A subject-catalogue of the library is being prepared, and in it are noted all works or articles to be found in other libraries of Washington. The same has been done for the collection of maps. By this means the Bureau has become a centre of information on all questions relating to the states of the Union ; and its library is being more and more utilized by the public.

As originally organized, the Bureau was placed "under the supervision of the Secretary of State of the United States," but no provision was made for the other members of the International Union taking any part in its management. This resulted in the Bureau being looked upon, not only by the public at large, but even by the various Republics and their diplomatic representatives in this country, as a mere annex to the Department of State — a purely United States concern — in which the Republics had practically no interest, though they were pledged to contribute to its support for a stated number of years. As the existence of the Bureau was in danger, Mr. Olney, then Secretary of State, realizing to the full the great rôle which the Bureau might play in bringing about a closer union of the various states of this continent, and believing that it was essential to that end that the Bureau should be made international in effect as well as in name, and that the other members of the International Union should take an active part in its management, called a meeting of the various diplomatic representatives of the Union on April 1, 1896, to consider with him the subject of the re-organization of the Bureau. A committee was appointed to report upon the best means of carrying out this object ; and on June 4, 1896, it submitted its report, which was adopted by all the representatives.

The principal change made by this committee was the placing at the head of the Bureau a Permanent Executive Committee, composed of five members, four to be diplomatic representatives of the nations composing the Union, called to serve in turn for one year, the fifth being always the Secretary of State of the United States, who would be *ex-officio* Chairman. The change worked good, but the experience of the next three years having shown the desirability of further extending the powers of the Executive Committee, it was agreed on March 18, 1899, in another conference of the representative members of the Union in Washington with Mr. Hay, the Secretary of State, that it should have power to appoint the director and other principal employés of the Bureau, to fix their salaries, and to dismiss them at pleasure. It was also empowered to exercise a general supervision over the Bureau, and to perfect its management, "especially in all matters affecting the particular requirements or interest of individual members of the Union, the finances, the business features, and the development of the various branches of the work of the Bureau, as indicated by the International American Conference." The Bureau is now managed under this organization; and is giving, it is believed, satisfaction to all members of the International Union.

The wisdom shown in creating the Bureau is at present fully recognized by all the states of this continent, every one of which now takes an active part in promoting its work. In view of the services it has been able to render in the past, it is believed that its field of usefulness may be still further extended, and that it may be made a yet more potent factor in strengthening the relations of amity and commerce between the various Republics of the Western hemisphere.

Though the first International American Conference, that of 1889-90, did not accomplish as much as its projectors had hoped for, it is believed that the cause of this was principally the absence of any permanent agency to carry on after its adjournment the work inaugurated or recommended by it. A second International Conference is to be held in 1901, in the City of Mexico; and, if it is able to accomplish even a portion of the work outlined for it, other conferences may follow, and the Bureau of the American Republics may become the agency to prevent its work meeting the same fate as that of the first Conference. The Bureau might have the custody of the archives of the Conferences of the Republics composing the Union, and it might conduct with the various governments all the correspondence relating to the convening of the Conferences, as well as that resulting from



their deliberations, with the view of putting their recommendations into effect. It could also be made the intermediary, between the Powers composing the Union, for the transmission of regular and general notifications concerning the objects of the Union; and it could make known to them requests on the part of any one of these countries for modifications of any general agreements into which the Republics may have entered.

The hope is now entertained by many that Conferences of the various states composing the International Union will be held at frequent intervals for the discussion of topics of general interest, and as a powerful agent for strengthening the bonds of friendship between them. In that case the Bureau might be charged with the preparation of the business to be submitted to the Conferences, and could conduct the copying and printing incidental thereto; and the Director of the Bureau might attend the sessions of the Conferences, and take part in the discussions, without voting.

The subject of introducing some uniformity in the methods of keeping trade statistics is of great importance, and various plans have been suggested to attain this end. It is thought that the desired end might be readily reached if each of the Republics composing the International Union would transmit to the Bureau of the American Republics, at the end of each fiscal year (July 1–June 30), on forms printed and supplied by the Bureau, uniform for all the countries of the Union, a series of statistical data relating to the general and foreign commerce of the year. From these data the Bureau could prepare a general report on the trade of America for each successive year. The Bureau could also be directed to prepare, whenever requested by any one of the members of the Union, special reports upon financial, commercial, or other questions coming within the scope of its labor, and relating to any one of the members of the Union.

The above are a few of the ways in which the Bureau might extend its work and further justify the foresight of those who, in founding it, thought they were laying the cornerstone of a permanent union of American Republics, and contributing to an extension of the friendly and commercial relations between them.

W. W. ROCKHILL.

## A PLEA FOR CONSULAR INSPECTION.

THE adjournment of Congress has again postponed — indefinitely perhaps — consular reform. This is to be deplored, but it was scarcely unexpected. Such an outcome was clearly foreshadowed when Speaker Henderson picked up the gavel in December last. This statement, be it promptly added, is made in no spirit of criticism of the Speaker, or of the party to which he belongs. The simple fact is that the eve of a Presidential campaign interposes an effectual bar sinister to the passage of a measure certain to provoke much antagonism, and urged by neither party. The disposition of political leaders in Presidential years to enact the minimum of legislation consistent with party pledges, pass the appropriation bills, and go home early was manifest for the first time four years ago. It is now becoming apparent that this legislative innovation, so sharply in contrast with the policy of the past, has come to stay. When by this simple device great measures, like the Nicaragua Canal bill, for instance, are dropped from view, in spite of the powerful pressure exerted to keep them in sight, the fate of measures conceived in the name of reform is not difficult to surmise.

The truth is, of course, that no consular bill has at any time stood the remotest chance of being taken from the calendar and seriously considered. The cause, however, is far from hopeless. Despite the discouragements and setbacks which envelop in a mist of uncertainty the adoption of any adequate system of reform, genuine progress has been made during the past year. This is due chiefly, it is safe to say, to the activity displayed by chambers of commerce and other business associations throughout the country. The practical demands of experienced men of affairs have thus reinforced the academic claims of theorists. Thanks to this propaganda, the conviction is gradually forcing itself on Congress that the mercantile interests of the land, which have so much at stake, are really very much in earnest in their demand for an efficient foreign service.

The proof of this lies not in the meaningless introduction of bills



“by request,” but in favorable committee action. It is significant that two bills designed to place the consular service upon a permanent footing have thus far been favorably reported by the present Congress, and this fact may be fairly regarded as a concession to a growing public sentiment. Of these two bills, one was presented by Senator Lodge, and reported by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; for the other, which has received the endorsement of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Representative Adams, of Pennsylvania, stands sponsor.

Though both bills are framed on radically different lines and contemplate sweeping changes, it is doubtless true that neither of them is altogether acceptable to the friends of the merit system. This state of affairs—dissatisfaction of reformers with a projected reform—is by no means novel. It is not in this case the outgrowth of any dearth of exact information. Time was—and that time is almost within memory of the youngest inhabitant—when the general public knew about as much concerning our foreign service as it knew of the kingdom of Tibet. The average citizen took no very profound interest in either, and was quite content to leave both to the exploitation of travellers—some of whom had a fancy for holding office. But, during the past decade, fugitive articles in the magazines and in the daily press have laid bare with unerring precision the shortcomings and inconsistencies of our antiquated foreign service. The defects of that service are now too palpable to be defended or denied, and the debate as to their existence has practically ceased. They have come to be generally recognized both in Congress and out of it.

In reality, then, the difference between those who seek to have the law changed and those who have the power to change it is one of degree rather than of kind. The latter have a pretty well defined idea as to what it is possible to obtain; the former too often, unfortunately, have none at all. The obstacles in the way of bringing about any reform, no matter how widespread the sentiment in its favor, are enormous. Not all these difficulties are upon the surface to be sure, but they become apparent upon slight investigation. Take the Adams bill, for instance. Mr. Adams’s interest in the service is well known; less than a decade ago he was minister to Brazil. The bill is framed on the simplest possible lines, avowedly to attract to its support all who are impressed with the necessity of a reorganization of the service. It undertakes to provide for little more than

the appointment of a commission made up of senators, representatives, and State Department officials. The details of reorganization are left to the discretion of the President, who, presumably, is to lay out and direct the work of the commission, except as the bill otherwise provides.

This proposed legislation, whatever its defects, is certainly moderate. The inevitable political character of the commission, which is, perhaps, the most vulnerable feature of the bill, is quite enough, however, to invite a well-nigh solid Democratic alignment against it. From the point of view of the minority party, just now Democratic, the present incumbents—appointees chiefly of the present administration—are incompetent, and ought to be removed at the first convenient opportunity. This is axiomatic. Not unnaturally, therefore, any proposal to extend the merit system is suspiciously viewed as a crafty design to provide permanent positions for the political favorites of the party in power.

This alone is a serious handicap, but another, and perhaps more dangerous, obstacle, because it is more insidious, is the opposition of the present incumbents themselves. Any general shaking up of the service is frowned upon by those who now adorn it as jeopardizing their official tenure. Broadly speaking, there are 250 principal consular offices, which are much coveted. Almost every senator and representative of the dominant party has one or more personal or political friends in this list. As a consequence, whenever the Associated Press contains a despatch concerning consular reform, there is a prompt flutter of alarm, and Washington is bombarded with appeals from abroad, more or less frantic, to resist at all hazards the passage of the proposed legislation. The open and covert criticisms which are thus volunteered are suggestive, if not convincing. There is an impressive unanimity of view, for example, among a considerable number of consuls, that the requirement of a fair knowledge of some foreign language would be highly unreasonable and impractical. Judging from certain despatches and reports which mercifully slumber in convenient pigeon-holes in the State Department, some others ought to entertain gloomy forebodings of their ability to stand a test in the rudiments of English.

These are some of the causes that add to the general confusion, and make the present outlook somewhat depressing. To expect any action during the approaching short session, which will terminate the life of the present Congress, is vain. It is a quarter of a century since



either party has controlled the lower House for more than six years at a stretch. A Republican House is by no means assured in the event of President McKinley's reëlection. On the other hand, should Mr. Bryan win next November, there is still a hostile Republican Senate to be taken into account. With the executive and legislative departments at loggerheads, any serious reform of the consular service would, in all human probability, again be hopelessly blocked.

The door is not entirely closed to all reform, however. A forward step of far-reaching benefit would be taken if the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, when it reports the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill next winter, would provide for consular inspection by means of regularly appointed consular inspectors. It is almost beyond belief, it is certainly beyond defence, that an orderly and efficient system of supervision has not been established before this for a service that has in its keeping the business interests and property of so many of our citizens at home and abroad. The State Department stands alone in this respect; of no other great department of our government can this reproach be so justly made. The post office appropriation bill for the ensuing fiscal year, beginning July 1st, carries with it a lump appropriation of \$550,000 for post office inspectors. The protection of the public from depredations upon the mail service is of the utmost importance, and there is scarcely a United States attorney who is not, each time a grand jury is summoned, confronted with evidence of the peculations, more or less ingenious, of dishonest postal officials. The detection and conviction of this class of criminals is largely the work of post office inspectors.

Take the twenty-eight special treasury agents now authorized by law as another illustration. These officials, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, inspect and report upon the condition of custom houses and the work of customs officers. They are also engaged in the detection of smuggling and other frauds upon the revenue. The cost of this work is paid out of the fund known as the expense of collecting the revenue. The figures for the last few years are not accessible, but they do not vary materially from year to year. The salaries and expenses of special agents for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, was approximately \$94,000.

Without multiplying illustrations from other departments, which would be merely cumulative, it is plainly the policy of the Government to supervise the official actions of our accredited representative to the Apaches, but to impose no check whatever upon our

representatives abroad. The folly of this short-sighted policy is manifest from the flood of complaints regarding the official and personal conduct of our consuls which, serious and silly alike, deluge the State Department. The complaint against the exaction of illegal fees is, perhaps, the most usual. This abuse of the fee system has grown up in some instances, it is fair to say, from a desire — perfectly laudable in the abstract — to collect money enough for current expenses, Congress in the press of other matters having omitted to provide decent salaries.

The latest scandal of this character to be published broadcast affected the consul and vice-consul at one of the leading European seaports. These two officials, by mutual compact, entered upon a carnival of wholesale extortion. This arrangement for swelling official incomes had all the merit of simplicity, and possessed the additional advantage of not being tainted with partisanship—one official being a Republican and the other a Democrat. The plan worked smoothly enough for a time, despite occasional outcries from the plucked, until finally, the vice-consul, becoming dissatisfied with his allotted share of the plunder, one day reported the delinquency of his chief to Washington, thoughtlessly neglecting to state his own connection therewith. The Department was baffled at first in its attempt to ascertain the facts, but finally secured the evidence which resulted in the dismissal in disgrace of both knaves. If an adequate system of inspection had been in force, it is extremely unlikely that so bold an attempt at fraud would have been made; but had it been undertaken, it could hardly have flourished so long without detection and exposure.

A few years ago a certain consul decided to improve his literary style by a graphic description of a journey into the interior of the country to which he was accredited. Commerce between that country and the United States has increased several fold during the past decade, and new opportunities for trade are constantly developing. Apparently, though he was not quite definite on this point, our representative was impressed with the natural resources, but what struck him most forcibly were the swarms of naked savages that infested the banks of the noble river up which he sailed. He confided to the Department, in the course of his formal "report," that if he had had a rifle handy he would have taken a "crack" at the game; and he hinted that there were "lots of our boys" who would enjoy the same absorbing sport if they were fully informed of the attractions offered. The ruthless blue pencil of a department clerk deprived the country at large



of this rare gem of humor, with all its possibilities. It is not inconceivable that a consular inspector might have succeeded in convincing this ambitious consul that under the limitations of international law his duties were essentially commercial and not military.

Human nature is much the same everywhere. When officials who are surrounded by all the safeguards of a steady home influence still go astray, and betray their trust, what must be the temptations and opportunities of officials abroad, who are outside the pale of any such healthy restraint? The knowledge that a consular inspector was likely to drop in at any moment unheralded, and subject the office books and methods to a rigid scrutiny, would deter many a weak and sorely-tempted consul from going wrong. It would curb, if not entirely check, illegal practices of all sorts, and elevate the *morale* of the service in every direction.

It may be objected that there have been inspections in the past which were mere junkets, and, consequently, barren of results—to the Government. To this I answer that, in such instances, the work of inspection was subordinated to the delights of foreign travel; it was not seriously undertaken. Notwithstanding the somewhat disparaging view of department officials which an ex-consul has been moved to take recently in a magazine article, it is a fact that some very thorough inspections have been made during the past few years by these alleged incompetent officials. The work of Mr. Robert S. Chilton, Jr., chief of the consular bureau, is a case in point, and suggests the possibilities of an organized service.

The initial and indispensable requirement of such an inspection is its complete divorce from mischievous partisanship. The accomplishment of this is not so difficult as might appear at first glance. The post office inspectors and special agents are now rarely removed for political cause. It is not contended that these officials do not feel the disturbing and reactionary effects which follow in the wake of political upheavals; but their tenure of office is on the whole secure, and there is little doubt that they honestly report things as they find them, irrespective of the political equation. A proviso that not more than a certain number of consular inspectors be appointed from any one party would disarm partisan criticism, and make it impotent. The number of inspectors need not be large—five would suffice for effective work. Finally, the cost of inspection would be comparatively trifling.

From the foundation of the Government our foreign service has been the sport of factions. Mutations of parties have fostered and

encouraged this, and will continue to do so. That a tidal wave of public sentiment will some day sweep away and destroy the present strongly intrenched system, with all its humiliating absurdities and inequalities, seems certain. Meanwhile, consular inspection, which has the merit of being practical and within reach, would cure the most flagrant abuses. It would prove to be the entering wedge — and a most effective one — of a stable service. The growing and imperative needs of commercial expansion will do the rest.

ALBERT H. WASHBURN.



## WORK AND WAGES IN FRANCE.

LIKE other civilized countries France has made great progress in the conditions under which aggregate labor is performed. Though the first steps in the betterment of the workingman's condition were made by philanthropists, nevertheless the general improvement has been brought about less by the good-will of the work-givers than by the ever-growing demand of the working population to be treated as human beings, and not as beasts of burden. After Great Britain had commenced her legislation for the protection of child labor, nearly thirty years elapsed before France followed with the law of 1841. The necessity therefor was indeed urgent, if the industrial population was to be saved from utter degeneration. Of this no better proof was needed than the experiences of recruiting officers for the army in 1840. Taking a dozen districts in which nearly the entire population was engaged in manufactures, and comparing them with the neighboring districts where the people labored in the fields or on the sea, it was found that for every 1,000 young men accepted as fit for military service, there were rejected as unfit 459 of the agricultural and marine population, while of the factory workers, for every 1,000 accepted, 1,032 were rejected.

With such figures before them the members of Parliament could not hesitate to prescribe radical reforms. However, while making laws is comparatively easy, their execution depends on such a variety of concurring circumstances that the result frequently falls far short of the effect intended. This has been largely the case with the labor laws. In spite of all the legislation of half a century, providing minute regulations for the employment of women and children, building up a most elaborate system of inspection, prescribing punishments for the innumerable sins of commission and omission, Parliament has been recently led to take what was considered by many as a step backward, but what a larger view must regard, at least from the humanitarian standpoint, as a step in progress. The first labor laws sought to protect children; later they limited in some cases

the working hours of men; many years afterward they imposed rules for the protection of women; but their combined result was to render impracticable the execution of the laws in establishments where men, women, and children worked together, without contravening seriously the unity of organization.

Hence, it became evident that the only sure means of arriving at the desired result was to subject all workers in the same establishment to the same laws. In order to avoid sudden changes in the conditions of labor which might produce a crisis, causing more harm to the working classes than the good to be effected, a compromise was designed, which became law on March 30, 1900. Under its provisions all industrial establishments where women or children are employed must limit their working time to eleven hours per day, and allow one or more periods of rest, aggregating at least one hour. Thus are legalized and made general the conditions under which the best conducted factories to-day are run. But the law does not stop there. By the law of 1892 the work of women and children was to be limited to ten hours per day, and that still remains an object to be attained—with the addition, however, that, for the future, the men in the same factories shall have the same hours. Looking toward that end, the present law provides that two years after its promulgation the day's work for all alike shall be reduced to ten and one-half hours, and in four years to ten hours; thus realizing on March 30, 1904, the law's ultimate application, when the work in all factories employing women and children shall be limited to a maximum of ten hours per day.

It is stated as a curious and cruel fact that for some time past many establishments where only men have been employed have adopted the ten-hour day, while the long days, reaching in some cases even fourteen to fifteen hours' work, have been imposed on the feeble element. Not least among the advantages of the present law is the provision that all workers in the same establishment, with certain unavoidable exceptions, shall have their rest at the same time, thus putting an end to the system of "relays," which, by deceiving the inspectors, has opened the door of escape from the law of 1892; and, moreover, the union of family life will be thereby distinctly promoted. In fact, the law aims to be, in the words of Minister Millerand, "a work of social moralization, solidarity, and pacification."

A personal inquiry sent to different sections of France reveals the fact that the hours of work in various industries range from seven to



fourteen per day ; depending on the orders received by employers, the season of the year, etc. Though the coal miners have been perhaps the most persistent in demanding the eight-hour day, they have not yet gained it under the law, except for boys of less than sixteen years of age ; but the secretary of the largest federation reports it as being maintained in a coöperative mine at Saint-Etienne, and, perhaps, at Carmaux. In March of the present year, however, a bill was introduced in the Chamber of Deputies to make the eight-hour day universal in the mines. While, according to the reports received, eleven hours appears to be the general day's work in the centre and north of France, the south, represented by its extremes, Nice and Bordeaux, reports ten hours as the average.

The biggest labor union in the country, and the one which has made the most noise, is that of the railroad workers ; and, however exaggerated we may find their demands, facts vouched for by respectable witnesses show a pitiable condition of labor for many of the men. A ministerial order of November 4, 1899, required for the locomotive engineers and firemen on all trunk lines and the belt line of Paris a limit of 100 hours of work in ten days, with a maximum of twelve hours per day, and corresponding long rests, aggregating 100 hours in the same period, together with an uninterrupted rest of twenty-four hours every ten, fifteen, or, as a maximum, twenty days. While complaints are still being made that the order was defectively drawn, and that it is not thoroughly executed, it has nevertheless produced a good effect. On the 23d of the same month similar orders were issued regarding those employés on trains and at stations whose work concerns the general safety.

There followed, on March 15, 1900, a circular letter requiring the preparation of new regulations for the remainder of the railroad workers, the performance of whose duties may affect the public safety. These are certainly gains for the workingman, but only accomplished under the pretext, real or fictitious, of care for the public safety, and not because of humanitarian regard for the laborer. A few examples may serve to illustrate what has been the condition of many of these laborers. Switchmen at Dunkirk had twelve hours of consecutive work, snatching a bite to eat between trains. Firemen on the Orleans railway were required to clean machines during the time calling for rest, and then were often obliged to go out at night on extra trains. At one station the men were kept at work only ten and a half hours per day, but for seven and a half hours without a chance to

eat. Switchmen were generally required to work from fifteen to sixteen hours per day; and one, who was cited as responsible for an accident, proved before the court of justice that he had been at his post fourteen days and fourteen nights, consecutively.

At Nice the laborers who loaded, unloaded, and changed trains were worked eighteen hours per day. Near Roubaix the track layers are said to have had only twenty-five to thirty days' rest in the year, and to have been on duty sometimes from 4:30 A. M. to 11 P. M. Reserve conductors at Paris were put at all sorts of odd jobs and kept employed twelve to fourteen hours per day. During the congress of railroad workers (1898) one member stated that twenty hours was no exaggeration for a day's work; that, in fact, he himself had known cases of engineers being on duty twenty-four, twenty-five, and even thirty hours, consecutively. A case is cited of a station master who alone had to sell tickets, check baggage, and attend to the stoppage of 120 trains a day. At another station the master had a single helper; and between them they attended to 64 passenger and 28 freight-trains per day, besides sending and receiving 100 telegrams daily, often causing the helper's absence in delivering them. Under these intolerable conditions one station master died of exhaustion within a year, and another hung himself. With this system of over-work railway accidents became so frequent that it was openly stated in Parliament that France was at the time the leading country in this lamentable respect. Finally, a socialistic Minister of Public Works, M. Baudin, thought fit to interfere energetically, and issued his now famous orders.

Among the advantages enjoyed by the employés of the leading railroads, none probably affords more real pleasure and satisfaction than the annual vacation, increasing in length with the elevation of the position occupied, and coupled with the privilege of passes on all the trunk lines of the country.

Certainly the condition of the railroad employés in general has been far superior to that of the omnibus-drivers of Paris, who, before the strike of 1891, averaged seventeen hours' work per day, exposed to all the changes of heat and cold, rain, snow, and wind. The waiters in the cafés and restaurants are on duty from 8 o'clock in the morning until past midnight, receive no pay but the tips, and, in fact, often pay the proprietor or head waiter for the privilege of working. The cooks in the same establishment have in vain demanded one day of rest per month, and many among them get none during the entire



year. The butcher boys are given but one day's vacation in the year, and are worked from fifteen to eighteen hours a day.

Many have been the criticisms decrying the far too frequent holidays in the old time of church rule; but under the new régime the other extreme has been reached, holidays, in numerous cases, being almost unknown. The Government, however, sets a good example in this respect, and gives its workers, with necessary exceptions, rest on Sundays and national holidays. While many of the working classes have, as we have just seen, too much to do, leaving insufficient time for eating and sleeping, not to speak of leisure for pleasure or self-improvement, there always exists close at hand an army of "out-of-workers." Many of them are idlers by nature, and in their heart of hearts do not want to work; but, on the other hand, there are thousands who are longing for a chance to earn an honest living, and even regard with envious eyes those occupying permanent positions such as may appear to more fortunate members of the human family as pitiable rather than enviable. Even in exceptionally good times it is believed that at least seven per cent of the workers are idle, not from choice, but from necessity. Government positions are presumed to offer sinecures; but the employés of prisons have to work thirteen hours a day, with five hours extra added every third night, while the school janitors are said to pursue their work fourteen hours out of the twenty-four. A recent order reduced to eight hours the hard outdoor work of linemen in the Government telephone and telegraph service; but in the noisome toil of the State monopolies of tobacco and match manufacture ten hours' work is still the rule.

Though the execution of the labor laws has not been perfect, a great deal has been accomplished by the army of labor inspectors kept at work in all parts of the country; and their reports furnish a wealth of statistics regarding the condition of factory labor. If the labor agitators, on the one hand, complain of the inefficacy of their activity, there are not wanting, on the other hand, employers who consider the inspection an impertinence. One is cited in the last annual report who, instead of following the injunction of the inspector to conform to the law requiring hygienic protection to his employés, has occupied his time and exerted all his influence in trying to have the inspector removed. While the official reports express optimistic opinions as to the working of the labor laws and inspection, M. Pelloutier, a recognized authority on labor questions in France, gives voice to an extreme skepticism as to their utility; basing his opinion apparently

more upon theory than on observation, on the ground that the fines for infractions are too small as compared with the possible profits of disobedience.

Turning to the official figures this objection appears well founded. The 1,119 convictions of 1898 resulted in fines aggregating only 28,633 francs, which is about 25.60 francs on an average, or say \$5 for each infraction proved and punished, not to mention the probably far more numerous ones which escaped the inspectors' gaze. Opposed to this criticism is the allegation that the constant expectation of a visit of inspection, and not the payment of fines, is the most powerful main-spring of obedience to the laws. However, the usefulness of the inspection is more and more recognized by all those interested; so that cases are not infrequent where laborers demand the interference of the inspectors, expressing confidence in their just interpretation of the law, and where employers call upon them for information as to the best methods of avoiding accidents.

The statistics furnished by the Upper Labor Commission (*Commission Supérieure du Travail*) are not claimed to be absolutely exact; but they are as nearly so as care and work have been able to make them. In 1898 the number of industrial establishments liable to inspection under the laws was 299,468, employing 2,633,570 workers. Of these establishments 61,915 employed only women and girls, and 141,899 only adults, leaving 95,654 with workers of all ages and both sexes. As to the age and sex of the workers, 60.6 per cent were men over 18 years of age, 8.5 per cent were boys, and 30.9 per cent were women and girls. The inspectors made during the year 144,485 visits to 122,607 establishments, which employed 1,872,970 persons, or 71 per cent of all the industrial workers liable to inspection.

A curious fact is emphatically brought to light by the statistics thus gathered; namely, that in these days, when so much is talked and written about the concentration of wealth and the growth of big manufacturing enterprises, France has her industries, like her real estate, divided into small unities. Thus, 262,089 establishments employ each from one to ten persons only, while but 367 give work to more than 500 persons each. All the establishments inspected averaged only fifteen workers each, while those not inspected were but small shops, generally isolated in the country districts. Paris alone is said to contain one-fourth of the industrial workers of France; and the inspectors paid to its establishments 39,514 visits.

The State itself is a large employer of labor; having 28,000 em-



ployés in its war department, 12,000 in the service of the State railway, and 22,000 in its various factories, of whom more than 17,000 are women and children.

During the year 1898 the inspectors reported 6,033 offences against the various laws applying to the regulation of factories, of which 1,326 were against the rules of hygiene and security. Looking to the infractions of the rules governing the hours of labor, days of rest, and night work, it is the dressmakers who are the most guilty. The majority of cases were such as not to call for judicial punishment, and the inspectors began 1,352 suits only, gaining conviction in 1,119 cases; but they complain of the "excessive indulgence" of certain courts of justice toward offenders, and of the bias displayed against the inspectors and their testimony. These cases were, however, but a small part of the activity of the inspectors, who, as a result of their numerous visits, issued some 105,327 prescripts of all kinds.

One of the most surprising facts brought to light by the inspection is the condition of affairs in establishments posing before the public as charity organizations, giving "homes" to children. Previous to 1890 several scandals in connection with such asylums had come to light; causing the passing of a law in that year submitting them to inspection, under certain conditions. Then public attention became drawn to other matters, and, under certain influences, the inspection grew lax until a couple of years ago, when it was discovered by the press that one of the bishops had sent to Rome a report revealing shocking treatment of children in such an institution in his diocese. Orders were given to pursue the inspection in such establishments in the same manner as in avowedly industrial factories. Children of four and five years of age were found hard at work; some of the little ones being obliged to throw silk eleven hours a day, and to sleep at night in crowded quarters. In fact, in the sweet name of charity, unlawful barbarity was being practised; and 694 offences by such institutions were reported during the year 1898, or more than one-tenth of the whole number for nearly 3,000,000 working people. Thus, so-called charity was found to be far more cruel than the much abused capitalism. As there has been some conflict of opinion between the courts of justice and the executive branch of the Government regarding the legal status of such religious asylums, a new bill, specially regulating the matter, is said to be now in preparation (June, 1900) by the ministry for introduction in Parliament.

Another branch of the inspectors' activity is the investigation of

and report on accidents happening to employés in the course of their work. Since the law of 1898, making employers responsible for practically all accidents, this portion of the work has assumed a new importance. It is now to the interest of the working classes to make known at once every accident; seeing that the possible consequence may be the gaining of support from the employers in case of serious results. Many accidents which appear unimportant at first become grave later, because of blood poisoning or other unexpected complications; and with the new law the workingman has become alive to the value of official evidence. In 1893 the number of accidents reported was only 3,655. The number rose to 14,954 the following year, increasing every year thereafter, until, in 1898, it reached the formidable total of 35,433.

The law of 1898 did not go into effect, however, until July 1, 1899; and the number of declarations of accidents during the six months which followed far surpassed those for any whole year previously. According to the report of the Labor Bureau, the total number of victims of accidents during this short period was 83,742, of whom 83,708 made formal declarations. Yet, in spite of such results, the insurance companies are said to be "agreeably surprised" with the working of the law after six months' trial ("Revue d'Economie Politique," March, 1900). Notwithstanding the increase in the number of accidents reported, the inspectors are unanimous in the conviction that the accidents to the laboring classes during recent years have decidedly diminished both in number and in seriousness. Moreover, there is no doubt that a large proportion are caused by the negligence of the workers themselves, many by direct disobedience to rules, and could be avoided by the exercise of prudence and thought by the employés. Of the total number of accidents in 1898 only 643 resulted in death, which figure is so small in comparison with the whole number of industrial employés that it practically disappears in the general death rate.

Under the inspection laws there are reported together all mines, quarries, and diggings, of whatever nature, along with their dependencies. These numbered, in 1898, all told, 33,687, of which 30,685 were visited by the inspectors. Here were employed during the year 297,787 persons, of whom 11.3 per cent came under the special protection of the labor laws. The risks of this kind of work are particularly great, and the results are necessarily sad. Accordingly, we find that during the year over 18 per cent of all those occupied



received such injuries by accidents as to necessitate more than three days' cessation of work; while 1.2 per cent found surcease from toil in the very midst of their occupation. However, a great deal has been done in the last few decades for the improvement of the conditions of work underground, and the number of serious accidents is steadily decreasing. The inspectors report with satisfaction the general observance of the special laws governing such occupations. They found only one woman working underground. She was sent to the surface, and the proprietor was prosecuted. Altogether, only twelve suits were instituted, and convictions were secured in ten cases.

One-fourth of the population of France lives from the profits of industry. We have hurriedly passed in review the conditions revealed by official inspection, under which about one-third of this number works in order to live. What do these receive in return for their toil and the multifarious risks of their daily tasks?

The greatest single industry is that of the railroads. I shall not take into account the highly paid upper officials, but shall confine my attention to those who are commonly designated as workingmen. Some years ago an inquiry into the subject resulted as follows: Of 71,273 workers on the railroads investigated, 6 received less than 15 francs per month; only 267 were paid more than 375 francs; while the vast majority received wages varying from 71 to 165 francs a month. It is but fair to add that about one-third of them received also their lodgings, which is valued at approximately one-tenth of the salary.

Grouping the employés of the seven trunk lines and of four of the most important secondary companies, another investigation showed that 138,587 men and 19,037 women were receiving wages. The women were placed as crossing watchers, were generally the wives of employés, and received, with lodging, from 16 to 40 francs a month. Many of the men were paid by the day or piece, and the earnings of 85 per cent of them were from 22.6 centimes to 55 centimes per hour. Of those paid by the month, the wages of 84 per cent were within the limits of 71–165 francs. Some fifteen per cent received in addition their lodging. In the North Railway Company the highest wages paid were 1.50 francs per hour. Of all the workingmen included in the 66,000 employés of the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean Company only two received better pay. For the trunk lines in general, including the one owned by the State, the pay of a very large proportion of the workingmen varies between 86 and 165 francs per

month. By railroad workers it is asserted that the whole number of employés in this branch of industry is more than 400,000; but this is probably an exaggeration, as the official figures for 1895 gave for all the companies of any importance 253,000.

After the railroads probably the most important industry is coal mining, which employs 143,000 persons, of whom 101,700 work underground. The aggregate wages paid in 1897 have been computed at 171,198,000 francs, which, divided by the whole number of days' work, 41,319,000, gives as the average day's wage the sum of 4.14 francs. The largest federation of coal miners numbers 34,000 members; and its secretary writes that the lowest wage paid to any of the members is 3.75 francs per day; the highest, 6.50; the average being 5.00. These figures will probably give a fair idea of the wages of coal miners throughout the country.

A vast number of working people are constantly engaged by the governmental authorities, both central and local, in all kinds of public works, and in furnishing supplies for the various departments. It is said that, as a rule, the Government pays better than private employers, besides adding an old-age pension. On the other hand, it was affirmed, in 1892, by the president of the railroad syndicate, that the Government was less liberal in the treatment of its railway employés than some of the private companies.

The Government exercises a monopoly of the tobacco and match industries. In the former, there were employed, in 1895, 1,446 men and 13,674 women, distributed in twenty factories. For the men, the average wages were 53 centimes an hour, while the women received but 32 centimes. However, the cases are relatively somewhat altered in the seven match factories, where the average pay of the men is 50 centimes, and of the women, 35 centimes per hour. Commencing in the tobacco factories with a minimum of 25 centimes per hour, boys can earn, by the time they are eighteen years old, 41.5 centimes an hour, rising to a maximum of 75 centimes at the age of 25, and later to a possible, but not frequent, pay of 1.50 francs. The highest pay to any woman is 90 centimes an hour.

In the match factories conditions are even less favorable. The boys commence with 17.6 centimes the hour, and work up to a maximum of 65 centimes, while but three of the men, out of 676 employed, receive as high as 1.10 francs. The women workers are still more miserably rewarded; beginning the life of dangerous drudgery for 2.5 centimes the hour, and reaching a maximum, after years of steady



application, attained by only three out of 1,444, of 90 centimes an hour, or \$2.20 a day.

It is true that the Government promises a small pension at the end of thirty years' work, and medical attendance and medicines to alleviate the sufferings produced by the poisons they are handling. But, on the other hand, many never live to enjoy the pension, and life meantime is often rendered dreary and painful by dyspepsia and colic, cough and bronchitis, jaundice, and torpor of limbs, caused by the phosphorus handled. In the latter part of 1898, after years of agitation on the part of the unhappy workers, the use of white phosphorus was finally abolished. Very large numbers in both the tobacco and match factories fall a prey to tuberculosis, caused largely by the conditions under which they are obliged to live in the factories and at their homes.

The above figures date from 1895, since which time wages have advanced a fraction of a centime per hour. Some other improvements have also been made in the lot of the workers, especially by the present minister; but even he has not been willing or able to grant all their requests, having told the delegates in a recent interview that the necessities of the budget did not warrant him in doing so. Yet these are industries which pay about 300 per cent yearly profit on the capital invested! The official figures for 1897 abundantly prove the statement. Matches: on December 31, 1896, the capital invested was 6,248,336.40 francs. Net profits for 1897 were 21,602,075.75 francs. The sales for 1898 aggregated 29,938,000 francs. Tobacco: capital invested, same date, 129,072,741.56 francs. Net profits: 325,597,719.50 francs. Sales for 1898: 404,602,713 francs. Can any reviled capitalist or trust show larger profits or smaller wages?

If such examples of state ownership were to be generalized, what would be the gain of the working classes? French cigars are pronounced by travelling Americans to be dear and bad. As to the matches, an article on the subject in "*L'Autorité*," for May 23, 1900, remarks among other things, "Everybody knows that the state matches are worthless."

But to return to the question of wages. The great works of Creusot are usually looked upon as the model establishment in France among the iron and steel manufactures. During the big strike of 1899, which was terminated by the friendly arbitration of the Prime Minister, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, the "*Temps*" published (June 17)

an article on the condition of the men, from which I quote the wages paid. The laborers or help earn from 2.50 to 3.75 francs per day, and comprise one-fourth of the 13,000 workingmen employed. Then come the journeymen, who receive from 4.40 to 5 francs a day. Above them stand the body of skilled laborers, to whom 5.25 to 6 francs are paid for the day's wages. About one hundred specialists are rewarded with sums rising from 7 francs to a maximum of 15 francs per day. As the same writer informs us that "the situation of the workingman at Creusot is not bad," it may be taken, I think, for granted that he has not minimized the above figures in order to present a state of misery.

A model weaving factory is said to exist up in the country, owned by M. Harmel, who has been very active in starting and promoting Catholic labor organizations. Here are employed some 500 men, women, and boys, in well-ventilated rooms, with protection not only from the dangers of contact with the machinery, but also from contact between the sexes. The males and females enter by different doors, work in separate rooms, and the women are dismissed after work several minutes before the men. The wages are high, the boys earning a minimum of 5.05 francs per day, the women 5.27 francs, and the men 5.40 francs. The highest wages are 6.52 francs a day. Moreover, the pay is regular and the employment permanent, help is given in case of sickness, increased pay is assured to the heads of large families, and Sunday rest is religiously observed.

To more than twenty letters addressed to labor exchanges and other large labor organizations but seven answers were received, and only one from a large city, Bordeaux. Previous experience had led me to anticipate such a result, as secrecy is the rule in France, among all classes, from the Government to the peasant, not only toward foreigners, but in regard to each other. While at Paris I learned from a well-informed source that the highest wages paid to hand work in the city were 1.10 francs per hour—for pattern makers. The printers are among the best situated laboring men in the country. They usually work by the piece, and are said to receive from 5 to 7 francs a day. For other trades the wages vary from 3.50 to 6 francs a day, with an average of between 4 and 5 francs. As to the pay of women, the only answer which mentioned the matter reported 25 centimes an hour for those sewing men's clothes. These figures being supplied by labor organizations, and hence representing in general the earnings of the more intelligent as well as those most insistent in



their demands, they may be presumed to be higher than the general average of all the working classes in the country.

During the years 1891-93 the Labor Bureau made an extended investigation into the subject of wages. The ground covered included some 2,957 private factories or workshops of all kinds, giving work to 451,000 persons. Adding to these the number working for the Government and engaged in transportation, the total investigation included 674,000 persons. The averages of all those regularly employed were found to be as follows: For the hour, 35.5 centimes; the day, 3.75 francs; for the year, 1,080 francs. Only about 60 per cent of all this working mass of humanity are computed to have regular employment, with an average of 250 days' work during the year. The extremes are curious; for while a large number are believed to work 295 days out of the 365, one-fourth of the hands are engaged in paying work only 170 days per year.

In the furnaces, for example, it is believed that for every 100 men employed at any one time some 135-140 men pass through the establishment during the year. One-half of the establishments under consideration never work over hours, and of those which do so, one-fifth reported paying a higher rate of wages for the over-time. In regard to women-workers the average wage is only one-half that paid to the men. Be it remarked, however, that the character of their work is nearly always different; but even where it is the same, they were less highly valued than the stronger sex, with the single exception of the cutters of precious stones. On May 1, 1900, the Minister of Commerce, Post, and Telegraph sent to the President of the Republic a report, wherein he reviewed the subject of "lady employés," as they are officially called. Among other things, he remarks that it is generally found necessary to employ three women for the work which two men would perform; that thereby an average money-saving of 850 francs a year is made, which, however, is easily counterbalanced by the charges for absences and substitutions; that out of 5,490 women at work in 1897, there were during the year absences amounting to 161,013 days.

Go into any of the innumerable stores of Paris, and you will be waited on by men or women well dressed, and apparently prosperous. They receive, however, from 100 to 250 francs a month only. Yet the places are so eagerly sought that, according to report, employés pay to foremen in some large establishments as high as an entire year's salary in order to be engaged. In recent years the habit

has increased of employing boys, who are considered well paid with 40 francs a month; and the salaries of the adults have in many cases been correspondingly decreased. In company with this movement, another has gained ground; namely, paying a small fixed salary, and adding a certain percentage on sales. Devotion is thus secured, and the intelligent, expert salesman is proportionately recompensed.

Another method of work and pay has recently come into notice, especially since Parliament has voted to introduce it as an experiment in the National Printing Office. It is called the *Commandité*, which is an old word with a new application. The workmen in a given establishment voluntarily form themselves into groups, each of which elects its own chairman and forms its own rules as to the distribution of labor and proportion of pay. When an order is received by the proprietor of the establishment he hands the whole or a part of it over to one of these groups, after an understanding with the chairman as to the price to be paid, the quality of the work, and the time of completion. After that the group takes upon itself the entire responsibility of filling the order, the care of the machinery, the discipline of the workers, etc. The system is believed to work best when all members of a group receive an equal division of the gains; but other arrangements have also been put into successful practice. Under such a régime, it is asserted that contentment is increased, that the machinery and other materials are better cared for, that production is augmented, that book-keeping is simplified, and that the workingmen are educated in the true use of liberty.

Notwithstanding the number of changes in employés noted above, the great majority of French workingmen desire steady employment, but demand therefor periodically increasing wages. In the railroads, Government works, furnaces, etc., the demand is, after a period of probation as day worker, to be engaged on a permanent basis, or classed, as the phrase in use expresses it, with a fixed rate of increase in pay from time to time. This arrangement has now been so generally accepted that a sudden discharge may give rise to a claim for damages, based on the law of December 27, 1890. Labor agitators maintain that the courts do not want to apply the law against the employers; but at least one case is cited to the contrary, where a railroad employé at Chambéry was discharged for drunkenness, at a time when his twenty-five years of service were almost completed, which would have entitled him to a pension. He brought suit against the railway company, and obtained judgment for 300 francs damages



and a life annuity of 120 francs, "without prejudice to the repayment of his contributions to the pension fund."

It is affirmed by those interested that slight pretexts for discharge are occasionally seized on by the companies as the time of pensioning draws near, but that in general they are restrained from such action by fear of public opinion. In answer to such reproaches, the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean Company advertises its generosity in having distributed in 1897 to its employés extras to the amount of 13,030,700 francs, which was 29 per cent of the amount distributed to the shareholders. But the men complain that the generosity exercised is almost exclusively for those already well paid, while of the families nearly starving on a pittance per day, perhaps one in twenty receives a puny sugar-plum of 20 to 30 francs. The matter of discharge has another very serious side, inasmuch as the greater number of railroads refuse to engage new men who have passed thirty-five years of age; some even reducing the limit to thirty years. Still another blow in the same direction was given on January 13, 1900, by an order of the Prefect of the Seine, forbidding the engagement of new men for city works who have passed forty-five years of age. Discharged on the one hand for a trifling fault, rejected on the other on account of age, what is to become of such men? Is it any wonder that the army of the discontented is growing rapidly to formidable proportions?

Even if the laborer succeeds in keeping his place, he is not always certain of obtaining the wages for which he has agreed to work. His character is not perfect; and many employers and foremen, being themselves equally imperfect, are nevertheless tyrannical, and for the least fault impose a fine on or suspend from work the unhappy employé, and thus produce for him and for his family new sufferings. Fortunately, the system of fines has been recently abandoned by the leading railroads; and it is to be hoped that the example will be generally followed. Another cause of trouble is also diminishing, namely, that of company stores for the workers in mills and factories situated at a distance from commercial centres, by which arrangement the employers added largely to their profits, and the poor workingman only too often did not receive the value of his hard-earned money. Moreover, many employers pay only at long intervals, others irregularly, and many never pay the full amount due, retaining certain sums under various pretexts. Besides, we must not forget the constant liability to accident and disease through exposure in the various industries.

Although, in spite of the dangers and hardships through which they pass, many workingmen live to a ripe old age, yet they have generally saved little or nothing for their support without work, and must hence become a burden either to their relatives or to the community. The sentiment is fast growing, however, that men who have worked honestly during many years should not be left in such a painful situation. Since January 1, 1895, the miners have by law been contributors to and recipients of an old-age pension. The trunk line railroads have their systems of pension, while the sailors and all permanent workers for the Government are also of the number who look forward to relief from toil and care in their declining years. An official investigation in 1896-97 counted 660,000 working people as insured for an old-age pension, or 17 per cent of all those in the country designated as workers. Of this number, 461,000 were employed in private enterprises, 37,000 in industries under the Government, 42,000 were road-menders, and 120,000 were sailors. The amount of the pensions varies from almost nothing up to 8,000 francs a year. In Parliament a bill is now pending for making general the system of old-age pensions to workingmen.

WALTER B. SCAIFE.



## A PLEA FOR THE NEW CEREAL, THE COTTON-SEED.

TIME was when the cotton-seed was the least of all seeds in the public estimation. It still holds a place far below its intrinsic worth; but it bids fair to become, in the future, by its merit, the greatest of all. Its romantic history is now so well known that it is not necessary to dwell upon it, or to state how an agricultural product which farmers were once glad to dump into a river, if one flowed conveniently near, has become worth 30 cents a bushel—\$20.00 a ton—on the banks of the Mississippi itself.

This remarkable progress has only been gained by a hard and constant struggle against ignorance and prejudice, and against the opposition of competing products which were regarded as primary crops. The cotton-seed was regarded as an impertinent by-product, interfering with the markets for the cereals. At the same time it was admitted that all competition between the cereals should be free and unhampered. But now those who have been accustomed to look upon the cotton-seed as a mere “by-product of the cotton-field” must alter their point of view. Let us compare this so-called by-product with one of the cereals:

WHEAT AND COTTON-SEED COMPARED.

	Protein.	Carbohydrates.	Fat.	Value.
Wheat.....	11.87	73.69	2.09	\$1.00
Cotton-seed.....	17.57	10.82	20.19	1.39

The above table gives the number of pounds of food components and the analytical value of 100 pounds each of wheat and cotton-seed, according to the methods in use by the Agricultural Experiment Stations. It shows the surprising fact that, pound for pound, cotton-seed has a greater intrinsic value than wheat. Neither is the bulk of the cotton-seed crop by any means insignificant as compared with wheat. There are raised in the Southern States alone five-sevenths as many bushels of cotton-seed as there are raised bushels of wheat in the whole of the United States.

In spite of all the criticisms, just and unjust, of Southern agricultural methods, the yield per acre in bushels of cotton-seed, over and above the fibre, is greater than the yield of wheat per acre; and it is increasing. The reports of the United States Department of Agriculture for the season of 1897-98, the latest obtainable when these calculations were made, place the average yield per acre of cotton-seed at 14.9 bushels, as against 13.43 bushels for wheat. They are given more in detail in the table below :

ACREAGE AND YIELD OF COTTON-SEED AND WHEAT.

	Acres.	Bushels.	Yield per Acre.
Wheat.....	39,465,000	539,000,000	13.43 bushels.
Cotton-seed .....	24,319,500	363,261,000	14.9 bushels.

Surely, in view of these figures the cotton-seed deserves attention as such, independently of the cotton fibre.

Although the cotton-seed has been almost obscured by the far more showy cotton crop, it has nevertheless been proved by recent investigations to have an intrinsic value half that of the cotton crop, when fully and properly put to such uses as are already known for it. There is a known latent value in the cotton-seed crop of \$200,000,000, equal to 4 cents per pound on the entire cotton crop, which is still annually lost. Little real scientific study and little close economic thought have been given to this modest article as yet; but when they are given to it to the same degree as they are given, for instance, to petroleum or iron or sugar beets, new properties or new uses or new products may be discovered which may make the cotton-seed crop a more valuable one than the cotton crop. The United States Department of Agriculture was begged in vain to make such an investigation this year. Its importance fully justifies it, and it is no more than both France and Germany have done for the beet.

It is worthy of remark that the cotton-seed as an article of utility and value sprang into notice only after the Civil War. Unlike cotton it had no historical connection or intimate association with slavery or the war. It has never made the boastful claims of King Cotton; yet it has contributed far more to scientific agriculture and to the study of economies, in the cotton States, than cotton. In the four hundred or more mills engaged in "crushing" cotton-seed the freed negro has found ready employment; and he forms nine-tenths of the employés of these factories to-day. In its beneficent influence over the South the cotton-seed has indeed been marvellous.



It seems, therefore, strange and doubly unkind that the cotton-seed's progress should meet with bitter jealousy or violent opposition, that it should be constantly receiving new and unexpected checks. The latest attempt of this kind is a most unworthy and uncalled-for piece of legislation. The finest and best of cotton oil, which comprises one-fourth, and is the most valuable part, of the seed, is sweeter in flavor and more neutral in odor than almost any known oil or fat. A considerable percentage of this oil is used in the manufacture of artificial butter, a perfectly pure and wholesome article—a boon to the poor—which enjoys government protection and supervision, and also *enjoys* a governmental internal revenue tax of 2 cents a pound—as unjust a tax as that put on cotton just after the war. This tax is, of course, paid by the very class of consumers least able to bear it.

The “Grout Bill” recently agitated in Congress, reported favorably by a small majority of the Agricultural Committee, and likely to be passed at the next meeting of Congress, proposes to increase this tax on artificial butter to 10 cents a pound. Even if this tax does not prohibit the manufacture of artificial butter altogether, which is the real object sought by it, it will hurt not only cotton oil, but also oleo oil, another large ingredient of artificial butter, prepared from the fat of freshly slaughtered Southern and Western cattle. The Southern cattle are raised and fattened on two of the products of the cotton-seed, which comprise two-thirds of its weight, meal and hulls. The passage of this bill will, therefore, work a peculiar hardship upon the Southern planter; it will lessen the wages of the negro employés of the oil mills; it will reduce the earnings of the negro tenant farmers, who often get nothing but the seed out of their crop; and it will check the growth of cattle upon the small farms of the South, than which nothing is of more economic importance to that section to-day. This bill is, in reality, a purely sectional piece of legislation aimed at a cotton-growing section of the United States in the supposed, though mistaken, interest of a dairy section. I say “mistaken interest,” for if the dairymen would only let oleomargarine alone, it would find its way into all the markets of the world; into places where natural butter cannot go, and in such enormous quantities that to make it would call for more milk and cream (without which it cannot be made) than our present dairies can possibly supply.

Now, will none of those men who have deservedly gained reputations in the world of economic thought, but who have left this unkind attack against the cotton-seed unanswered, come forward and de-

nounce this unjust attack upon the cotton plant, founded, as it is, too, upon an economic fallacy? We can forgive a New England economist, whom we know is a friend of the South, for insisting that we have just the right sort of climate in the cotton States for growing lambs — the New York Exchanges anticipated him in this discovery — but just the wrong kind of climate for building cotton mills for “finer numbers.” But what respect will our people have for economists who watch burdens placed upon the shoulders of the cotton States too grievous to be borne without lifting a finger to aid in removing them?

Finally, if neither economists nor the Government will actively help the cotton-seed, the cotton plant, or the cotton States, at least let there be removed the severe, unnatural handicaps — and they are many — that have been placed upon these States, and allow them alone to work out their industrial salvation *without* fear and trembling. Then, in ten years’ time, if the question is asked, “Can any good thing come out of the cotton-seed?” no other answer will be necessary but “Come and see!”

EDWIN LEHMAN JOHNSON.



## THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN AUSTRIA.

LAST June a scene was enacted in the Austrian Diet which might well have impressed the uninitiated as a sort of carnival entertainment devised for the special delectation of a favored guest. Old men with venerable beards blew tin horns, while others made a frightful noise by striking kettles with the lids thereof. The shrill tones of the penny trumpet mingled with the droning of a mighty gong. A rhythmical accompaniment was furnished by the thumping of heavy rules against wooden desks; and the pandemonium was augmented by the shrill sound of whistles of every description, and the din of all sorts of noisy instruments borrowed from the nursery.

This performance, euphoniously designated as "obstruction," was systematically carried out, according to a fixed programme, until long after midnight, with the firm determination of hindering the proceedings of the Diet. Meanwhile, the other parties listened in mute astonishment to the rendering of the symphony. The President of the Diet, powerless by reason of a lack of enactments making provision against such disgraceful scenes, permitted hour after hour thus to elapse, while the deserted benches of the ministry stared desolately into the beautiful hall thus shamefully desecrated. The ministers meanwhile held a council of war in a neighboring dwelling; and there, as a last resort, it was decided to awaken the venerable monarch — then sojourning at his summer residence, Schoenbrunn — at midnight, in order to secure from him the necessary constitutional permission to close the session.

Nothing could be more characteristic of the unnatural conditions now prevailing in Austria than this necessity of disturbing the rest of a venerable and grief-stricken monarch. Yet the disgraceful scene just described is by no means unique in the modern parliamentary procedure of Austria, and I cite it merely as the most recent illustration of a long series of similar demonstrations. Fierce conflicts have been repeatedly waged within the walls of Parliament; Government and Presidency alike have been constantly subjected to the vilest

ridicule and abuse ; and on several occasions, indeed, it has been found necessary to summon the police to quell the tumult.

Apart from these external demonstrations, the Austrian Parliament has for years ignored all legislative work of a serious nature. It has been found necessary to pass most important enactments, such as the Budget and the decennial compromise with Hungary, in the form of defensive measures. In the midst of an unexampled economic prosperity among neighboring nations Austria is suffering from a deep-seated depression. Commerce and traffic are languishing, and an industrial insecurity has ensued which is crippling capital and paralyzing enterprise. Despite numerous natural advantages and the frequently under-rated industrial capacity of the country, economic opportunities have been lost, exports have declined, internal consumption has decreased, and the Bourse, once so flourishing, has become impoverished. Within two years the Government has changed six times, while a great proportion of those eligible to the ministry have already been called to the helm in vain. All attempts to restore order, whether proceeding from the Federal Government or the several parties, have been futile. The destinies of the nation are involved in darkness and obscurity ; and though the humblest citizen realizes that this situation cannot long continue, none has undertaken to indicate the way in which order may be constitutionally reestablished.

A satisfactory solution of this question is daily becoming more difficult, because the points of difference developed by former conditions are constantly becoming more sharply defined. Under the plea of guarding their most sacred interests, the various national elements of the Empire have adopted the motto that the end justifies the means. Goaded to obstinate resistance by the radical leaders of both parties — who naturally fear to lose their artificial prestige — Germans and Czechs alike take the unreasonable view that the triumph of one must necessarily imply the downfall of the other ; whereas the real point at issue is an equitable adjustment of mutual demands. The parties themselves, it is true, have either everything to gain or everything to lose. Consequently, while those interested from an economic standpoint, in view of the personal damage already sustained, and regardless of partisan affiliations, have continued in their efforts toward the reestablishment of national peace, the professional politicians, oblivious of every duty and obligation, have as constantly endeavored to fan the flames of discord. Hitherto the latter have been preponderant, and have succeeded, by means of an impassioned, bitter, and



somewhat unscrupulous rhetoric, in keeping the voters in that state of exaltation which so frequently destroys dispassionate judgment.

Austria enjoys the doubtful distinction of being a historic conglomerate of petty nationalities, which for centuries have lived beside, rather than mingled with, one another. It is this condition which has given edge to the struggle between centralization and federalism. While the federal bodies have hitherto held to the natural theory which accords to the provinces the right to exercise jurisdiction in local matters, relegating the conduct of national affairs — taxation, justice, and education — to the central Government, the provinces, on their part, have sought to extend the influence of their respective legislatures. As the Centralists furthermore originally evinced pronounced Germanizing tendencies, the Federalists have endeavored to secure a hitherto unprecedented degree of autonomy for their respective provinces. It is impossible here to review in detail the successive systems of legislation, which, originally based upon the maxim, "All for the Germans," eventually led to the antagonisms embodied in the cry, "Rule against the Germans." I shall, therefore, confine myself to a brief presentation of the recent ominous phenomena arising from the mistaken policy embodied in Count Badeni's "Language Ordinance," favoring the Czechs at the expense of the Germans.

The advent of Count Casimir Badeni to the ministry was regarded as particularly auspicious, as he had long been the confidential adviser of his Majesty, who had advanced the Count to the rank of Governor of Galicia, and had repeatedly distinguished him with honors and rewards. The political henchmen of his party had skilfully contrived to secure for him the title of the "Austrian Bismarck," an appellation borne out by a certain physical resemblance to the great chancellor. Soon after his accession, however, the discrepancy between Badeni's meritorious achievements in Galicia and the diplomatic qualifications requisite to a successful solution of the racial question in Austria became painfully manifest; and, although actuated by the best of intentions at the outset Count Badeni was unfortunately soon led astray by partisan advisers. His very first move, the fatal enactment of the "Language Ordinance," from the consequences of which the nation is still suffering, gave evidence of a lamentable political short-sightedness.

In order to remove the greatly feared Czech opposition to the compromise with Hungary, Count Badeni attempted to gratify the highest national aspirations of the Czechs by the passage of the "Lan-

guage Ordinance.” But the form in which those laws were cast proved to be a most fatal one, although their content, under the prevailing conditions, was open to discussion. It was, above all, the unparliamentary manner of the procedure and the failure to assure German acquiescence in the measure that created the intensely bitter sentiment which has since prevailed. It was among the German element that the President of the ministry had originally met with the strongest sympathy. The Germans were disposed to credit the assurances of Badeni concerning the “strong hand destined to lead the parties,” and they furthermore believed that they had in the new unpartisan minister a means of fusion, a link between the German and Czech parties. In view of these facts, the exercise of more skilful tactics would have enabled Badeni to effect a compromise.

As it was, the Czechs and the Germans assembled around the respective banners of their parties, and proceeded, quietly at first, but gradually with increasing turbulence, to bring about that complete cessation of the parliamentary machine which has since become widely known as “obstruction.” The Germans determined that until the unconditional repeal of the obnoxious “Language Ordinance” should be granted, no legislation of importance should be effected. The order of parliamentary procedure, originally established without the faintest idea of a contingency such as had now arisen, permitted the absolute obstruction of the legislative machinery, while an attempt to institute new and more stringent laws to fit the case was met with the most determined opposition, finally culminating in the menacing revolt, which was only prevented by the demission of the ministry and the eventual appearance of the police in Parliament.

Had Badeni’s successor, Freiherr von Gautsch, been summoned to the helm under different conditions, it is possible that he might have enjoyed a long tenure of office. Like his predecessor Badeni, a close personal adviser of his Majesty, von Gautsch, to the general astonishment of the nation, was already in early years summoned to the Taffe cabinet as Minister of Education. The type of an Austrian Centralist official, elegant in appearance and carriage, distinguished by distinctly modern, though perhaps slightly Clerical, ideas, and a German by birth and training, von Gautsch, by reason of his continuous service in the Taffe and Badeni cabinets, had succeeded in establishing a great popularity among the leaders of all parties, excepting the highly aristocratic Feudalists, to whose activity I shall later refer. To these von Gautsch was a veritable thorn in the flesh,



inasmuch as he was not a member of those princely families from whose ranks, according to a well-established principle, the Presidents of the ministry had theretofore been recruited.

Before encountering the series of embarrassing situations growing out of the Czech matter, von Gautsch was confronted by the compromise between Hungary and Austria, the prospective reestablishment of which seemed to threaten a sacrifice of important Austrian interests — a sacrifice which, as the sequel shows, was actually entailed upon Gautsch's successors. As it was, the conscientious and honest nature of the man could not support the idea of such a sacrifice; and the consequence was that, after an official activity of several weeks, von Gautsch, to the general astonishment, submitted his resignation.

By a singular fatality the bitter conflict between the Germans and the Czechs was attended by the no less violent economic differences between the two great divisions of the Empire, Austria and Hungary; and a harmonious adjustment of these differences was urgent, in view of the early expiration of a decade, for which term, since the days of Deak, the compromise between the two national groups has been renewed. Necessarily, a deviation from this principle would have furnished a dangerous precedent, jeopardizing the stability of the Empire.

A serious complication now arose. For, while the Hungarians endeavored to profit by the internal complications of Austria proper, and sought to obtain all possible concessions as compensation for maintaining the provisional *status quo*, the Austrian deputies, short-sighted and blinded by partisan interests, were sufficiently unpatriotic to sanction the employment of obstructionary methods also with regard to the renewal of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. Thus there arose, upon the one hand, a strongly Hungarian legislature, whose every demand was supported by a large majority; and, upon the other, an Austrian party, which simultaneously attacked Parliament in the rear. Under these conditions von Gautsch unhesitatingly resigned his position in favor of the man who was confidently expected to pave the way to success.

This man was Count Thun, who was now summoned to the helm. He had been Governor of Bohemia, and was consequently entitled to rank as an authority on Czech affairs. Yet, singularly enough — and this is the peculiar irony of our political comedy of errors — even men ostensibly the most serviceable experience a paralysis of their faculties so soon as they are called upon to unravel the present polit-

ical tangle. As Governor of Bohemia, Count Thun had very properly rejected the unreasonable political aspirations of the Young Czechs, and thereby seriously offended that powerful party, which retaliated by eventually compelling his resignation from office. Nevertheless, when summoned to the Presidency, Count Thun at once became a docile ally of these very Czechs. The consequence was that the Germans, who had greatly honored Count Thun as Governor, now opposed every measure devised by him as President of the cabinet, and eventually succeeded in overthrowing his ministry. Parliament was repeatedly dismissed, and the proceedings of the Thun cabinet were based principally upon the emergency clause embodied in paragraph 14, which stipulates that in case Parliament is out of session, and the needs of the state demand it, urgent laws may be provisionally passed by the Government, with a view to their ultimate ratification by the Diet.

In accordance with this provision, Parliament, which had given additional proofs of its obstinacy, was repeatedly adjourned in order that urgent legislative measures might be effected; and in this way not only were international treaties eventually secured, but also the passage of the Budget and the Compromise with Hungary. This procedure, although contrary to the spirit of the constitution, alone enabled the state to make provision for pressing legislative needs. Yet, unfortunately, the disordered legislation caused by this enactment has resulted in a condition of great insecurity, the ultimate consequences of which can scarcely be foreseen. For it should be remembered that the Compromise with Hungary, established according to paragraph 14, still awaits its ratification by Parliament, and the overthrow of the measure might be fraught with serious peril to the state. Nor is the rejection of the Compromise at all improbable, as its terms are very unfavorable to Austria.

When, therefore, we consider the rivalry between the dual governments, Hungary, upon the one hand, strong, confident, and determined systematically to utilize every political advantage, and Austria, upon the other, torn by internal dissensions, and consequently incapable of pressing her claims and of defending her interests, we can readily conceive the magnitude of the results here pending.

It is necessary to emphasize here that the purposes as well as the ideas of Count Thun were very favorable at the outset, and that the designation of that statesman as a political dilettante — frequently heard during the latter half of his official term — has been most unjust. I well remember an interview with Count Thun, held in the now his-



toric *salon* of the Ministry of the Interior. Our conversation, at first on general topics, gradually drifted into politics, and it soon became evident that the Count was desirous of giving full expression to his sentiments on the great question of the day — a rare occurrence with him. I attached a certain degree of importance to these utterances, because they were by no means lightly expressed, and were confided to me by his Excellency under the pledge of secrecy. Even now that the circumstances have already become history, I think it advisable to confine myself to a single feature of our conversation, which I think will serve as a not unwelcome exposition of Count Thun's views regarding his obligations to the German national element :

“It is but natural that my sympathies should be in the German camp. I am a German by birth and parentage, and before my political career compelled me to acquire the Bohemian language, I ever spoke and felt as a German. This fact was thoroughly appreciated during my official term in Bohemia, and the bitter hatred with which the Young Czech party then honored me is attributable to it. But sympathies cannot rule a state; and, as the matter stands, I find it indispensable that the Germans on their part make concessions, in order that they may not forever lose their legitimate participation in the affairs of the government.”

This categorical view has since been proved erroneous; for the united German party strenuously pushed its opposition until the Language Ordinance was abrogated, without, however, entailing a sacrifice of political prestige. That Count Thun, the staunch defender of Germanism, has gradually become a docile tool of the Slavs, is due to the ascendancy of Minister of Finance Kaizl, one of the leaders of the Young Czech party. Dr. Kaizl surpassed Count Thun in energy and capacity for political intrigue; and even the bitterest opponents of the latter must concede that he was ever a cavalier in the fullest sense, whose character rendered him incapable of coping with the political subterfuge and trickery so characteristic of the Slavophile-Clerical majority in the Diet. However, the personality of Thun was gradually forced into the background, while his cabinet was dubbed “The Ministry of Kaizl named Thun.”

The case of the Minister of Finance, Kaizl, furnishes a weighty example of the baneful influence of politics and high official station upon character. Dr. Kaizl, formerly professor of fiscal sciences at Prague, was a man of acknowledged scientific standing, who had ever been closely identified with the liberal wing of the Young Czech party, and had repeatedly distinguished himself by his energetic opposition to all reactionary measures. In the endeavor to intrench himself as securely and permanently as possible in his exposed official

position, he gradually sacrificed all his former tenacity of purpose, becoming emulous, above all, of currying favor with those court circles which have so frequently exercised a fatal influence upon the destinies of the Austrian people.

Thus it happened that Dr. Kaizl, who had on several occasions become affiliated with the Socialist party, actively participating in the enactment of extreme reactionary measures, now became an obedient member of the most radically clerical Federalists in Austria. The Thun ministry might have had totally different results to record had Dr. Kaizl confined himself to the *rôle* of the honest intermediary between the Germans and the Czechs, a capacity for which his past experience would seem to have especially qualified him. He aspired instead to leadership in the highest arena of national politics; and the opinion of those who declare that the man who had risen from a modest professorship to the rank of excellency also aspired to the still higher post of President seems to have been not altogether without foundation.

Owing to the repeated difficulties naturally arising from the enforced application of paragraph 14, the Thun cabinet, like its predecessors, eventually drifted into a blind alley; and there arose the necessity of a change of government, the benefits of which, however, were regarded by the competent as questionable. The successor of Thun, Count Clary-Aldringen, formerly Governor of Styria, was not even invested with the title of President of the cabinet, being designated merely as leader of the Ministry. This régime was stamped at the very outset as a transient episode; and its installation was primarily due to the necessity of abrogating the "Language Ordinance" of Badeni, which was still regarded as the fruitful source of all our political evils.

No illusions were entertained, however, regarding any amelioration resulting from the repeal of this ordinance, as it was assumed that the reckless and violent opposition of the German element would at once be transferred to the Czechs. The correctness of this assumption was fully verified by the results; for all attempts to establish a *modus vivendi* by long and frequent conferences with party leaders, for the purpose of devising important economic measures, to the temporary exclusion of purely political questions, proved abortive.

Count Clary, distinguished by a winning personality, and favored with the personal confidence of the party leaders, after a term of several weeks, returned to his former post as Governor of Styria.



A brief interval ensued, during which the official business of the cabinet was somewhat informally conducted by the Wittek Ministry ; and this in turn was succeeded by the present cabinet, under the leadership of Dr. von Koerber.

Already upon his accession a rumor was circulated that Dr. von Koerber had demanded extraordinary powers from the Crown, and that these had been granted. It was further bruited that in case of a failure on the part of the present Ministry — a body somewhat indifferently constituted — to effect a settlement by parliamentary methods, these were to be supplanted by a new system of procedure, the nature of which seems to have been veiled in mystery. After the scene described at the beginning of this paper, the Ministry was empowered — according to the provisions of paragraph 14 — to conduct the necessary political and financial business of the state until the close of the year ; and it is hoped that within this period a decided change for the better will facilitate a peaceful termination of the present constitutional crisis.

The frequent postponement of the decision regarding ultimate changes in the former constitution may be readily explained. While competent statesmen of the Empire agree that harmony cannot be established under a constitution which enables a small minority completely to arrest the machinery of the state, there is great diversity of opinion as regards the method of constructing a more perfect scheme. Recognizing the necessity of arresting the party conflicts in Bohemia, one party has formulated the demand that the power of the provincial governments be extended, while the jurisdiction of the central Parliament be limited to imperial affairs of a general nature, with emphasis on economic questions. The other party recommends that the ill-concealed absolutism, which for years has been fostered by the enforcement of paragraph 14, be once for all openly declared, and that a powerful Ministry, eventually supplemented by a council of state consisting of representatives of all parties, be empowered, independently of Parliament, to fill the legislative gaps which have hitherto furnished the means of exploitation to self-seeking politicians.

An enlightened absolutism of this kind would be entrusted with a threefold task : (1) A revision of the present parliamentary rules, so as to completely forestall a recurrence of the before-mentioned turbulent conditions ; (2) the permanent settlement, by direct order of the Crown, of all the knotty problems involved in the present controversy ; and (3) the enactment of a measure facilitating the formation

of a new and equitable legislative system for Austria, and chiefly Bohemia, which shall have a special bearing upon judiciary, educational, and internal affairs.

The formation of such a cabinet, as repeatedly asserted by prominent leaders, now seems very likely, owing to the gradual narrowing down of the technical differences between the parties, and to the recognition of the circumstance that the futility of the efforts tending to secure a harmonious solution of pending problems is traceable to the constant friction engendered by incessant political controversy. An energetic Government, conscious of its aims and unhampered by narrow partisan interests, may still succeed in solving the problems now pending. Nor is it probable that a dissolution of Parliament in Austria, at a time when its complete downfall seems imminent, will be attended by serious dangers. On the other hand, it is clear that the people, among whom discontent and the pursuit of unattainable ideals are now artificially encouraged from without, will become calmer and more rational in their demands so soon as the influence of the professional politician shall be curtailed. Moreover, only an absolutely independent government can hope to cope successfully with the Feudal-Clericals, those formidable adversaries that have hitherto persistently hindered a reconciliation between the two great national elements of Austria proper.

The Clerical party of Austria — which, supported by the still all-dominant feudal nobility, has, within the past ten years, acquired a dangerous ascendancy — is fully aware of the fact that its domination will cease with the establishment of a permanent reconciliation between the German and Czech peoples. The popular sentiment of both nationalities is decidedly anti-Clerical; and so soon as a better understanding shall be effected between them we shall witness a reawakening of those progressive tendencies which the “party of the robe” has ever successfully opposed.

We may readily conceive the grave fears on the part of the Clerical party of a possible national reconciliation when we consider that even the German Clericals, during the entire controversy discussed in these columns, have been the staunchest supporters of the Czechs — an element still dominated by the reactionaries — and have repeatedly, in important instances, cast the vote which decided the issue against their own countrymen. Similarly, the greater part of the feudal aristocracy of Bohemia, who derive their descent from an ancient Germanic ancestry, are arrayed shoulder to shoulder against the Ger-



man people. At the same time the Young Czechs, who were originally organized as a thoroughly radical party, have, by reason of the pressure exerted by the Feudals and Clericals, gradually lost every vestige of a progressive tendency, and survive as a lamentable caricature of the will of the people. It follows that a permanent national reconciliation can be effected only by a complete demolition of the Clerical dominion; and it is equally certain that the Clerical party, which enjoys the protection of the highest court circles, will spare no efforts to overthrow every government not vested with extraordinary powers.

I have shown that the national question, owing to its complications, will be extremely difficult to solve. The extraordinary conditions here involved will require the application of extraordinary remedies; and, although experimental legislation will undoubtedly be fraught with perils, its exercise, under the present circumstances, will be imperative. As it is, the only normal method yet untried — the dissolution of the present Diet preparatory to a reëlection — would result only in intensifying the situation; and the radical wings of all parties, profiting by the general excitement and bitterness, would undoubtedly find accessions to their ranks. Hence, a strong, independent, and absolutely unhampered Government will be required to grapple with the problem; and every statesman, however radical his personal views, will recognize the necessity for the vigorous exercise of state authority.

It may, therefore, be taken for granted that the only opposition which a temporary absolutism will encounter will proceed from the professional politicians. All others will regard the remedy as a dose which, however unpleasant, must nevertheless be administered. Upon the whole, it is probable that immediately upon the establishment of a new official method of procedure, excluding obstructionary feats, and introducing German as the language of mediation, the points of contention between the two nations will be removed; for the economic conditions have become so serious as to justify the hope that the prosaic needs of the stomach will eventually obliterate the differences caused by discordant national "ideals."

I shall take advantage of the present opportunity to correct a serious misconception pervading foreign circles in regard to the Austrian question. It has become customary to consider the Austrian Empire as a moribund confederation of states whose complete dissolution will ensue upon the death of the present monarch. Even among

ourselves the opinion has gained ground that in such an event the so-called interior provinces of Austria would become annexed to Bavaria, and that such territorial extension would enable the latter state to sever its connection with the German Empire and to organize as a first-rate power. It is asserted, furthermore, that Hungary would then become established as an independent kingdom, which would eventually absorb all the Slavic provinces, and in this way grow to an empire under the Czech hegemony.

But these views are purely speculative. While it is undeniable that the present constitutional crisis has shaken the internal organization of the Empire, the sense of union existing among the various states is still too strong to admit of the wide dissemination of pan-germanic or panslavistic ideas. Only recently the question of succession has again been clearly enunciated, while faithlessness to the dynasty is restricted to the small circles of a few provinces. Furthermore, the acquisition of these disaffected elements by a neighboring state would be a questionable gain, inasmuch as the methods of disintegration now employed in Austria would then be extended also to the other country.

The preservation of the union between Hungary and Austria must be regarded as indispensable. And, as the present monarchy, notwithstanding frequent internal and external crises, has repeatedly demonstrated its vitality, we may confidently expect that an outlet from the present dilemma will be ultimately found; so that the dark prophecies of those who would place the Austrian Empire in the same category as Turkey or China must be regarded as neither more nor less than puerile fancies.

MAURICE BAUMFELD.



## CHINA AGAINST THE WORLD.

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### THE NATIONAL UPRISING AGAINST FOREIGNERS.

It has for some time been clear to observers of Chinese affairs that a great anti-foreign uprising among the Chinese masses was inevitable. This anticipation has been fulfilled sooner than was expected. The great dimensions which the Boxer movement has already taken on make it necessary to regard this revolt not as a local, factional disturbance, but as a national resistance to foreign interference.

Heretofore the Chinese have given little evidence of national patriotism. They are clannish in the extreme, and full of local prejudices. It would be possible to raise an army in one province against the people of another, and the industrial rivalries between different sections are very intense. The dynasty and the political unity of the empire have never called forth any enthusiasm. Of course, it may be said that in a world state there would be no room for patriotism; and, up to very recent times, the Chinese have been in the position of a world state, free from the competition of other nations. All this, however, has been changed in the last few years. The present invasion of China by foreign enterprise and industry has awakened a dormant sense of nationalism, and has taught the Chinese that they have common interests to defend.

Although the present movement was at first directed against missions and missionaries, still it has a much broader basis than mere religious fanaticism. The Chinese are, perhaps, the least religious among nations. They are too matter-of-fact, too practical and prosaic for religious enthusiasm. Their national religion is hardly more than a code of social observances, and their religious activities are exhausted in ceremonies. They, therefore, do not oppose the Christian religion as such, but merely as interfering with their local customs and ideas. In most cases Christianity appealed in China to the poorer classes and the unhonored. Their connection with the missionaries gave the new converts a certain importance. They were often

defended against oppression, and enjoyed some advantages which brought upon them the envy of their neighbors. Moreover, they were looked upon as traitors to their native customs, and despised and persecuted by the unconverted Chinese. The missionaries, on account of their political influence, often obtained advantages, judicial and industrial, for their protégés which were keenly resented by the neighborhood.

Of far greater importance than the religious question, however, is the industrial revolution which has begun in China as a consequence of the introduction of foreign methods and enterprise. When we remember the keen and widespread distress caused by the industrial revolution in Great Britain at the beginning of this century, and when we compare the extent of population and resources of that kingdom with those of the Chinese Empire, we can, by stretching our imagination to the utmost, picture the far greater unrest and suffering that will necessarily be engendered by the great industrial changes impending in China. In China, as formerly throughout the Orient, manufactures are still "house industries"; that is, they are carried on according to ancient methods by families in their homes. The different handicrafts are organized into guilds, and China presents the same picture of industrial life that existed in the Europe of the Middle Ages. The concentration of industry in large factories has scarcely begun. Although there are large cities, still they do not bear that proportion to the rural population which obtains with the cities of Europe.

In order to introduce European industrial methods it was first of all necessary to improve the means of transportation. Already for twenty years past Chinese mandarins in high official positions have been discussing the advisability of establishing railways in the Empire; the chief supporters of railway enterprise being Li Hung Chang and Chang Chi Tung, the most influential among the viceroys. On the other hand, many reactionaries opposed the policy as tending to disturb the equilibrium of the population, and as threatening to rob of employment the multitude of carriers. It was also urged that the desecration of burial places and sacred shrines could not be avoided if railways were to be constructed. All the superstitious geomancy of China, which forbids the disturbance of the soil as disagreeable to the spirits that inhabit it, was utilized by the opposition.

A few small experiments in railway construction were made, and proved successful, as the Chinese people seemed eager to use the new



convenience. Then came the Chino-Japanese war, with the consequent invasion of China by foreign influence. The latter took the form especially of a demand for railway concessions, and within a few years construction grants for lines aggregating 10,000 kilometers in length were made by the Chinese Government to foreign corporations. In these grants, however, the Chinese Government reserved to itself the ultimate reversion of the railway and a large share in the profits. It also provided for the establishment, in connection with every line, of schools of railway engineering, where the youth of China might learn the methods of Western industrialism. For a time everything moved auspiciously. The carriers were as yet undisturbed in their employment. As a matter of fact, money was brought into the provinces, and work was abundant. The population seemed to take cheerfully to the new means of communication. As yet the true industrial revolution had not begun, because, with the exception of a few factories erected in Shanghai, the old house industries continued the sole method of production.

But a vague fear seized the Chinese masses. They saw that foreigners, disregarding of their customs and prejudices, were entering the land and carrying things with a high hand. The Government itself was not backward in fostering this feeling. While formal edicts were issued demanding that full protection be given to foreigners, the Empress and her advisers secretly encouraged the growing opposition to foreign enterprise. It is at present becoming known that she gave full warrant to the viceroys to use force in repelling unauthorized advances on the part of the representatives of foreign powers and industries, without waiting for instructions from Peking.

This fear finally came to a head in the province of Shantung. The Germans had been the first to seize a portion of the Chinese territory, at Kiaochow. Thence they pushed their railways into the interior of the province, and began the exploitation of the mines. They were, however, not very considerate or tactful in their treatment of the natives. By government regulation they fixed a very low maximum of wages, so that the neighboring population would not work for them; forcing them to import inferior coolies from other regions. From the first they met cases of serious popular resistance to their advance.

Now, there existed in Shantung a society, the Boxers, especially organized for the purpose of protecting the peasant population; and very naturally these were the first to oppose an organized and de-

terminated resistance to foreign encroachment. To understand the nature of this organization, we must remember that while only lax political bonds unite the Chinese people, they are very clannish and are bound together by the closest ties of family and guild relationship. In all the provinces handicraftsmen, merchants, and bankers are united into guilds. These have a very strong, though informal, organization, with regular officers, who, in council, fix the minimum of prices and of wages, and determine the character and quality of the products of an industry. They exercise a very beneficent influence on Chinese commerce and industry; so that while in official life the Chinese are hopelessly corrupt, their integrity in business affairs is well known and appreciated throughout the Orient.

The individual guilds are formally united by the ceremonious worship of a patron saint, carried on at stated intervals at large feasts, in which all the members take part. Controversies between members are settled by the syndics, according to the customs of the guilds; in fact, the customs of the guilds and arbitration by their officers take the place of a regular system of civil law in China. The law of the mandarins is almost entirely penal. For the settlement of controversies about contracts and commercial dealings, private tribunals are resorted to almost exclusively. There are secret organizations for many other purposes, some of them having members throughout the empire. Even the robbers are organized as a secret guild, similar to the ancient order of *thugs* in India. It is quite common for merchants to make a contract of immunity with the heads of the robber guilds; and the great carrying companies, which transport money between important towns, always have an understanding which assures the safety of their shipments.

The Boxers are an organization originally formed in the province of Shantung, for the purpose of protecting the peasant population against robbers in the time of famine. The society has been perpetuated for the avowed purpose of general physical and moral development among the masses, without, however, having its aims clearly outlined. The two names of the society indicate a double purpose. With the name of the "Big Sword" it threatens its adversaries; and the "Society of Righteousness and Protection" offers resistance to encroachment or oppression and enforces justice. The latter name has by a Chinese pun been changed to "Society of Righteousness and the Fist," which combined with the martial attitude of the organization has led to the designation "Boxers."



It was very natural that a society of this kind should be the first to take alarm and try to resist foreign interference, a result which the reactionaries were eager to bring about. Everything foreign had come to be looked upon as dangerous. The British and American missionaries, the German and Russian railway builders, the French engineers who surveyed new routes or opened mines, were all classed together as plotting against the peace of Chinese civilization. The report spread and gained credence that China was to be divided and governed by the European Powers, like India. As soon as the Boxers manifested their anti-foreign enthusiasm, they drew to themselves large numbers of lower and middle class Chinamen throughout the northern provinces. Even a large part of the newly created special bodyguard of the Empress, called the "Glorious Tigers," joined the Boxers — a fact which gave their organization great political importance, especially as Prince Tuan openly championed their cause and became their leader.

The society of Boxers has no formal organization; its leaders being selected by an informal understanding. Orders are given by means of bulletins posted on the walls of public buildings, in which manner intelligence is rapidly diffused among the masses. Its very informality is a great source of strength to the organization, as its leaders are bound by no rules, and its activities are covered with the mantle of mystery. The first outrages of the Boxers were directed against the missionaries. In the case of the murder of the missionary Brooks, the Powers were still influential, and the Peking Government was willing enough to enforce summary punishment. But, as the majority of the population began to sympathize with the movement, and large numbers joined it, it became impossible to control it through the weak central Government, which, moreover, was far from disapproving of the motives that animated the rioters. Thus, what was at first a local disturbance has suddenly flamed up into a vast national uprising, which may delay the work of civilization in China for decades, and may have even a far-reaching and unexpected effect on the rest of the world.

As we turn to consider the political importance of the present movement, we must remember that there are practically three parties in China. To be sure, these parties are not organized as are those of America and Great Britain; but still their tendencies of action may be clearly outlined. First, we find the party of the reactionaries, headed by Prince Tuan. They systematically oppose every reform as inim-

ical to the established order and to the Manchu dynasty. It was heretofore believed that they were friendly to and greatly influenced by Russia; but recent events have shown that their opposition goes to everything European. The second party comprises the moderates, who are not averse to a certain measure of reform upon European models, and who at the present juncture admit the necessity of protecting European life and property. They are especially strong among the educated classes in Southern China. The leaders among them are the great viceroys, Li Hung Chang and Chang Chi Tung. These men exercise a great moral influence with the mandarins and the Chinese middle classes; and if events had not, by the brutal murder of so many Europeans, come to a desperate pass, they might be relied upon tactfully to mediate between the whole Chinese people and the European Powers, and successfully to guide China into an era of peaceful development.

The third party, at present of little political influence, is the reform party of the unhappy Emperor Kwang Su and his former minister, Kang Yeu Wei. But two years ago this party was in a fair way to arouse among all classes in China a great and abiding enthusiasm for Western learning and industrial progress. They were beginning to utilize the educational system of China for the purpose of introducing new, practical methods in government and industry. Had they at that time been encouraged and upheld by the influence of the Powers, their work might have been successful, and might have bridged the chasm into which China has now fallen. Unhappily, the European Governments and their representatives at Peking did not understand the importance of the movement, and did not offer any aid to the Emperor when he was deposed by the Manchu cabal, and when his chief advisers were sent to execution — martyrs to the regeneration of China.

At present, the masses of the Chinese people are too much excited, too much filled with a fear of all things foreign, to make it possible for a programme of reform to be carried out. A reform minister, even with the support of the European Powers, could count upon but little success, even were the disturbances of the present time allayed. Had events not moved so fast in the direction of a great war, the moderate mandarins, who are fully aware of the serious nature of the crisis, and who enjoy a great amount of influence, might have concentrated their influence in Peking, and protected foreign interests. However, the party actually in power at the capital is intensely re-



actionary, and reveals more and more its sympathy with the riotous opposition to foreign influence; so that the existence of a state of war between the Chinese Government and the governments of Europe, Japan, and the United States can hardly longer be denied. Whether the chance for the regeneration of China, which diplomacy has allowed to pass by, can be regained by the arms of the Powers remains to be seen. At any rate, lack of interest in, and understanding of, the Chinese question, and the absence of tactful treatment of the Chinese Government and people, have led to the present necessity of protecting European rights by force of arms.

The European Powers, of course, have the right and duty to protect their citizens who are at present in danger in the Chinese empire, and to hold the authorities at Peking personally responsible for the acts of the rioters. As a matter of fact, however, they are themselves not entirely free from fault in bringing about the situation. After the Japanese war, they began to look upon China as a helpless colossus, destined to fall a prey to the first comer. They used every injury inflicted upon a member of a European nation as a pretext to extort large grants of railway and mining concessions. France, Germany, and Russia were especially highhanded in forcing their way into China in this manner. Missions were made the means of extending political influence; but as events have shown, and as missionaries are at present declaring, religious work was decidedly injured by this alliance with politics. It certainly cannot be denied that the Powers, by act and deed, indicated their desire to control the destiny of China, and the Chinese, becoming aware of this tendency, naturally felt an impulse to resist this current of foreign influence.

At the present time the Powers are working together. The concert, however, is preserved only by the momentary peril. When all tremble for the safety of their ministers and missionaries their mutual jealousies for the time give way. Should the threatened persons be rescued, or should their fate be definitely sealed, the operations against China could not continue long without involving the Powers in mutual hostilities. These rivalries will make it exceedingly difficult to restore order in China by outside force. As a matter of fact, the Chinese are not so inefficient and cowardly as soldiers as is generally believed. Their behavior during the Japanese war is not a fair test. At that time the Chinese generals were paid for a certain quota of men, whom they were supposed to enroll. They consequently hired the very riff-raff of the streets, whom they could get for the lowest

pay; and, giving them the most rudimentary drill, they led them against the enemy. It is not such soldiers that the European Powers now have to oppose, but an infuriated multitude fighting for their homes and their civilization, which they believe endangered. It is well known that the Chinese would rather suffer death than submit to an infringement of a custom which they consider sacred; and they will stop short at no cruelty and no treachery to defend themselves against the threatened domination of the stranger. When we remember what terror is produced in a settled community by a few dynamiters or tearers-up of rails, it will be clear how little European forces could accomplish if a whole nation of four hundred millions should determine to resist outside influence at all odds. The terrors of the Taiping revolution of forty years ago show with what fury the Chinese will fight when they become thoroughly excited.

It must, however, be noted that at this writing the revolt and anarchy have spread only over the two northern provinces — Shan-tung and Pechili. The south is still quiet, and the mandarins and viceroys in this region are not in sympathy with the riotous reactionaries of Peking. The reform party was especially strong in the south of China. It there took on a specific national character, connected its propaganda with Chinese traditions, and thus excited the suspicion and anger of the Manchu party at Peking. If it is still time for a rational policy to prevail in Chinese affairs among the European Powers, it should be their aim to give all possible aid to the viceroys of the southern region in maintaining order and in resisting the spread of rebellion beyond the northern provinces. On account of the general demoralization of the central Government, more can be accomplished by influencing the local officials than by appealing to the authorities at Peking. It would, however, be essential for the success of such a policy to give assurances to the moderates in China that the conquest and division of the Empire would not be attempted by the Western Powers.

The only policy that seems comparatively without danger at the present time is for the Powers to seize Peking and to restore order in the northern provinces before the conflagration has time to spread farther. Then, by strengthening the moderate party in China, it might be still possible to preserve the old forms and the unity of the Empire, and yet to give it a government which would be open to the influences of civilized nations. Should the uprising spread and become general throughout the Empire, it would be a fearful calamity for



China and for civilization. The total dissolution of government and society would lead to the most terrible suffering and loss of life among the Chinese themselves, who are full of factional hatred and animosities. The woes of anarchy and war would be charged to the original meddling of foreigners; and the seed of bitter hostility to the West and its ideas would be sown throughout China. A pacific fusion of Oriental and Western civilization in China would become impossible, and even if the Western Powers should succeed in the gigantic task of pacifying the raging forces, the smouldering embers of resistance could not be extinguished. The most probable consequence of a failure of the southern viceroys to maintain order would be either the relapse of China into absolute barbarism or the acquisition of sovereignty over it by either of the great Oriental Powers, Russia or Japan. It is a mistake to believe that the Chinese can be governed like the Hindoos. They are of a different fibre; they assimilate their rulers; and only an Oriental Power could exert a permanent mastery over them.

PAUL S. REINSCH.

## JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINA.

THE "Yellow Peril" is a new name for an old idea; or, to be more precise, it is the epigrammatic expression as positive belief of what has hitherto been advanced merely as hypothetical opinion. The dormant potentialities of China, the possibilities of good or evil to the civilized world from the adoption of an intelligent militant policy by her rulers, are familiar themes. Her immense population and the practically unlimited resources of her vast empire appeal irresistibly to the imagination, and induce forecasts that are like gorgeous day-dreams, but not without many elements of plausibility; for these anticipations of China's future have a solid substratum of fact as a basis.

Says Mr. E. T. Sheppard, who was for years consul of the United States at Tien-Tsin:

"Potentially, China is by far the greatest productive power in the world. Her wealth does not consist of doubtful sources of production, but of immense areas of fertile lands already under cultivation, and suited to every form of agricultural employment. Her known mineral resources are of the most sterling and valuable character, and of inexhaustible extent. The whole empire is accessible by a system of navigable rivers and canals unsurpassed in the world. Her seaboard, which stretches for more than 2,000 miles along her Eastern front, is superior to that of all other Asiatic nations, and abounds in the finest deep-water harbors on the Pacific Ocean."

Given an empire like this, with an industrious and frugal population 400,000,000 in number, and no prophecy of future power can well seem overdrawn, if only it is admitted that the Chinese Government and people are ever likely to realize their opportunities or to endeavor intelligently to utilize them.

In that last hypothesis lies the crux of the whole situation. Those who advocate the theory that the awakening of China's teeming millions to a realization of their dormant strength forbodes the gravest perils to civilization take it for granted that this awakening is inevitable, and that it must, as a matter of course, assume an aggressive form. They hark back to the time when the Tartar hordes threatened to engulf Europe, and picture the rising of some leader with the ambition of a Genghis Khan, who will sweep down upon the civi-



lized world, followed by countless hosts versed in the use of all the appliances of modern warfare. This picture is a gruesome one, and in some quarters is regarded, apparently, as a serious contingency, or, at least, as a possibility which must be taken into account in dealing with the grave questions to which the present crisis in the East has given rise.

For my own part, I should be inclined to pass it by as nothing more than an interesting excursion of fancy, were it not for the fact that in some inscrutable way this foreboding as to the most probable result of the development of China's strength has led to a serious misapprehension with reference to Japan's position. To any one acquainted with the actual relations of the two nations, past and present, an assertion of the possibility of their being joined in common cause against the Western world would seem a fanciful absurdity. Nevertheless, indications are not wanting that the theory has gained credence, or at least a tentative belief, that Japan desires to acquire predominant influence in China, and that her success in the endeavor to do so will give form and substance to the shadow now known as the "Yellow Peril." Nothing could be more inaccurate, or more liable to work mischief at any time, and most of all at this juncture when union and harmony among the Powers concerned with China are so essential to the interests of civilization.

Surmises of this description will never, of course, be dignified by an official disclaimer on the part of Japan; and it should, therefore, be distinctly understood that what is herein said is merely the expression of the writer's personal opinion. With that reservation there need be no hesitation in asserting: first, that everything we know of China and her people tends to prove conclusively that the "Yellow Peril" is a wholly imaginary danger; and, second, that there can never possibly be a community of interest between Japan and China which will, in any wise, threaten Western civilization.

In forecasting the future of Chinese development there can be no safer guide than the past. China has been a field for European and American effort, religious, commercial, and political, for more than half a century. Very many of her people have been brought into more or less intimate contact with Western methods of thought and modes of energy. Her rulers have had abundant opportunities to study and adopt the agencies of modern progress which have made other nations prosperous and powerful. Nothing but the will has been lacking; and even the best informed among those who have made

China a study can only explain this lack by reference to national traits and tendencies, the outgrowth of an ancient civilization distinctly *sui generis*.

Take the Government itself as an example. It is to-day what it has been for centuries, wise and puerile, civilized and barbarous—in theory, the finished product of administrative genius of a high order, in practice oftentimes inept and inefficient. That is, it seems so to the occidental observer. Nevertheless, for a period extending back to the time when Europe was peopled by barbarians and America was unknown, in China the functions of government have been exercised under this system with few or no radical changes. Dynastic upheavals have occurred, and invaders have seized the reins of power, but only to become themselves Chinese, and to perpetuate the ancient system. Although contact with a younger and more virile civilization has revealed the weaknesses of this system, and shown it to be an anachronism, the ideas which underlie it seem to be too closely interwoven with national customs and habits of thought to be uprooted or even materially changed. They give it a vitality which may well excite our wonder. Thirty-four years ago, Dr. Williams, in his time the highest authority on China, expressing the opinion of foreign officials in Pekin, said :

“ We find that in practice the Emperor has come generally to depend on his prestige and position for the maintenance of his power, while that has, in a great measure, really passed into the hands of his provincial officers, who are made responsible for the peace of their several districts.”

On the same occasion he declared that this régime, inefficient as it was, ought not, in his opinion, to be overthrown, because the only alternative he could foresee was that the ignorant multitudes of China would become the undisciplined troops of rival chiefs.

Dr. Williams, it should not be forgotten, was a sincere friend of China, and never a harsh critic of its Government or people. It is interesting to note, therefore, that everything he says of the China of his time may be repeated, almost in the same words, of the China of to-day. He understood—no one better—the people among whom he lived for the greater part of his life, and with the highest of whom he came in intimate contact; and yet in nothing he wrote can there be detected the slightest trace of fear that China's millions would ever become a peril to civilization. In his day Chinese secret societies, and the innumerable evils they propagated and spread, were sources of disturbance as fruitful as they are to-day. The missionary



question was as complicated and as troublesome. In a word, the Chinese question, so far as the Chinese themselves were concerned, was in all essential details the identical question which at this very moment confronts us.

Dr. Williams and the observers of his time did not see in these embarrassments, or in any probable phase of China's future career, the threat of anything like a "Yellow Peril." He hoped much for the country if better government and more progressive ideas could ever be introduced, but his hopes contemplated the peaceful development of its resources and its nearer assimilation to Western ideals. So far from anticipating that China would ever be a danger to the civilized world, he thought the case would be the other way, as witness his words in a despatch written to Secretary Seward in 1867—words which, in the light of present events, seem almost prophetic:

"The preservation of the autonomy of the Chinese Empire will be hard enough, amidst all the transforming and conflicting agencies of a mercantile, missionary, and political character now pressing on it."

He believed that these agencies would recommend themselves to the Chinese people as they became better acquainted with them, and he thought he saw ground for the belief in the changes which had taken place in those portions of China which had been brought into closer contact with Western ideas since the signature of the Nankin treaty, in 1842. But in all that he wrote on this subject—and I refer now especially to his official correspondence during the many years he served as United States Chargé d'Affaires at Peking—the thought uppermost in his mind was not that China could ever by any possibility become a danger to the civilized world, but rather that the impact of civilization meant danger to China herself.

There is nothing in what Dr. Williams and other competent observers tell us of the Chinese people themselves which would lead to the belief that military aggrandizement can ever become a dominant object with them. They are a race of people in whom centuries of training in a system of ethics inculcating its principles have implanted a love for peace. As every one knows, the military profession ranks very low in Chinese estimation. Notwithstanding all the efforts which have been made for years past to improve the military organization, the results attained are surprisingly inadequate. The Chinaman makes a good soldier under favorable circumstances; but, in the great majority of instances, it is necessity, and not inclination, that leads him to adopt the profession of arms. There are exceptions, of

course, as, for example, the celebrated "Black Flags" of southern China; but the exceptions only prove the rule.

As has often been pointed out, the greatest aptitude of the Chinese, as a race, is for trade. They understand it, like it, and thrive by it. As merchants they are painstaking and progressive, liberal and enterprising, and withal scrupulously honest and exact. Nor are they petty traders merely, but merchants in the largest sense, quite capable of coping with any whom they may meet. With such a mercantile class, with an industrious and frugal population, and with the resources China possesses, the question of the development of the empire's industries and commerce would be, under ordinary circumstances, infinitely the most important factor in the problem of China's future. Unhappily, circumstances have arisen which bring other factors into consideration and cloud the whole situation. But in fulfilling the imperative duty which the present crisis in China has created, of determining responsibility and administering equal and exact justice, there is nothing which is known of the past of the Chinese nation as a whole, and nothing which can be reasonably anticipated of its future, which would justify the consideration of a chimerical danger like the so-called "Yellow Peril."

To any one familiar with Japan's history during the past three decades, or possessing anything approaching to exact knowledge of the guiding principles of her policy, it seems a work of supererogation to deny that she desires a combination with China hostile to American and European interests. The action of her Government at this juncture, supported by every exponent of intelligent public opinion in the empire, is a practical refutation of this idea. And yet it continually appears above the surface of current talk and comment, sometimes in the most unexpected places. Only a short time ago a British member of Parliament was reported as saying that while he deplored the opportunity for aggression which he thought the Chinese crisis presented to Russia, he feared also the apparently unavoidable alternative of "giving Japan too free a hand in China." Journalists have followed this promising lead, and have regaled the British public with a veritable Hobson's choice, the Russian bear, on the one hand, or the "Yellow Peril," on the other!

Such flights of fancy might be safely left to the refutation of facts, were it not for the mischief their dissemination creates at a time when mutual harmony and good feeling are of so much consequence. Only the overcredulous of those who are too careless to ascertain the truth



can believe that Japan has any feeling regarding China that differs in any degree from that of the United States, for example; and yet intimations that the Japanese people sympathize with China at the present time have appeared in the press of this country. As an instance in point, the following paragraph may be quoted; it was copied from an English newspaper published at Yokohama, and has been widely circulated in the United States:

“ Though the most influential organs seem to approve of Japan's coöperation with the Powers in coercing China, the people generally evidently feel no enthusiasm, and are more inclined than ever to sympathize with the Chinese.”

There is enough truth in statements of this kind to make them doubly mischievous. Undoubtedly, there is a great deal of sympathy in Japan for the Chinese. It would be regrettable if there were not, because it would argue very poorly for their sense of kindness and right feeling if the Japanese people viewed with satisfaction, or even with indifference, the misfortunes of their ancient neighbor. Japan owed much to China in the past, and her people have always shown their willingness to acknowledge the indebtedness. China, or at least the dominant class of Chinese officialdom, has not invariably displayed equal readiness to maintain cordial relations. But the Government and people of Japan have encountered in this respect precisely the same obstacle to the establishment of complete mutual good understanding that other governments and peoples have met in their intercourse with certain of the ruling classes of China; and they understand, as well as others, that it is not just to judge everything Chinese by the bigoted conservatism which exists among certain people in China, the attitude of whom toward all people and things foreign to their own narrow world is one of thinly veiled arrogance and contempt.

It is this mental attitude that is responsible for the outrages in China which have shocked the civilized world; and to insinuate, as is done in the above paragraph, that the Japanese people, or any number of them worth mentioning, sympathize with it, or with its manifestations, is a libel, to say the least of it. The press of Japan, without a single discordant note from any quarter, hailed the action of their Government in coöperating with the other powers in China as a proper and legitimate exercise of authority necessary in the cause of humanity, and indicative of a due regard for national dignity and honor. Of course, the same differences of opinion are expressed by the Japanese press as by the newspapers of other countries regarding

the ambitions and purposes of this or that foreign government in China, the same surmises and predictions of which that theme has been so fruitful; but with respect to the plain duty of the moment to humanity, and to the cause of civilization, there has been but one opinion, namely, that Japan owed it to herself and to the world to coöperate with the other Powers in obtaining, by all proper means, reparation for the past and reasonable guarantees for the future. As a prominent Japanese journalist justly observed, this unanimity of sentiment "proves in a striking manner the utter groundlessness of the oft-repeated apprehension in Europe and America of Japanese ambition to marshal the yellow forces to the exclusion of the white influence from Eastern Asia."

The treaty of peace concluded between Japan and China in 1895, by its stipulations enlarging the commercial privileges of all the Powers having treaty relations with China, furnishes signal proof of the liberality of Japan's policy. Its three principal features were the cession of territory, the payment of an indemnity, and the grant of new commercial rights. Through the intervention of three European Powers the first stipulation was modified so far as regarded the cession of a portion of the Liaotung peninsula. But even had that portion of the treaty remained unchanged its most notable feature would still have been the enlargement of privileges to foreign commerce granted by China. These were, in brief: (1) the opening of four new "treaty ports" in important districts; (2) the extension of the right to employ steam navigation in vessels carrying passengers and cargo on the upper Yang-tsze and Woo-sung rivers; (3) the right to rent warehouses temporarily in the interior for the storage of goods purchased there or imported; (4) the privilege of freely engaging in every kind of manufacturing industry in all the open cities, towns, and ports of China, together with the liberty of importing all kinds of machinery upon the payment of no more than the stipulated duties; and (5) the extension to articles manufactured by Japanese subjects in China, so far as regards taxes and dues of every kind and description, of the same privileges and exemptions enjoyed in respect to merchandise imported into China.

As was stated by Earl Li in a memorandum commenting upon the draft of the treaty proposed by the Japanese Plenipotentiaries during the progress of the negotiations at Shimonoseki, some of these concessions related to questions which had been much discussed with the Diplomatic Corps at Peking and which had been settled against the



privileges asked for. The concessions were included in the final draft of the treaty, however, and thereby were secured not only to Japan, but to every other nation having treaty relations with China; for, as Earl Li also stated, in the memorandum to which I have referred, "If these privileges are granted to Japanese subjects, they must necessarily be extended (by the operation of the favored nation stipulations) to all nations having treaty relations with China."

Thus it appears that Japan, in the latest and most important transactions she has had with China, utilized the advantage her arms gave her to obtain important commercial concessions not for Japanese subjects exclusively, but for the common benefit of all nations interested in the development of commerce with China. It detracts nothing from what the Japanese Government did on that occasion to say that it could not avoid the participation of the other Powers in the concessions thus obtained, but had perforce to accept it as an unavoidable result of Japan's enjoyment of them. The fact remains that Japan obtained from China for all the treaty Powers, as well as for herself, commercial privileges which the Chinese Government had repeatedly refused to yield to the foreign representatives at Peking, the surrender of which it resisted at Shimonoseki, and in lieu of which it would, in all probability, have preferred to make other concessions in which the treaty Powers would not necessarily have participated.

It would be foolish to deny that the Liaotung retrocession, especially in the light of after events, created an unpleasant impression on the public mind in Japan; but it may be safely asserted that it left no indelible scar. Putting other considerations to one side for the moment, attention may be called to the fact that the retention of the peninsula would have imposed a heavy financial burden, with little or no return. Under certain contingencies it might have meant, also, the unavoidable adoption of a policy not consonant with Japan's best interests. In a word, it was a heavy responsibility, which, as subsequent events have shown, bade fair to prove more embarrassing than advantageous. The world understands the circumstances under which the retrocession was made, and it may be reasonably presumed that the knowledge has not injured Japan's prestige. We may go even a step farther and hope that it has strengthened her with those nations which do not desire the partition of China, but are determined to participate in the commercial and industrial advantages that the prospective development of the empire promises to all. The retrocession serves, therefore, to emphasize the fact—a fact undoubtedly fully recognized

by the Japanese Government and people—that Japan's best interests do not lie in the direction of what has been euphemistically termed territorial "exploitation" in China, and, as a natural corollary, that the truest exposition of her policy is to be found in those portions of the Shimonoseki Treaty which provide for peaceful commercial and industrial expansion.

The war of 1894 was the result of complications in Korea, rendered unbearable, after repeated attempts at amelioration on Japan's part, by constantly recurring exhibitions of that species of tortuous diplomacy of which China is preëminently past mistress. The acquisition of territory formed no part of Japan's original design. It was the result of the fortunes of war and not of deliberate initiative. The final result leaves Japan precisely where her friends would wish to have her stand, *vis-à-vis* with China, not land hungry or eager for aggrandizement at the expense of her neighbor, but desirous of the continued expansion of commercial and industrial interests, which near neighborhood and rights justly and lawfully acquired entitle her to expect that other nations will respect. Consequently, her attitude as regards the present crisis in Chinese affairs does not differ in any wise from that of the United States or of the other Powers whose only desire is to protect their people and to safeguard their political and commercial interests.

It is natural, no doubt, but none the less to be regretted, that the present unhappy condition of things should have given renewed prominence to the question of China's partition. But, if we pause for sober reflection, the thought immediately suggests itself that this crisis is the strongest argument that could be possibly adduced against the expediency, if not the justice and honesty, of such action on the part of the Powers. The overthrow of government as at present organized, and the attempt to introduce foreign rule in China, would mean the infinite multiplication of troubles like the present. Think of the cost in life and treasure, and estimate the possible profit. This vast empire, bound by the traditions and conventions of an ancient civilization, is not to be divided as one cuts an orange. The Government may be weak and inefficient, corrupt, what you please; but it cannot be suddenly uprooted without precipitating a national convulsion beside which the existing difficulties would seem insignificant.

It is undoubtedly a fact that the great body of the Chinese people have little or no affection for the dynasty which rules them. Plots against it are apparently widespread; but the one great at-



tempt to overthrow it, the Taiping rebellion, was accompanied by a horrible devastation the scars of which may still be seen. In a social fabric honeycombed as is that of China by secret societies like the Boxers, and permeated by dislike for foreigners and foreign methods, any attempt to supplant the present form of government by foreign rule would undoubtedly be followed by a general conflagration in all parts of the empire which would dwarf even the fearful Taiping episode. It hardly seems possible that the powers would be so oblivious to their real interests, not to mention all humane considerations, as to make the present crisis an excuse for precipitating what would virtually be a state of chaos in China, wherein no power could hope to obtain any material benefit, and which would leave the stain of criminal responsibility upon those who caused it.

The problem of China's future presents great and complicated questions to which no one has yet pretended to give anything like satisfactory answers. The empire may be regenerated by the gradual attrition of contact with foreign methods, especially through the agencies of commerce, for which its people have so great an aptitude, and by progressive tutelage as to the benefits to be derived from the adoption of Western industrial appliances. Or the process of disintegration already to be noted may go on by degrees until China is divided into different states coterminous with racial and geographic lines. But, what is best of all, it may happen that the present crisis itself will furnish a solution, inasmuch as it will give the opportunity for a full and frank exchange of views by all the Powers, which may make it possible to establish a just and reasonable *modus vivendi* for themselves and for China. Therefore, nothing should be more strongly deprecated than hints of incipient jealousies, hostile views, and divergent intentions.

The immediate task is self-evident and imperative. It is the enforcement of reparation for the past, and of such respect for the dictates of humanity and solemn treaty obligations as shall afford security for the future, followed by such a strengthening of the hands of the best elements of legitimate, constituted authority as shall give the most reasonable promise of tranquillity hereafter. In coöperating in the performance of this task, Japan, it may be confidently predicted, will be found acting with those who regard their debt to humanity at this juncture as superior to any consideration of selfish advantage.

D. W. STEVENS.

## THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS COMPARED.

PARTY platforms, generally speaking, are a collection of meaningless platitudes, framed to be honored more in the breach than in the observance. They are the adroit expressions of experienced and skillful politicians, who dangle the alluring phrases before the undecided voters, and then care little whether the pledges are ever redeemed. It is only in unusual cases, when the public mind is centred upon some all-important question, that the platform utterances really prove factors in a Presidential campaign. The tariff has, in years past, played such a part, and the exciting struggle of 1896 over the free coinage of silver is too recent to be yet forgotten. In the latter case, especially, the declaration was positive and specific, its purpose not being disguised in a jumble of words.

It is rather interesting to note, also, that while a platform may be as long as the moral law, and include every topic of past, present, and future interest, the American people very quickly focus the struggle upon a very few issues. I scarcely believe that one out of ten readers of *THE FORUM* can to-day recall one-half the number of subjects included in the Republican and Democratic platforms of 1896, not to speak of the declarations of previous years. The intensity of the American mind, its constant trend toward concentration, could not be more emphatically illustrated than in this elimination of all subsidiary topics and the filling of the political horizon with one object. When the tariff was the all-engrossing theme, people read, listened, and studied as if there was naught else in the world. The campaign of education on the silver question was one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of the United States.

Thus we find to-day that, despite many apparently important issues, the campaign simmers down to one or two, possibly three, really vital and engrossing questions. There are some pessimistic people who insist that even these can be reduced to the simple matter of being "for" or "against" the Government. Literally this is



true; for the Government is the administration in power, and the final question is, Shall the record of the Government be approved or disapproved? In fact, it seems now to be the purpose of the Republican managers to bring this question of endorsement into prominence. "Are you for McKinley or are you against him, and why?" are the inquiries addressed to the voters. The answer, of course, involves a discussion of all the issues which have been raised since he became President. Meanwhile, the platform, with its multiplicity of declarations, is lost sight of, and one wonders why it was prepared. Indeed, few planks need to have been included in it. Three planks, relating respectively to the foreign policy of the Government, to trusts, and to the currency, defining the position of each party, would have sufficed. All other issues will be subordinated by the people, and any orator upon the stump who ignores this trio of important topics, and seeks to interest his auditors in minor matters, will either have to return quickly from his diversion, or else will find himself deserted by the impatient crowd.

This being the case, it is worth while to analyze the position assumed by the Republican and Democratic parties in the platforms recently adopted at the Philadelphia and Kansas City conventions. The Democrats sound their keynote in a single sentence, as follows:

"The burning issue of imperialism, growing out of the Spanish war, involves the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions, and we regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign."

And as if still further to emphasize the paramount nature of imperialism as an issue, nearly one-third of the platform is devoted to a discussion of the Philippine policy. For purposes of comparison I shall place the Republican and Democratic utterances side by side:

#### "REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

"In accepting, by the treaty of Paris, the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government, and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law. To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed."

## " DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

" We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has involved the republic in unnecessary war, sacrificing the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperilling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation: First, of a stable form of government; second, independence, and third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

" The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even the sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

" We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory, which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of different islands to be governed outside the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens.

" We are in favor of extending the republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example."

The points of difference between the two parties are here very clearly defined. The Democrats say that the present situation in the Philippines is the result of a " war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos "; the Republicans assert that it is simply the exercise of rightful authority in suppressing an " armed insurrection."

Which is right? This is one of the questions which the people must decide for themselves next November. There is no lack of literature on the subject. The preliminary debate occupied many hours of the last session of Congress, especially in the Senate, which, after all, has usurped the position formerly enjoyed by the House of Representatives—of being a great forum for popular discussion. Much was said on both sides, but no conclusive word was spoken, and each individual voter, if he proposes to have his judgment and his ballot depend upon the justice or injustice of the present war in the Philippines, must study the question for himself. If he is led to believe that the Filipinos were our allies and were promised independence; that the first shot which started the " insurrection " was fired from the American lines without provocation; and that the Filipinos are now battling for that liberty which led our forefathers to lay down their lives on Bunker Hill, then he will regard the Democratic platform as a true state-



ment of the case. If, on the other hand, he is convinced that the Filipinos wantonly attacked our soldiers, and that the aggressive operations against them are necessary for the United States to maintain her authority, he will accept the declaration of the Republicans and be content. It is not, however, the province of this article to present the testimony offered on both sides, the substance of which forms the basis for the platform utterances.

The Democratic platform not only asserts that imperialism is the paramount issue; but it defines imperialism as being "the seizing or purchasing of distant islands, to be governed outside of the Constitution, and whose people can never become citizens." There is, in my opinion, no question of the accuracy of this definition. A republic is composed of free and equal citizens, enjoying the largest amount of individual liberty consistent with the welfare of society, and exercising absolute authority in the matter of government. In an empire the ruler is forced upon the people. The Democrats claim that we have placed the Filipinos in this position, and that even in the case of Porto Rico, where the authority of the United States was not disputed, the Republican majority in Congress declined to allow the people the privilege of living under the Constitution of the United States.

Curiously enough, the Republican platform is silent upon this question of tariff legislation for Porto Rico. The omission carries with it the confession that the action of Congress was either indefensible or discreditable. It would seem as if the Republican party ought to have had the courage to endorse its own action. From my knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the preparation of the platform, I might add, parenthetically, that I take no stock in the assertion that the omission was accidental.

It seems to me, viewing both platforms as a judge would consider briefs filed in court, that the Democratic deliverance presents the strongest case. True, it is *ex parte* in the highest degree; but the fact remains that, upon its face, the Democratic indictment is much more complete and logical than the Republican demurrer. We find in the former not only a denunciation of imperialism, with an adequate definition of the term, but also a specific assertion of policy for the future. One may not agree with the solution that is offered; but that is, after all, a matter of opinion. The platform asserts that the Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization, and cannot be subjects without imperilling our form of government; there-

fore, the Democrats would give them a stable form of government and their independence under a protectorate.

The Republicans, on the other hand, deal in glittering generalities. They propose to confer upon the Filipinos "the blessings of liberty and civilization," and to secure them "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties." These are large-sounding words, but they are elusive. Who is to determine how large a measure of self-government is consistent with their welfare and our duties? On this point the platform is silent. When is this determination to be reached? Again we are left to wander in a maze of indefinite language. In fact, if the policy of the Republican party is to be learned at all, it must be found, not in the declaration of the National Convention, but in the utterances of President McKinley and other recognized leaders. Compared with some of these expressions, the platform itself seems sadly lacking in emphasis and definite purpose.

It is a rather curious fact that nowhere in the Republican platform does the word "expansion" occur. There is no self-glorification over the acquisition of large areas of territory, no attractive word-painting of the value of such new possessions. The Democrats, on the other hand, discuss expansion, and draw a distinction between territory acquired by every peaceful and legitimate means for purposes of Statehood and additional citizenship and the possession of distant, dependent colonies. Here again we see the superiority of the Democratic platform, considered merely as the presentation of one side of the case, over the document to which formal sanction was given by the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention. It may be that the Republicans considered expansion a fact accomplished, but by the same reasoning they should have ignored the gold standard law.

In fact, the more one considers the two platforms, the more marked does the contrast between them become. The Republican declaration consists of an infinite number of brief paragraphs, which scatter like bird shot discharged from a gun. Its very multiplicity of subjects, ranging from good roads to the loyal devotion of women nurses during the Spanish war, mars its effectiveness. The vast amount of ground which it covers tends to weaken it, both force and earnestness being totally lacking. The Democratic platform is like a thirteen-inch shell, all the ammunition being practically concentrated in one charge. If this single issue of Imperialism, upon which the Democrats have entered the campaign, proves to be as powerful in arousing opposi-



tion and criticism as the Democrats anticipate, great will be their victory. If it misses the mark, there is no chance of striking the target of the Presidency with scattering shot.

It is also a notable fact that the strenuous efforts made by the Republican party, at the last session of Congress, to secure a larger standing army, find no words of approval in the Republican platform. Again, therefore, we find the document more interesting for what it does not say than for its actual declarations. In view of the very large German vote and its alleged hostility to any increase in the military establishment, one can readily understand why the platform ignored this important subject.

Without commenting on this silence, the Democrats take their stand very vigorously against the proposed increase. Their position is admirably stated in the following extract from their platform :

“ We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation, and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription. When the nation is in danger, the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history, and coeval with the Philippine conquest, has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, undemocratic, and unrepblican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.”

Some allowance must, of course, be made for the fact that it is easier to criticise than to praise; that denunciation can be more emphatically expressed than commendation. But even when we take this allowance into consideration, it is not difficult to see that the Republicans have not made the most of their opportunities. It is fortunate for them that the Presidential campaign will not be decided upon the issues as they are presented in the two platforms.

As with imperialism and militarism, so with trusts. Here again we find the Democratic platform detailed and specific, the Republican platform brief and general. Let me place the two declarations side by side :

#### “ REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

“ We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain



and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce."

"DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

"Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their unsatiated greed is checked, all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed. The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in State and National platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are legitimate products of Republican policies; that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

"We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced, and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and requiring all corporations to show, before doing business outside of the State of their origin, that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by an enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

"The failure of the Republican administration, with an absolute control over all the branches of the national Government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books, proves the insincerity of the high-sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

"Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

"We condemn the Dingley tariff as a trust-breeding measure, skilfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear."

What does the Democratic party do? It pledges itself to an unceasing warfare against private monopoly in every form; to enforce existing laws, and to enact more stringent ones requiring publicity; to amend the tariff laws by placing products of a trust on the free list; and to deal severely with corporations which attempt to influence legislation or public affairs. In the Democratic platform, therefore, we find trusts not only severely denounced, but a remedy for the evil suggested. It may not be the proper remedy, but it is, at least, offered to the voter in a straightforward manner.

The Republican platform, on the other hand, indulges in a wholesale condemnation, and "favors such legislation as will effectively re-



strain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce." It is almost impossible to consider this assertion in serious spirit. Judging from the record of the past, the Republican party favors nothing of the kind, or, at least, its leaders do not. Certain it is that under Republican administration the laws against trusts have not been enforced; and the attempt made in the House of Representatives, during the last session of Congress, to pass a constitutional amendment was simply a transparent humbug. The Republican party may suffer innocently from a bad name, but I do not believe that one voter in ten in the United States honestly thinks that, if continued in power, it will wage successful warfare upon the trusts. It is possible that the Democratic party, if installed next March, will be equally reluctant to show a hostile hand. This is not a question now in dispute. The point which I desire to emphasize is that the Republican platform declaration, considered in the light of the record of the party, is of no value whatever.

Having shown the vital issues upon which the platforms disagree, and having analyzed the character of the differences, let me now point out the particulars in which they are identical. Both endorse the irrigation of arid land, which is a local issue in the doubtful State of Wyoming. Both throw a sop to the old soldiers, as well as the new ones, by endorsing a liberal pension policy; this being cheap demagoguery, with its purpose not even thinly disguised. Both favor the construction of an inter-oceanic canal; the Republicans deftly using the word "isthmian," and the Democrats committing themselves to the Nicaragua route.

In this case, as in the declaration for Statehood for the Territories, one cannot help remembering that the Republican party, after being in absolute control of the executive and legislative branches of the Government for four years, has failed in its opportunity to enact laws covering both these subjects; so that its assurances for the future cannot be accepted with the most sanguine spirit. It is well known that Arizona and New Mexico are too Democratic in their inclinations to expect Statehood at the hands of any Republican administration. In the same way, the declaration regarding the inter-oceanic canal must be considered in its relation to past events. Senator Hanna, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and leader of the party, voted against a favorable report on the Nicaragua Canal Bill in committee; and consideration of the measure in the Senate was prevented

by the votes of the Republican majority. There never was an hour in the Senate, at its last session, when it would not have been possible to pass the Nicaragua Canal Bill, if Senator Hanna and his Republican colleagues had lowered their bars of opposition. I will not undertake to suggest why the Republican party should have thus placed itself in antagonism to an enterprise universally supported by the people of the United States. I only desire to point out that platform declarations do not always stand the test of analysis and of comparison with facts.

Upon minor issues, the Republican platform demands protection to American labor, urges restriction of immigration, appeals for the development of the merchant marine — which means a subsidy of at least \$9,000,000 a year to a special class — commends civil service reform, denounces negro disfranchisement in Southern States, commends extension of the free rural delivery system, and promises reduction of the war taxes. Upon all of these subjects the Democratic platform is silent. On the other hand, the Democrats suggest amendment of the interstate commerce law, endorse the election of senators by the people, oppose government by injunction, ask for a Department of Labor, and suggest a more rigid enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law; all these subjects being ignored by the Republicans. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether these omissions, by one party or the other, will have any effect upon the voters. The outcome of the campaign will be determined by graver issues than those just cited.

Four years ago, the Republicans, after a struggle of no mean interest, inserted the word “gold” in the financial plank of their platform at St. Louis, but emphasized the tariff issue, intending to make their fight upon the latter, Mr. McKinley being the embodiment of the protection idea, and the country having just emerged from the dark shadow of a panic caused by the disastrous effect of a low-tariff law upon manufacturing industries. But, to paraphrase a familiar quotation, “Politicians propose, and the people dispose”; so that, in the middle of the campaign, the Republicans were forced to drop the tariff and make their fight upon the money question. In 1896, the question whether the United States should adopt the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, without the aid or consent of any other nation on earth, was uppermost. It was determined in the negative, and the adverse decision was later clinched by the enactment of a law which recognized gold as the only legal standard.

Under these circumstances, we find the Republican party in 1900



declaring positive and unqualified allegiance to the gold standard. In 1896, the mention of gold in the platform was assented to with much misgiving, and even Mr. McKinley, in his speech of acceptance, hesitated at taking what seemed to be a dangerous plunge into the icy waters of monometallism. In 1900, the Republican party, irretrievably committed to the single gold standard, declares as follow :

“ We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard, and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.”

No hint here of bimetallism ; no promise to seek the coöperation of foreign powers ; no expression of the slightest friendliness toward silver ; no desire to propitiate, even in remote degree, the great mass of voters who honestly believe in a bimetallic standard. Very different is this attitude from that assumed in 1896, and very courageous, also. It is a plain notification that no bimetallists are wanted in the Republican party ; and it has some importance in view of the fact that large numbers of Republican voters who believed, in 1896, that their platform pledges of bimetallism would be redeemed may vote this year against the party that gave them gold monometallism instead, which enlarged the powers and privileges of the national banks, and which promises to add in the future to the money-making opportunities of these institutions.

Defeated on the money issue in 1896, the Democrats had the choice this year of either ignoring or evading it, or of boldly reiterating the declaration upon which they staked all and lost four years ago. Mr. Bryan chose the latter. I say Mr. Bryan, because upon him alone must the responsibility for the action rest. The sentiment of 600 out of the 900 delegates in the Kansas City convention was against it. They believed that the adverse judgment which had been rendered by a majority of the country had settled the question of the advisability

of the free coinage of silver, and they did not want to inject into a campaign which promised victory an issue which would invite defeat. Mr. Bryan, however, willed otherwise, and to his dominating judgment the delegates obediently bowed. It can be said for Mr. Bryan that no other course was open to him. Free coinage of silver had been his shibboleth. To have abandoned it would have been a confession of weakness, an exhibition of political expediency entirely foreign to his nature.

At the same time, we find in the financial plank which he dictated a suggestion of bimetallism, the purpose of which is plainly evident. It is noticeable, also, that this plank is injected into the platform most inconspicuously. It reads as follows:

"We reaffirm and endorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

The Republicans already signify their intention of emphasizing this 16 to 1 declaration, and hope by this means to frighten back into the Republican party any voter who may have contemplated departure therefrom. Whether they will be able thus to make substance out of shadow is a doubtful question. The great mass of the people must realize that any repeal or even modification of the gold-standard law is impossible until the present anti-silver majority in the Senate is converted into a minority, and this is not likely to occur for some years to come. It would be difficult, also, to secure a House of Representatives with a majority for the free coinage of silver. Under these circumstances, it seems almost impossible to infuse life into the currency question. However, with corporate interests, and with individual representatives of allied capital, the fear of silver coinage will be ever present, and they will aid neither by contribution nor vote the candidate who stands upon the silver platform.

It is worth remembering, also, that these corporations and individual capitalists would not have succored Bryan, no matter whether the platform contained a specific declaration for free coinage, or was wholly silent. To them, Bryan is committed by every possible pledge to the cause of silver. Their eyes are fastened upon him, and not upon the platform of his party.

At the same time, the financial planks of the two platforms stand



for something entirely apart — the Republican, for the unadulterated gold standard ; the Democratic, for an alleged bimetallism based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver. To this extent the money issue is much more sharply defined than it was in 1896, when both parties were pledged to bimetallism, although promising to secure that result by different paths. The platforms of 1900 are not to be misinterpreted. There can be no room for doubt. There is no disguising of purpose. The Republicans have taken an advanced radical stand, the wisdom of which seems justified by a prosperity which, while it may be only temporary, is at least very real while it lasts.

Mention of prosperity leads me to the discussion of a point favoring the Republican campaign which, after all, stands beyond mere pre-election promises, namely, the remarkable prosperity accompanying the present Republican administration. The Republican platform very properly begins with a glowing eulogy of the general and abundant good times. I took occasion to point out in *THE FORUM*, as long ago as last May, that if the Republicans crossed to victory this fall, prosperity would be their one ample, indestructible bridge. That I reflected the views of the Republican managers is shown by the fact that they make prosperity the keynote of their platform. There is no doubt that the development of trade, with its consequent employment of labor, during President McKinley's administration, would afford, even if there were no other reasons, a strong and possibly effective argument for his reëlection.

I do not care, and neither does the country care, whether or not this great revival of industry was due to causes over which the Republican party in general, and President McKinley in particular, had no control. That is not the question. The great mass of the people do not analyze. They simply know that whereas once they were blind, now they see; that whereas they were sick, now they are well. To them this happy change occurred under McKinley's administration, and they are disposed to give him the credit for it, just as they would have charged him with being responsible for all the ills of bad times, if such affliction had befallen them during his administration. Consequently, the right of the Republican party to take credit to itself for what may simply have been good fortune cannot be questioned.

In the midst of all the perplexing problems which have arisen, and which are a long distance from solution, prosperity is the one incontestable fact. It appeals to every citizen, requiring no argument, admitting of no dispute. It stands in direct contrast to the dark days

of the last Democratic administration, and it is not surprising that the Democratic platform does not refer to it, even in indirect fashion.

In somewhat the same spirit the Republicans indulge in self-laudation over the successful conclusion of the war with Spain. "It was a war," says the platform, "unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action, its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship." As a matter of fact, it was the persistent urging of the minority in Congress which finally brought the administration to the point of declaring that Cuba must be free and independent, and thus made war inevitable. "The skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship" had nothing whatever to do with the signal triumph of the land and naval forces; while the unanimity with which all parties cheerfully voted the \$50,000,000 emergency fund and upheld the hands of the President removed the war from the plane of partisan politics. It is safe to say that under a Democratic administration there would have been exhibited the same patriotic courage of soldiers and sailors, and the results achieved would have been just as glorious. On the other hand, we find in the Democratic platform a condemnation of "the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England." As a matter of fact, this is pure nonsense. There is no ground for charging the administration with any alliance, concealed or open, with Great Britain. All this is very cheap politics on both sides.

There is equally slight ground for arraigning the administration, as the Democrats do, for its failure to speak a word of sympathy for the Boers. The President, as the Republican platform accurately states, "tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic." This was all that could be done under The Hague treaty, which pledges our non-intervention in European politics, in return for which the Monroe Doctrine has been formally recognized, and will be respected by every European court. The silence maintained by the Republican majority in Congress concerning the struggles of the Boers is, however, by the Democrats made a political issue. There is absolutely no reason why it should be injected into the campaign.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.



## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1900 FROM A DEMOCRATIC POINT OF VIEW.

THE purposes of this article are : (1) to define the position of the Democratic party on the leading issues of the campaign ; (2) to consider what would be the probable effect on each issue in the event of the success of the one party or the other ; and (3) to venture a forecast as to the result of the election.

By leading issues is meant those issues which are most conspicuous, which will attract the most attention, and which will be the most generally discussed. In this class it is safe to say that there are but three. These are what are usually called the money question, the trust question, and imperialism. Other questions will, of course, claim more or less attention, in a minor degree ; but the battle of this year will be fought out around the three principal issues stated, and the result will depend upon the final judgment of the people upon those issues, singly and as a whole.

Taking these issues, then, in the order stated, let us first ascertain the exact difference between the two parties upon the money question. In its last national platform (1900), the Republican party declared in favor of the single gold standard, by which is meant that in this country we shall use gold alone as primary money, making all other forms of money subsidiary or subordinate to gold, and, for the most part, redeemable in it. As against that policy the Democratic party declared in favor of the free coinage and use of both silver and gold as primary money, at the legal ratio of 16 to 1, and this without waiting for the aid of any other nation. Both parties favor the use of gold as standard money. The free use of that metal, therefore, is not involved in this issue between the parties. But the Democratic party goes further, and favors the use of silver, also, on equal terms with gold, as standard money, at a precise ratio to be fixed by law. The present legal ratio is 16 to 1, and has been for over eighty years, and the Democratic party favors the reopening of our mints to the coinage of both metals at that ratio. The ratio,

however, is of minor importance, is, indeed, but an incident to the main question. The main question is that both metals shall be freely coined into standard money; the ratio of coinage being of secondary consequence. If both metals are coined, a ratio is of course necessary, but what it should be must depend upon circumstances.

Ratio is not necessarily an immutable quantity. It has been changed, and can be changed again, if need be. Republicans say that if we coin silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, the silver dollar will be worth less than the gold dollar, will have a smaller purchasing power, and that, in consequence, we shall have two measures of different values. They say, also, that silver, coined at that ratio, being a cheaper money, would drive gold out of circulation; that it would disturb our exchanges and make commerce with foreign nations difficult; and that it would be dishonest to creditors, since it would compel them to take less than had been promised to them. But while the Republicans make these special pleas against the particular ratio mentioned, they are in fact opposed to the free coinage of silver at any ratio. The fundamental objection made to the ratio of 16 to 1 is that the bullion value of the silver dollar would be only about one-half the bullion value of the gold dollar; and, therefore, it is said, that the intrinsic value of the two dollars would be so radically different that parity between them could not be maintained. But if parity between them could be maintained, that is to say, if the gold dollar and the silver dollar could be made to have the same, or substantially the same, intrinsic value and purchasing power, then they would be interchangeable, and the evils apprehended from coining both, whether real or imaginary, would disappear. If this parity or equality of value cannot be maintained at the ratio of 16 to 1, then it certainly can be at some other ratio.

Now, we Democrats believe in sound money, in parity, in equality in the purchasing power of dollars, and all that, as much as anybody believes in them. If any person, or party, who really desires bimetallism believes that the ratio of 16 to 1 is not a correct ratio, we are ready to discuss that minor phase of the question with a view to reaching an agreement. But we cannot discuss that subject with gold-standard Republicans, for the reason that they are opposed, as above stated, to the free coinage of silver at any ratio. In other words, they are opposed to bimetallism. Upon the coinage question, therefore, the difference between the two parties is fundamental. The Democratic party stands for bimetallism, while the Republican



party stands for monometallism; and, concisely stated, that is the real difference between the two.

Up to 1896 both parties professed to favor bimetallism; both pretended to believe that the general welfare would be best promoted by the impartial use of both metals. In 1888 the Republican party, and Mr. McKinley personally, even went so far as to criticise Mr. Cleveland for his unfriendliness to silver. In 1896, for the first time, the Republicans declared in effect that the United States could not, unaided and alone, successfully maintain bimetallism, and then declared in favor of the single gold standard until international bimetallism could be secured, at the same time pledging themselves to exhaust every effort to bring about an international agreement.

After the election, a pretence was actually made of carrying out that pledge. A Commission was appointed by the President and sent abroad to open up the subject with European Powers. But it was only a pretence, for hardly had the Commission reached Europe, when the Secretary of the Treasury declared in a public speech that this country was committed, as a matter of interest and of choice, to the gold standard, and would not depart from it. This speech was cabled to all the European capitals, and, of course, blocked the way to any successful negotiation. Since then the Republicans have thrown off all disguise. They have come out unqualifiedly for the gold standard, and, both by legislation and executive action, have done everything they could to commit the country irretrievably to that policy. But, while the Republicans have now come to this extreme point, the significant fact remains that, as a party, they advocated bimetallism until after McKinley's election. If, then, bimetallism is a bad thing in Republican estimation, it has become so within the last three years, unless they are willing to admit that for years before they were trying to deceive the people, being afraid to show their hand, by pretending to believe what they did not believe.

Democrats still believe in the quantitative theory of money. They believe that the value of property, and of wages, is largely dependent upon the value of money in existence and available; or, stating it differently, they believe that the purchasing power of money depends to a great extent upon the quantity of money—the purchasing power being greatest when the quantity is the smallest, and *vice versa*—and that the debt-paying power of property is correspondingly affected by the same cause. They believe that an inadequate supply of money is advantageous only to those who hold interest-bearing securities, or

have fixed incomes, and this because it enhances the value of their possessions; but they believe also that an inadequate supply is always injurious to the great body of the people, and to the country at large. If, for any reason, money is scarce, business stagnates, enterprise falters, property values fall. In 1896, and for some time before and after, the business situation was extremely bad, due in large measure to an inadequate supply of money. The phenomenal gold discoveries since made have added enormously to the world's money supply; more, indeed, than had been previously added from year to year by the use of both metals. This increase, most welcome, although unexpected, has resulted in a substantial improvement in business conditions, and that proves the Democratic position true — that prosperity is greatest when the volume of standard money most nearly meets the demand and the need of the *whole* country and the world. It is upon these conceptions that the contention of the Democratic party for bimetallism is chiefly predicated.

Now, what would be the effect of Mr. McKinley's election upon this question, and what the effect of Mr. Bryan's election? If Mr. McKinley should be elected, it is safe to say that, so far as the single question of silver coinage is concerned, nothing would be done during his term. The gold people have got about all they want in that particular, and they would be content to leave the coinage question as it is. No doubt they would strive to procure, and probably would procure, the passage of additional currency legislation — retiring the greenbacks, for instance, and conferring greater privileges upon national banks; but the coinage situation would probably remain undisturbed.

Practically the same effect as to the coinage would follow in the event of Mr. Bryan's election. The Senate, by a large majority, is pronouncedly committed to the gold standard, and there is not one chance in fifty that any legislation favorable to silver coinage could be enacted during Mr. Bryan's term. The effect on silver coinage, therefore, during the ensuing Presidential term, would be practically the same whether Mr. Bryan or Mr. McKinley should be elected. There would be an important difference in effect, however, as relates to other phases of the money question. If Mr. Bryan should be elected the greenbacks would not be retired, and the national banks would cease forthwith to exercise sovereignty over the financial affairs of the people. And even as to the coinage question, silver would have its friends, instead of its enemies, in power — friends who would strive intelligently and conscientiously to restore it to its old place in the



confidence and affairs of the business world, both in America and Europe. However, while the principle of bimetallism is as important as ever, events transpiring since 1896 make it, as a practical question, of less immediate consequence in this campaign than it was in the last.

Second, the trust question. The trust is a recent invention. Formerly there were pools and combinations of divers descriptions, and they still exist to a greater or less extent; but the trust, so-called, is the latest industrial device of that character. It is also the most formidable contrivance of that character yet conceived, the most intricate, the most elusive, and the most dangerous. Pools and like combinations, entered into between separate corporations, can be easily attacked and broken up when they are formed in violation of law; but the trust is organized to avoid attack by pretending to get rid of the idea of a combination. It is made by organizing a corporation, distinct and separate, and then, by some hocus-pocus, obtaining ownership of the properties of other corporations. Instead of several corporations combining, each retaining its own corporate existence and activity, the trust is formed by the several corporations who enter it practically dissolving after merging their business and possessions into the trust corporation. But the purpose of the trust, like that of the simpler organizations out of which it grew, is monopoly. Its purpose is to restrict and, if possible, to destroy competition, and to establish monopoly. The trust corporations are fast acquiring control of all the important industries of the country. Competition is being driven from the field, and the era of the trust is upon us. Of the bad effect, in a practical way, of industrial monopoly on the public welfare, it is not the purpose of this article to treat; nor is it necessary, since they are so well and generally known. It may be said, however, that monopoly has been odious to the common law for a thousand years; jurists and publicists, almost without exception, have denounced it as against a wise and beneficent public policy; and drastic statutes have been enacted against it by parliaments, congresses, and legislatures. Still, the trusts multiply and monopoly grows apace.

What to do with the trusts has become one of the leading questions of this campaign. Both parties profess to be opposed to them; the platforms of both parties treat them as a public evil; and both promise to provide some remedy for the evil. In this state of the case, what would be the probable difference in effect upon this question, if any, by the election of one candidate or the other? A remedy can be proposed either to regulate the trusts or to destroy them.

Would Mr. McKinley attempt the more radical measure? The Republican platform offers no specific suggestions as to remedy; it is vague and general in its terms. Senator Hanna has said that trusts are a natural evolution of modern commerce, and that they have come to stay; and Senator Hanna ordinarily speaks for the Republican party. Attempted regulation of some indefinite character, therefore, would be the best that could be expected in the event of Mr. McKinley's re-election. Whether that attempt even would be made is more than doubtful; for, after nearly four years of opportunity, with trusts multiplying every day, no such attempt has been made by the President. And even if it should be made, considering the fact that the trusts are the largest contributors to the Republican campaign funds, it is questionable whether the Republican party would regulate the trusts, or whether the trusts would regulate the Republican party. He is an ungrateful man who smites the hand that succors him.

Mr. Bryan would undoubtedly attempt to extirpate and eradicate the trusts. There is not a trust magnate in America who does not believe that. Can that be done, if the whole power of the Government should be used to accomplish it? Why not? The Democratic platform proposes a means of defining trusts, and points out some specific remedies against them, which, if enforced, would make them unprofitable and impossible. But, if only the milder method of regulating them should be attempted, whose hands could be the better trusted to put a stiff bit on and hold the reins most firmly — McKinley's or Bryan's? The practical difference in the effect of electing the one candidate or the other would be this: If Mr. McKinley should be elected, the trust question would sink into "innocuous desuetude," while trusts themselves would continue to flourish; while if Mr. Bryan should be elected, the question would remain a vital question, and the trust evil would probably disappear.

Third, as to imperialism. What is imperialism, in the sense in which the term is currently used? By the treaty of Paris, made at the end of the Spanish war, Spain ceded to the United States her claim of sovereignty and jurisdiction over the Philippine Islands. Of what honest value this Spanish claim of sovereignty was, under the circumstances, is a doubtful thing; but whatever claim she had, good or bad, Spain ceded to the United States. What shall be done with the islands now? is the question. The policy of the McKinley administration, which has been endorsed by the Republican party, is to hold the islands as a permanent part of our domain, but without



giving to them the ordinary rights of an American Territory, and without conferring upon the people thereof the ordinary rights of American citizenship. It is proposed that this Government shall exercise sovereignty over the islands and their inhabitants, keeping them in subjection to our authority, but without permitting them to enjoy the privileges attaching to our other Territories and which belong as of right to all our people, thereby making colonies of the islands and subjects of their inhabitants.

This is what is called imperialism; and imperialism, as thus defined, is the policy of the Republican party. To this policy the Democratic party is opposed. It is opposed to it because the Democratic party believes that the United States cannot, without violating the Constitution, hold the Philippine Islands as a colony, or the Filipinos as subjects. Democrats are not opposed, and have never been opposed, to the principle of territorial expansion. On the contrary, historically considered, the Democratic party occupies a unique and conspicuous place as *the* party of expansion. But, at the same time, Democrats believe that the very form and theory of our government, as well as our fundamental law, place a limitation upon the purposes for which territory may be acquired. They hold that a large area of territory cannot be constitutionally acquired and held except for the purpose of ultimately organizing it into a State, and of conferring upon its people the dignity and prerogatives of citizenship. Any attempt to introduce into our system the principle of colonial dependencies, with vassal subjects, is unwarranted by the Constitution, is destructive of our theory of government, violates our noblest traditions, and is altogether revolutionary. If the Philippine Islands are kept by us, they must be organized into Territories, with a view to Statehood, and their people must be clothed with the rights of our citizenship.

It may be admitted that the islands can be constitutionally held in this way, and for this purpose; but to hold them as the Republicans propose would be to violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution. If it should be proposed to hold the islands in a constitutional way, then a question of public policy is raised; and on the ground of public policy the Democratic party is opposed to this government exercising sovereignty over the islands in any way, or for any purpose, constitutionally or otherwise. Upon the ground of public policy, the Democratic party opposes the retention of the islands, because it would introduce into our governmental autonomy,

to be held by force in unwilling subjection, an enormous population, alien in race, thought, faith, and civilization; because it would involve us in constant embroilments, and necessitate the maintenance of a large and expensive military establishment; because it would amount to a practical abrogation of the Monroe doctrine, which is so essential to our supremacy in the Western Hemisphere, and because it would subject our industries at home to a dangerous, if not ruinous, competition. To talk of organizing American States in the Eastern Hemisphere is absurd, and to talk of organizing colonial dependencies is intolerable. So, no matter from what point the subject may be viewed, whether in defending the Constitution or in advocating a wise public policy, the Democratic party is right in opposing this Republican scheme of imperialism, for in doing so it fights for the safety of our people and the integrity of our institutions.

If Mr. McKinley should be reëlected, strengthened in his purpose by popular endorsement, he would go forward with this perilous adventure upon which he and his advisers have embarked the nation. If Mr. Bryan should be elected he would, he has said, immediately convene Congress in extraordinary session, and recommend: (1) that we establish a stable government in the Philippine Islands, as we are doing in Cuba; (2) that we grant independence to the Filipinos, as we have promised it to the Cubans; (3) that we protect the Filipinos from outside interference, just as we protect the republics of Central and South America, and as we are pledged, by the Monroe Doctrine, to protect Cuba.

Now, as to the election. What are Mr. Bryan's chances? While it is true that Mr. McKinley's plurality over Mr. Bryan in 1896 exceeded 600,000, and that his electoral majority was 95, it is also true that a change of 22,078 votes, properly distributed, would have given Mr. Bryan the States of California, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, North Dakota, Oregon, and West Virginia, which would have elected him. A change of 38,191 votes, properly distributed, would have added Maryland to the Bryan column, in addition to the States named, and thus given him the election by a majority of 23 in the electoral college. Of the eight States named, a part were carried by only slight pluralities; and the aggregate opposition vote, not cast for either Mr. McKinley or Mr. Bryan, amounted to 39,438, of which 14,303 were gold Democratic votes cast for General Palmer. These figures make it clear that the Republican victory of 1896 was not so sweeping as some would make it appear; and when we reflect



that at least half of the eight States named are ordinarily and normally Democratic, and that all are fairly debatable, and when we further reflect that most of the gold Democrats who deserted the party in 1896 are disposed this year to support the ticket, there is nothing in the returns of the last election to discourage Democrats in striving for a different result this year.

Again : In 1896 the Democratic party was in the throes of an almost savage conflict within its own ranks. Nearly one-third of the delegates to the convention that year refused further to participate in the proceedings of the convention after the adoption of the platform, and they afterwards nominated an independent Democratic ticket. No such condition as that exists now.

Again : In 1896 an almost entirely new National Committee was elected, only one member of it ever having had any experience in the conduct of a National campaign. This Committee entered upon the struggle without time for careful preparation, without a dollar in its treasury, with its party ranks divided, to face not only the Republican party, compact and powerful, with millions at its command, but to face also a hostile faction of recalcitrant Democrats, led by some of the ablest and most influential men of the party. No such condition as that exists now.

Again : The battle of 1896 was fought almost wholly upon the one issue of silver coinage. Mr. Bryan is not weaker upon that issue to-day than he was then. In one sense he is stronger — stronger in that all who voted for him upon that issue in 1896 will vote for him in 1900, while many who voted against him on that issue in 1896 will vote for him now. From this it does not necessarily follow that those who thus change their votes to Mr. Bryan at this time have changed their opinion on the silver question, but they will be moved to support him from other considerations.

Again : In a popular sense, Mr. Bryan ought to be the stronger on the trust issue than Mr. McKinley, and ought to gain more on that issue than Mr. McKinley. All those interested in trusts who voted for Mr. McKinley in 1896 will vote for him again ; but since circumstances have forced the trust issue more prominently to the front, it is fair to say that many of those who voted for Mr. McKinley in 1896, when this issue was less prominent, will, on this issue, vote against him now. Mr. Bryan will lose nothing on this issue, but will gain largely ; and whatever he gains will be Mr. McKinley's loss.

Again : The issue of imperialism ought to bring a large accre-

tion to the Bryan vote. It is certain that he will lose but few votes upon that issue, while, if we are to place any reliance upon the utterances of many of the most eminent Republicans of the land, or upon the reports which come to us of the strong prejudice against imperialism and militarism among foreign-born Americans, it would seem to be almost certain that the McKinley side of this issue will encounter a strong opposition sentiment in the ranks of the Republican party.

Again: In 1895 the metropolitan press was arrayed almost solidly against the Democratic ticket. Chicago furnished a pointed illustration of the disadvantages of that condition. In that great city, where Democratic headquarters were located, there was not a single publication friendly to us, not one which was not aggressively hostile to us. This year we are better off in this respect, for this year, in all the great cities we shall have one or more daily papers advocating Mr. Bryan's election, through the columns of which the Democratic side of all things can be presented to the people.

Again: In 1896 Mr. Bryan was a new man, practically unknown in American politics. The country was uncertain about him, and business interests were afraid of him. Now he is well known. He is universally esteemed to be what he is — an earnest, sincere man, gentle as a woman, yet strong as a giant; honorable, just, and brave; a man of positive convictions, yet conservative; broad-gauged, liberal-minded, and, above all, intensely anxious to be right. Such a man is a safe man. He has improved with age and with acquaintance. The people generally have come to believe that he can be trusted with power, for now they are confident that he would do nothing rashly. This wider confidence in the man's splendid integrity, character, and intelligence is one of the strongest of Mr. Bryan's new elements of strength.

And so, looking the whole field over, the conclusion is reached, and the prophecy made, that Mr. Bryan will be elected. All who love our Republican institutions, and would preserve them unimpaired, should strive ceaselessly to accomplish that result.

WILLIAM J. STONE.



## AMERICAN CENSUS METHODS.

THE word census in its present meaning is probably a recent addition to modern European languages. This is a natural consequence of the fact that the thing for which the word now stands did not really exist until near the beginning of the nineteenth century and the organization of the United States government. There is no higher authority in such matters than Professor Von Mayr, of Munich. He says in a recent work: "It was no European state, but the United States of America, that made a beginning of census taking in the large and true sense of that word." Not until after the second American census was taken in 1800 did any other country adopt a similar practice. England and France took their first census in 1801.

That the United States was the pioneer in modern census taking is admitted, but experts differ regarding the amount of credit and of honor which the country may justly claim as a result of her successful innovation. At one extreme stands Moreau de Jonnès, who says:

"The United States did something unexampled in history. They established the statistics of their country when they founded its government, and in one and the same instrument made provision for the census, for their own civil and political rights, and the destiny of the nation. . . . It is evident that they took statistics seriously."

At the other extreme is General Francis A. Walker, who argues that the provision for a national census was incorporated in the Constitution solely from political, not at all from philosophical, considerations, and that therefore the eulogium of Moreau de Jonnès was scarcely merited.

The words of General Walker are undoubtedly true, but the disclaimer is perhaps over-modest in its implications. Modern census taking began in association with representative democratic government, and during the century the two have advanced hand in hand. This connection has been obscured by confusion of the modern democratic census with the old Roman census. The primary aim of the latter was to secure an accurate list, not of the entire population, but

of the citizens and taxpayers, and in some countries, like Spain, where Roman law and Roman administrative methods are dominant, this older form of census still survives. In Cuba down almost to the present day, such a list, sometimes called a census but more accurately a "padron," has been maintained by the local officials, and used for purposes of police and taxation. The modern census first exemplified in the United States is different. Its primary aim is to secure the equitable distribution not of taxes, of military service, or other obligations to the government, but of political power and political rights. In a representative democracy these are distributed more or less directly on the basis of population, and to determine the population the people must be counted. Hence, the theory of representative government implies a census; and it was not merely a political accident that the United States, as a leading exemplar of representative government in the modern world, initiated the custom.

The original object of the census stated in the Constitution was to provide a basis for apportioning both representatives and direct taxes, that is, both political power and financial obligations. The "Federalist" justified this provision on the ground that it would conduce to getting a true count. Communities would wish much political power but also light taxation; and as a resultant of these conflicting motives leading them to desire an undercount and an overcount the truth would probably be approached. The abandonment of direct taxation apportioned according to population has removed the motive for desiring an undercount. At the same time the motives for wishing an overcount have been strengthened. To-day not only is political power apportioned according to population, but also, and in large measure, industrial power and prestige. As a motive for wishing large numbers to be reported by the census, a city's desire to equal or surpass rival cities is now far stronger than a State's desire to secure more representatives in Congress. All motives, therefore, tend to create an exaggerated idea of the population of any community; and no complaint that the numbers reported for the dissatisfied city were too large has ever yet been received at the census office.

The primary object of the census is political, not scientific. A student of the subject will fail to get a true perspective until he thoroughly appreciates the scope and significance of this fact. The census office differs from the purely scientific bureaus of the Government in that it is compelled to serve two masters, and to hold the balance between their diverse, and sometimes antagonistic, claims. The pop-



ular interest in the subject maintains the census, and that interest centres about the population and other political returns concerning a locality often so small that the figures from it taken alone have no scientific value. The history of the American census has been a history of the competition between this popular interest in the enumeration and the scientific interest in accessory statistical data and inferences therefrom — a competition in which the interests of science have gained ever fuller recognition. The inquiries subordinate to the mere numbering of the people greatly increased from 1790 to 1890, especially in 1840, 1850, and 1880. At the tenth and eleventh censuses these subsidiary inquiries saddled upon the enumeration were so numerous and complex as to endanger the accuracy of the count. Hence, under the present law most of these inquiries are to be put off until the enumeration shall have been finished. The only subjects not postponed are those for which the help of the army of enumerators is indispensable. Where the inquiry can be conducted through correspondence or by special agents it is delayed.

The work of the twelfth census now in progress may be divided into three main stages: (1) the preliminary work, lasting from the organization of the office until the time when the field work begins; (2) the field work; and (3) the tabulation, interpretation, and publication of the results.

The preliminary work organized the four primary lines of inquiry ordered by Congress and requiring for their completion the aid of the army of enumerators. They have to do with the population, with deaths, with agriculture, and with manufactures. This work culminated when the schedules and pamphlet of instructions were sent from the central office at Washington to the three hundred local supervisors for the fifty-two thousand enumerators charged with the house-to-house visitation. The amount of material sent out to the field from the central office is perhaps made most clear by the statement that through a period extending over more than two months there were shipped about two car-loads a day. In all, three hundred tons were sent out by registered mail.

The field work done by the army of enumerators, designated by, and working under the direction of, the supervisors, consisted in filling the schedules in accordance with the printed instructions given them. These schedules were large sheets, partly printed, and with blank spaces for the answers to the series of questions asked about every resident, every death during the preceding year, every farm, and

every manufacturing and mechanical establishment. The enumerators before appointment were required to do a sample piece of work, by transferring the information contained in a narrative to blank schedules identical with the population schedules to be filled for the census. In doing so, they were to follow the printed instructions with which they were supplied. The schedules thus filled were corrected by the supervisors in accordance with a key furnished them by the census office, and were then sent to the Washington office for examination. If the schedules were found satisfactory, the supervisor's designation was approved by the director. In this way a supervisor could protect himself against incompetent men who had been recommended to him for appointment, and the office could assure itself that the instructions to enumerators had been examined and understood.

Each enumerator was given an accurate description of the metes and bounds of the district in which he was to work. In cities he was also given a map of his district cut from a plan of the city and with the boundaries of his district heavily marked. The enumeration district was usually coterminous with the election district, in case that gave promise of having enough residents to occupy the average enumerator about the time allowed him by law; namely, two weeks in the cities, or a month elsewhere. With the return of the schedules to the central office, and the payment of the enumerators — at the date of writing they are being paid at the rate of about one thousand a day — the field work of the census comes to an end.

Other countries which take a periodic census, as most now do, organize the two divisions already described, the preliminary work and the field work, after much the same fashion. A country may have one schedule for each person, as Massachusetts in its State census, or one schedule for each family or household, as England, or one schedule for a larger arbitrary number, as the United States has for each hundred persons. But the differences caused by variations — either in the character of the schedule, or in the length of time the enumerator may take for his work, ranging from one day to one month, or resulting from variations regarding the population counted, which in this country is the resident population, but in most others includes all persons physically present in the district on a certain day or night — entail only minor variations of method.

The methods of tabulation, on the contrary, differ not a little in the several countries, and have changed radically in recent years. Contrast the way of making population tables used in the American



census office in 1880 with that now employed. At the two dates the raw material supplied by the enumerators was the same. The population schedule was the so-called "blanket" schedule, carrying names of fifty persons on each side. These names were written down the left-hand side, and the information regarding each was written on a horizontal line after his name; the place for the answer to each question being marked by a column at the head of which the question was printed.

In all census tabulation it is necessary to bring together from the schedules the identical answers and find their sum. At this stage the transformation of the last score of years has occurred. In 1880 the raw material was wrought into statistical tables by hand methods. For this purpose a tally sheet was required so large as to be cumbersome and unmanageable. Hence, the parts not in use were kept out of the way by putting the tally sheet into a simple machine, shaped like a box, 10 by 15 inches on top and 15 inches deep. It carried a long roll of paper, on which tallies were entered by hand. This paper ran over rollers placed at the top and bottom of the machine in such a way that at the upper surface of the machine six narrow columns of paper appeared side by side. On these six columns the tallying clerks made entries for the hundred persons reported on a schedule, and then moved the whole roll of paper back half an inch, so as to hide those entries and offer blank spaces for tallying the next schedule. In such fashion one group of facts on each schedule was tallied. After an enumeration district was finished, the paper was cut into sections, each section carrying similar entries; and the total for the district could then be easily found. As the machine presented only six columns of paper, the number of facts which could be entered at one run of the schedules was rigidly limited; and to exhaust the information carried on the schedule the process had to be repeated many times. The machine was simply a device for conveniently tallying facts by keeping out of sight the parts of a large tally sheet not in immediate use and bringing the parts which were in use into juxtaposition.

The time and money involved in such a series of hand tallies, the danger of error owing to the carelessness or weariness of clerks, and the difficulty of discovering errors when they occurred, were serious obstacles to the development of census work. Accordingly, various efforts were made looking toward supplanting the hand tally by mechanical methods. The most successful of these has been the inven-

tion of Mr. Herman Hollerith, first employed in the eleventh census of the United States, and adopted with modifications and improvements for the twelfth census. This supersedes the eye and arm of the tallying clerk by a current of electricity. As electricity moves far more rapidly than the human machine, the substitution results in simultaneous instead of successive tallying. Electricity cannot be made to tally the symbols written on the enumerator's schedule, but it can be made to tally holes in fixed positions on a card. Hence, before the electrical system can be applied to these symbols, they must be translated into the language of electricity. This is done by punching holes in a card, the location of which represents all the statistical information contained on the schedule line to which the card refers. To make this method clearer, notice the following cut :

40 17

FORM NO. 101-101

It is a reduced photograph of one of the cards, seventy-five millions of which, one for each resident of the United States, are now in use at the census office. In the card of which this is a reduction holes were punched at points indicated by black circles on its face. These holes are divided into two classes by the vertical line near the left-hand edge of the card. The first class, aided by the large numerals at the right-hand edge, identifies the person; the second gives the facts regarding him in the language of the tabulating machine. To interpret the first group first: The 2 in the upper left-hand corner means that this card relates to a resident of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, or Maryland; the 4 below, that he lives in Pennsylvania outside of Philadelphia and Pittsburg; the 1 below, that he lives in some one of certain-named cities in Pennsylvania; the 3,



that he lives in one of the first nineteen wards of Scranton; the 2, that he lives in ward 2, 3, or 4 of that city; and, finally, the 4 restricts his residence to enumeration district No. 54 in the third ward. The enumerator in this district sent in schedules, each having information about one hundred persons. The number 40, at the extreme right of the card, means that the answers regarding this person are on schedule 40, and the number 17, that they are on line 17 of that schedule. The system of symbols thus far explained makes it a simple and short matter to find among millions the enumerator's original entry, of which any card is a translation, and to decide whether the translation has been accurately made. In other words, it verifies a card. No other system of mechanical tabulation, I believe, possesses this enormous advantage.

The second class of holes on the card, that to the right of the vertical line, includes all of statistical value as distinguished from the holes required only for verification. These, also, may best be understood by taking the preceding cut as an illustration. The W means that this person is white; the M, that the person is a male; the 45, that he is between 45 and 50 years of age; the *o*, that his age is exactly 45; the M1, that he is married and has been married more than one year. The F means that he is of foreign birth, and the <sup>Mas</sup>Gr shows, for one thing, he was born in Germany. For each hole in this last field two symbols are given, the upper symbol to be used in case of native, the lower in case of foreign birth. In the present instance, if the N had been punched just above the F, the second hole remaining as it is, the <sup>Mas</sup>Gr would have represented a native of Massachusetts. The two fields immediately below indicate that the father and the mother were both born in Germany; the 10 at the left of these that the person has been in this country between 10 and 15 years; the Na that he has been naturalized; the 1 that his general occupation is that of an agriculturist in the widest sense; the next 1 that he is a farmer in the narrower sense as distinct from a farm laborer, cattle-drover, or lumberman; the *a* in the third field that he is a farmer in his own name rather than a foreman, superintendent, or a member of the farmer's family reported as a farmer; the *o* that he was not unemployed for any one of the twelve months preceding the day of the census; the OK that he is able to read and write; and, finally, the En that he speaks English. A seeming inconsistency between the place of residence and that of occupation is removed by noting on the map of Scranton that this part of the third ward extends out of the thickly settled district into a

region where farming is probably common. A similar card, *mutatis mutandis*, is now being made in the Census Office for each of the many million inhabitants of the United States.

After the transfer of information to the cards has been completed, the schedules from which the information is derived are filed among the Government records, and all the work of statistical tabulation is done with these cards. One notices that the clerks working on them cannot tell the names or addresses of the individuals for whom the cards stand, and that thus in the preparation of census tables the personal element is entirely lost.

When these cards are ready, they are placed, one at a time, in a press, and a set of two hundred and forty blunt pins are brought down upon them in such a way that a pin strikes the card at every place where a hole belonging to the second class might be found. Where holes are found the corresponding pin passing through completes an electric circuit in which is placed a counter. The current passing through the hole and corresponding counter tallies one on the latter; that is, it moves the longer hand forward one point. Each counter can tally ten thousand before returning to zero.

In the card just described the current entering the first field for race would have five possible paths. The routes diverge at the five points where holes in the cards might have been made. At a later point on each route a counter is inserted. Of these five routes four are closed by the surface of the card, and the current is compelled to go by the fifth where the hole has been made, and so is guided to the counter for whites. After passing through the counters these five routes reunite, and the current returning to the card passes through the field for sex at the hole marked M and to the counter for males, then through the field for age, and so on. Finally, it passes through an electric bell which rings each time the complex circuit is closed. If at any point the current is broken, as, for example, by the failure of the translating clerk to transfer a fact called for by the machine, the current, being interrupted, tallies no fact on the card, the bell fails to ring, and the card is thrown aside for comparison with the schedule. In this way many errors made by the translating clerk are automatically detected by the machine. Furthermore, the machine may be adjusted to reject any reported combination so unlikely to be true as to call for verification before it is tabulated. Such rejected cards can then be readily compared with the original schedules, in order to learn whether the doubtful facts were actually so reported



by the census enumerator. For example, in the census of Cuba just being finished, the machines were adjusted to reject all cards from which it appeared that persons under eighteen years of age were married. All such cases were then compared with the schedules, and only after this examination had verified the first translation was the combination tabulated. Similarly, the machines may be adjusted to reject all cases of female blacksmiths, or male dressmakers, or persons born abroad whose parents were reported as natives of the United States, etc. By these devices the chance of error in tabulation is reduced to a negligible quantity in comparison with that to which the enumerators themselves are exposed, and also to a ratio far less than that which existed under the system of hand tally.

In actual work the adjustments are more complex than those just described. For each census the machine is so used as to secure the efficient and economical combination of its resources with those of clerical labor. This involves putting each card through the tallying machine several times in order to get the cross classifications required. Thus, the eleventh census reports, for example, the number of persons in New York State who were male, between twenty-five and twenty-nine years of age, native white, born of native parents, and widowed. Cross classifications, of which the foregoing is an example, are usually those which give most aid to a student investigating problems to which they relate; and it is in work of this sort that present methods are most superior to those in use twenty years ago. The new method thus is not primarily for expediting the work and reducing expense, although it does both, but is an invention which widens the field of scientific investigation and analysis.

While in the mechanical aspects of its work, that is, the production of statistical tables by factory methods, the census office since 1880 has made rapid strides, and is now at least abreast of other countries, it must not be forgotten that the statistical table is not the finished product of the census office. A statistical table is a dumb and lifeless thing. In publishing it, the census office should interpret it and elucidate its meaning. The scientific aim of a census is to measure the social conditions investigated, and to learn their causes. One census is like another as one eclipse is like another; but accumulated experience, increased powers of measurement, growing definiteness of aim and delicacy of analysis, should make each census, like each eclipse, tell a somewhat fuller story. Each census should aim to probe some unsolved questions on which

such an inquiry may throw light, and also to raise new and important questions for similar examination in the future. In this aspect of its work, I doubt whether the progress of American census taking has kept pace with its mechanical improvement.

Public interest in sound statistical work has grown rapidly since 1880, and the demands of scholars upon the census are more imperative and exacting than ever. But these demands have sometimes been voiced without full knowledge of the diverse interests at stake, and of the difficulties incident to a temporary census office, organized at the latest possible date. They have sometimes been expressed in such a way as to arouse rather than to allay opposition. On the other hand, officials connected with the census office have sometimes taken criticism upon the results they have published as indicating a personal animus, where I believe there was none, and in defence have sought to justify their results by arguments that appeared to critics unsound.

How the literary and scientific standard of the census volumes may be kept on a level with the advancing excellence of American statistical tabulation is, then, a great problem. The natural way of solving it would seem to be this: Enlist aid from many statistical experts in preparing the explanatory text. The tables of age composition are of most interest and use to persons like the actuaries of life insurance companies, whose business it is to interpret age tables. The tables of race can be best understood by the small but increasing group of scholars who are devoting themselves to race relations in their statistical aspects. The tables regarding city population can be best interpreted in consultation with students who have given the census statistics of American and foreign cities years of special study. For the statistics of illiteracy, the aid of an educational expert is needed; for the statistics of occupations, that of a trained economist, familiar with the results of recent special censuses of industries and occupations in foreign countries. So, too, the best interpretation of vital statistics calls for medical as well as statistical experts, and the same holds true for the statistics of agriculture and the manufactures. Such coöperation of experts has already begun in the division of manufactures, and the course of development seems to point toward its extension in other branches of the census. WALTER F. WILLCOX.



## MR. FREDERIC HARRISON'S NEW ESSAYS.<sup>1</sup>

It would be idle to maintain that this paper has been devoted to Mr. Harrison's recent volume, because the latter, in modern parlance, is a "timely production" or a "book of the hour." It is "timely," in a true sense, because it both belongs to and deals with good literature; and it is a "book of the hour" because the few months that have elapsed since it was published form but an inappreciable period in the literary history of the world. But it is certainly not one of those books that are widely discussed or that become the subject of a craze or fad — a fact which, in the eyes of a few persons, at least, is a positive recommendation.

On the other hand, it is worthy of serious attention both because it is the latest work of one of the best critics and most distinguished writers of a great generation whose master-spirits are rapidly passing from the stage of their achievements, and because it attempts to give us "a series of systematic estimates of some leading influences on the thought of our time." Criticism with a large purpose and from the pen of an experienced student of books and affairs deserves more than a mere passing notice, especially in the pages of a periodical that has often had the benefit of the critic's coöperation.

Mr. Harrison does not himself employ the title "Essays," and he seems, by his use of chapter divisions, to seek to emphasize the unity of his book. But it would be hard to show that a short address on the unveiling of portraits of Lamb and Keats, a satirical dialogue between a "book-trotter" and a true student of literature, a delightful and serviceable discourse on "English Prose," and the two excellent papers on the new memoirs and the new letters of Gibbon contributed some time since to these pages, may, with any propriety, be considered integral portions of a volume, the chief purpose of which has been described above in words taken from its author's prefatory note.

<sup>1</sup>"Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill and Other Literary Estimates." By Frederic Harrison, author of "The Choice of Books," etc., etc. New York, the Macmillan Company, 1900.

Viewed as essays, these five chapters are not merely deserving of republication in a permanent form, but also add a pleasing element of variety to the present collection; yet they hardly deepen the impression made by the combined chapters on Tennyson, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, John Addington Symonds, Froude, Freeman, and John Stuart Mill. Mr. Harrison's critical discussions of these eminent men—particularly when taken in connection with his former series of papers contributed to *THE FORUM* on such writers as George Eliot and Charles Kingsley—do indeed constitute a “series of systematic estimates of some leading influences upon the thought of our time,” which is but to say that he has carried out well a purpose he has had in mind for several years. His five unrelated, or slightly related, chapters seem to be thrown in for good measure, and on such terms may be cordially accepted. They are grouped near the middle of the volume, perhaps in order the better to mark off the poets and critics from Mill and the two historians; but we shall find it advantageous to give them priority, although not equality, of treatment.

The discourse on “English Prose” was delivered before the Bodley Literary Society of Oxford, Mr. Harrison's own son being in the chair. It is naturally marked by the tone of admonition we expect from the elderly alumnus addressing undergraduates. Almost everything that is said is felicitously put; although, of course, much that is said is not new. The slow maturing of prose, the difficulty of mastering the secrets of its subtlest harmonies, the comparative paucity in every literature of really great prose writers—these familiar truths are brought out by Mr. Harrison in a way that proves that he has himself learned to employ the few practical hints or rules for writing good prose that he ventures to give. Plato is for him “the greatest master of prose in recorded history,” but he has words of praise for Boccaccio, for Voltaire—whom he considers “perhaps the greatest master of prose in any modern language”—and for Swift and Goldsmith.

His tribute to the last-named writer is all the more welcome because of some inconsiderate criticisms that have of late been passed upon that fine classic “*The Vicar of Wakefield*,” on account of the unrealistic character of its plot. Still more welcome are Mr. Harrison's remarks as to the general superiority of French prose to English; for scarcely a year passes that some popular magazine does not print an article the main purpose of which is to depreciate a literature adorned in one century with the names of Hugo, Balzac, Sainte Beuve, Renan, and Taine.



But perhaps the most important point made in an essay that would serve excellently as an introduction to a volume of prose specimens is one at which most teachers of the art of writing prose would gravely shake their heads. Mr. Harrison looks "with sorrow upon the habit," that has grown up at Oxford since his day, "of making a considerable part of the education of the place to turn on the art of serving up gobbets of prepared information in essays more or less smooth and correct—more or less successful imitations of the viands that are cooked for us daily in the press." He thinks rightly that to prepare seven essays in a week is "a task which would exhaust the fertility of a Swift." Some of us who have probably had more practical experience in teaching than Mr. Harrison are coming to share his opinion. The essay made up of pilferings from encyclopædias is a bane of modern teaching and a travesty on the dignified idea involved in the phrase "original work." It makes too frequently for slipshodness rather than culture, and Mr. Harrison is quite right in thinking that neither it nor the formal daily or weekly theme, however necessary the latter may be in the early stages of a student's career, will ever make for a true mastery of prose style. It is the height of absurdity to set a raw youth to writing essays on Petrarch and Dante, when—this is an actual, not an imaginary, case—he is in the habit of way-laying passers-by in order to learn the proper spelling of every-day words to be used in the letters he is required to write.

The dialogue entitled "The Book Trotter" is the slightest thing in the volume, but is not without its uses as a satire upon another fad of modern teaching and culture; to wit, the emphasis laid upon the desirability, nay the necessity, of keeping up with the times by skimming books and magazines much as one of Cook's "globe trotters" flits or stalks through picture galleries and historic ruins. Slight also, but full of suggestiveness, is the address on Lamb and Keats on the unveiling of their portraits at a free library at Edmonton. Most of us, doubtless, connect Edmonton with John Gilpin rather than with John Keats; but both the poet and the humorist—who have more lovers than Cowper—are sufficiently connected with the place to give it a fair share of celebrity. Mr. Harrison used his opportunity to insist that, whatever be our affection for Lamb and Keats, it is doing them no real service to claim for them the fame of writers of the first rank. Each has a unique, a noble place in his country's literature; but it is not with Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Chaucer, Fielding, and Scott—in all of whom "we find profound insight, mighty im-

agination, vast range of experience and sympathy, mass of work, world-wide, universal spell and influence."

In the above cited warning against the prevalent "hysterical enthusiasm in things of taste" we may discover evidence of many of Mr. Harrison's qualifications for the rôle of critic. He is eminently sane in his judgments; he has read widely and well; he is not afraid of his own conclusions, which he bases on more or less reasoned out principles. He is not one of those delicate literary tasters or appraisers who would be alarmed if they did not have a different opinion about the same poem on each successive day. He recognizes that quantity of work counts as well as quality, and that a cosmopolitan fame means more than a local or a national one. But while he bases his criticism upon principles, thus greatly increasing its helpfulness to others, he is not lacking in appreciation or in the power to bring into full relief delicate qualities of the writers and books he discusses. For example, close upon the paragraphs that deprecate unreasoning admiration of Lamb and Keats follow just and far from commonplace tributes to both, although it is perhaps open to admirers of Keats to claim that not enough is made of the almost Shakespearian qualities of his harmonious utterance, which suggests that "of the early gods" told of in his own "Hyperion." Be this as it may, Mr. Harrison's address is well worth reading, especially by Americans, who will be pleased by what he has to say about our great libraries, and of the way in which the public, unlike that of England, makes constant and fruitful use of them.

The two essays devoted to Gibbon require but slight comment. They give an interesting account of how the famous "Autobiography" was pieced together, and cull from the newly-printed letters many curious fragments that throw additional light upon Gibbon the man, the politician, the friend. Gibbon the scholar and historian does not often come into view; but Mr. Harrison's admiration for him in these capacities is well known, and, indeed, is clearly evidenced in this volume. Such admiration is inevitable to liberal readers, but it may be doubted whether most readers are fully aware of the immense and noble capacity for friendship which the normally unenthusiastic Gibbon possessed and displayed. Readers unaware of this trait of the historian's character will do well to consult these essays.

From the five more or less unrelated essays, which have, however, served to furnish us with some insight into our critic's chief qualities, we may now pass to the nine related essays which give the



volume its main value. The first, devoted to Tennyson, is in many respects the most important of the group, although it is doubtless the chapter that will evoke most dissent from Mr. Harrison's readers. It has apparently never been published before, and it seems to be a series of comments methodically arranged rather than a rounded essay. But whether or not it is entitled to rank among great or even good English essays, it is surely a most stimulating and wholesome piece of contemporary criticism. The predominance of the late laureate in the history of Victorian literature is acknowledged without cavil; the wonderful flawlessness, range, and sustained power of his art is praised in a way that ought to satisfy even enthusiastic admirers; the essential nobility of his consecrated life is freely admitted. Then the critic asserts the prerogatives of his own high office, asks searching questions as to the value of Tennyson's contribution to the world's thought on the high and deep things of life, applies standards approved by catholic students of European literature, and fearlessly draws his own conclusions.

The results are not so favorable to Tennyson as those reached in most of the monographs and studies called forth by his death. Yet they are in line with the thoughts of not a few persons who have lacked Mr. Harrison's courage and his gift of critical analysis. Such persons have felt with him that while it is grossly unfair to affirm that Browning was a thinker and Tennyson not—the reverse proposition might be more easily defended—yet the original qualities of Tennyson's thought, of his "criticism of life," may justly be called into question. After a careful, though brief, analysis of "In Memoriam," which he ranks highly as a poem, Mr. Harrison concludes that Tennyson, with his melodious transfiguration of a half-skeptical piety, gave the age a voice, but did not give it a faith. He possessed no "such creative influence over men" as Burns, Wordsworth, Shelley, and Byron had. He is not with these poets "who, with all their defects and all their limitations, did, by original ideas fresh from their own spirit and not at all adapted from contemporary thinkers, give a new impulse to the mind of their age."

Now it is quite obvious that neither Mr. Harrison, nor any other writer following in his steps, can prove to a reluctant Tennysonian, or even to an unprejudiced inquiring reader, the truth of the conclusions briefly given above. But this is a limitation common to all criticism based upon a use of standards. Only readers of comparatively wide culture can be reasonably sure of the authenticity of a

critic's standards, and of the accuracy of the use he makes of them. And if his results differ from our preconceptions, how easy it is to sneer at him and his standards, even to the extent of calling him "this wretched old man," as an urbane American seems to have denominated Mr. Harrison. But, sooner or later, if the critic's results are correct, they are acquiesced in by his fellow critics, and by broadly cultured readers, after which it is but a matter of time before the writer or book under discussion is finally "placed."

It follows that readers who are not hopeless partisans should give a careful hearing to what a writer like Mr. Harrison has to say in qualification of the fame even of a great poet such as Tennyson, and that, if they cannot yet agree with him, they should bear his judgments in mind, and test them later in the light of wider reading and of larger experience. Only thus can an original and courageous critic receive justice at the hands of readers; only thus can readers profit to the full from genuine criticism. It is needless to add that oburgation and partisan wrath are futile, and have no legitimate part to play in such matters.

But "In Memoriam" is not the only one of Tennyson's longer poems that, from the point of view of substance, of content, fares less favorably at Mr. Harrison's hands than at those of "gushing curates and æsthetic young ladies." Readers of that admirable volume, "The Choice of Books," will remember what our critic had to say there about the "Idylls" as a boudoir epic. Such readers will not then be surprised at the tone of the remarks made upon these poems in the present essay. The chief point emphasized by Mr. Harrison, to wit, that Tennyson travestied the great romance of Mallory, has been often brought forward by others, and will probably be still more frequently emphasized in the future. Mr. Harrison's presentation of the charge is, however, notably trenchant and amusing:

"Lancelot of the Lake is transformed into a sort of Sir Charles Grandison in plate armor; King Arthur becomes a courtier's portrait of the late Prince Consort; Elaine is a new Virginia, without her Paul, and Queen Guinevere is a magnificent '*grande dame*' of Versailles, with a secret. It is all too much of a pageant or 'revival' in mediæval character, and suggests reminiscences of the Eglinton Tournament and the stage Shakespeare."

These will seem to be hard words to many sympathetic souls that can still glow with pleasure at the memory of the exquisite delight afforded them in the past by the wonderfully wrought "Idylls of the



King." Doubtless there is some exaggeration to be laid at Mr. Harrison's door; but it is still more certain that he could have made his criticism much more ruthless had he chosen to emphasize the harm done the poem by Tennyson's mawkishness in dealing with great passions, and by his introduction of the far from congruous element of allegory. We must, too, in compensation, remember the unstinted praise accorded by the essayist to the splendor of Tennyson's execution, and his high appreciation of the parting scene between the King and the guilty Queen and of the original *Morte d' Arthur*.

But we cannot linger over these comments on Tennyson, interesting though they be. Most readers will probably agree that Mr. Harrison's high estimate of "The Princess" as a medley is correct, nor will they seriously dissent from the mixture of praise and blame he assigns to "Maud." His low ranking of the dramas and the controversial poems will be generally accepted; and some readers at least will not be surprised that he finds no occasion to comment upon "Enoch Arden," but does see fit to single out for special praise "Rizpah" and the noble "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington." He does full justice, too, to true idylls like "Ænone," although lovers of Moschus may object that they find in them no higher "dignity and thoughtfulness" than are contained in that poet's noble lament for his predecessor, Bion. In his apt praise of the lyrics, on which Mr. Harrison is sure Tennyson's "permanent fame must abide," our author is in substantial accord with one of the subtlest critics this age has produced, Edward FitzGerald, the friend of Tennyson and of Omar.

FitzGerald's dictum that the two volumes of 1842 represent the high-water mark of Tennyson's performance must be enlarged to include the splendid lyrics the laureate kept on producing, from the marvellous songs in "The Princess" to the equally wonderful lines "To Vergil" and "Crossing the Bar"; but a few of us think that his criticism was in the main correct, and that it will be a point of departure for much future discussion of Tennyson. Of course, it must not be taken too strictly, for it is hard to conceive how some of Tennyson's highest achievements in blank verse can ever fade from the world's memory. It seems, nevertheless, to be true that in certain forms of lyric work Tennyson is supreme in our poetry, while in blank verse, as Mr. Harrison shows in this essay, he is inferior to Milton. The splendid polysyllabic verses and the rolling periods of the blind old poet were not within his power or his choice; and Mr. Harrison is right in emphasizing this point in several pages of valuable metrical

analysis. Nor is the marked jingo element in Tennyson's work, which Mr. Harrison reprobates with a sly hit at Mr. Kipling that follows delightfully on a needed tribute to Byron, likely to help the laureate's admirers to set him as near to Milton as they have it in mind to do.

The chapter on Tennyson is followed by three chapters on the writer who, of all moderns, seems to be nearest Mr. Harrison's heart—that noble lover of art and of man whose death we have been recently called upon to deplore. The first of these chapters or essays, "Ruskin as Master of Prose," is distinctly more important than its companions, "Ruskin as Prophet" and "Ruskin's Eightieth Birthday"; yet all three are valuable, and taken together form one of the most adequate tributes that have yet been paid to a genius that has of late suffered the usual penalty that attaches to premature and unbounded popularity. The second chapter is a dialogue between an old professor, who is no other than Mr. Harrison himself, and a young artist full of latter-day theories and fads. Naturally the older man succeeds in driving the younger out of court. Ruskin's extravagances are freely admitted—it is one of Mr. Harrison's best points that he is too good an advocate to be a partisan—but his services as an awakener of the æsthetic sense of the modern public, as a prose writer of almost unrivalled power, and as a philanthropist of the purest if sometimes most impracticable purposes, are eloquently and convincingly presented.

The close of this second essay is marked by a most feeling and touching reference to the infirmity of Ruskin's last days. A feeling and touching tribute is what the third essay may be fairly denominated. Although in origin but a timely contribution to a daily newspaper, it is in perfect taste, and well deserves republication, since it is a model of a difficult class of writings. The first chapter is equally, in its way, a model of stylistic analysis. Mr. Harrison does not content himself with fine periods about Ruskin's finer ones, or with judiciously chosen illustrative extracts, of which he gives many; he condescends to technical analysis of the structure of Ruskin's sentences, and especially of the master's wonderful use of assonance, or, as Mr. Harrison prefers to term it, consonance.

The pages in which this analysis is given are as valuable to the student of style as the corresponding pages devoted to the analysis of Tennyson's blank verse. No one who reads them, and the essay itself, will be likely to dispute the high eulogiums passed upon Ruskin's



prose, in spite of its want of balance, and at times, of sanity—defects to which Mr. Harrison is not blind. Some of us may make a reservation in favor of the arch-angelical note—if the exaggeration may be pardoned—to be discovered in the noblest of Milton's passages; but, after all, the “old man eloquent,” or rather, young man eloquent, for Ruskin's most magnificent writing was done before he was forty-three, holds us, as he does Mr. Harrison, with a spell comparable to that exercised by the Ancient Mariner.

But this paper is growing too long, and we must pass rapidly over the remaining essays, tempting though they are. With regard to Matthew Arnold, Mr. Harrison is by no means alone in considering the poems the surest basis of the former's fame, and in rating as of only temporary importance the theological and social criticism that gave, and still gives him, in some circles, midway between conservatism and advanced liberalism, his limited but genuine vogue.

Arnold's literary criticism is to his former opponent, whose entire freedom from rancor is delightful, but not surprising, the best the English language affords—an opinion which shall not be disputed here, although it would seem that our essayist does not bring out fully Arnold's very considerable obligations to Goethe, Heine, and Sainte-Beuve, to mention no others. As for the poems, if Mr. Harrison does not quite satisfy the Arnold enthusiast, he is never less than sympathetic and sane. Arnold is undoubtedly strongest as an elegiac and gnomic poet; he lacks fire, and he does suggest Theognis, although he is surely more of a singer than the latter rather pedestrian poet. Could Theognis have written “Requiescat” or “Apollo Musagetes,” or that wonderful verse which curiously enough Mr. Harrison fails to cite—

“The unplumb'd, salt, estranging sea”?

The essays on Froude and Freeman are naturally interesting, coming as they do from one whose own studies of history have been wide and thorough. Mr. Harrison does not attempt the impossible task of defending Froude's accuracy, but he has given us some noteworthy pages on the latter's permanent rank as a great master of English prose. Freeman is ably defended from the reproach, that he made little use of manuscripts, brought against him by palæontological experts; Mr. Harrison taking occasion to pass many salutary judgments on modern historical methods which too often degenerate into fads. But the great historian's flux of words finds no favor in his sight.

The essay on Symonds and that on Mill remain, and they are as interesting as any in the volume. While he is fully aware of Symonds's defective sympathies, and is not enamored of the luscious qualities of his earlier style, Mr. Harrison has nothing in common with the hypercritical detractors of a scholar whose brave fight for life of body, mind, and soul is one of the most pathetic and nobly inspiring facts recorded in the literary history of modern times. He likes the "Greek Poets," and has the courage to say so frankly; and he is, seemingly, one of the few critics who have had the acumen to discover the merits of the "Essays" of 1890. It is to be hoped that this excellent chapter will draw many a new reader to Symonds.

The same pious wish may be expressed with regard to the concluding essay on John Stuart Mill. Mr. Harrison's main object is to explain the causes of the vogue Mill once had as well as the causes of that decline of his reputation that has often been deplored by men who prefer the spirit of justice to that of jingoism. It would take us too far afield to follow closely our critic's analysis, which is mainly concerned with the essays or tractates on "Liberty," "Utilitarianism," and "The Subjection of Women." In the way of sympathetic, yet searching, criticism Mr. Harrison has done nothing better. He shows clearly the contradictions involved in the fact that "Mill, for all his apparent proof armor of dry logic, was continually moved by what has been called 'the logic of feeling.'" But the more acutely he probes, the more he inspires us with a wish to reread the essays that once thrilled us. We desire once more to be brought in contact with that noble man and citizen whose "bearing was always a combination of patience, justice, a lofty morality, and unflinching courage." In other words, we long to revert, in imagination, at least, to the great achievements in action and thought of that splendid generation of which Mill was so lofty an exemplar—a generation to which Mr. Harrison and his book practically belong—an age which had its failings, indeed, but which was not given up to thoughts of war, of empire, of crusading philanthropy and over-assertive virility.

W. P. TRENT.



# The Forum

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## THE PARAMOUNT ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

It is the misfortune of the Democratic party of the United States that the questions which it has hitherto looked upon as important are no longer debatable. The issue of 1892 and the issue of 1896 sleep together peacefully. Each in its time was supreme: to-day both are extinct. They have descended by a regular scale: first paramount, then secondary, and at last obsolete.

The issue of free trade, always hidden under smooth phrases about tariff reform, carried the Democratic party to success in 1892. That victory was the cruelest thing that could have happened to the free trade propaganda, for it immediately put the doctrine to the test of experience. For twenty years it had enjoyed the respectability that belongs to libraries, university lecture rooms, pamphlets, and eloquent remarks. From that day it had to stand trial in open court, confronted by the witnesses against it; and by the time Mr. Cleveland indignantly refused to sign the tariff law of 1894, it was waiting for the condemnation of the American people. Mr. Bryan helped to frame that law, and the only reason that in 1896 it did not become an issue superior to all others was that it did not have a friend left on earth. The principles involved in it had become odious, and the tide which afterward became irresistible had already set in toward the popular leader who framed the tariff act of 1890.

Under these circumstances the Democratic party stood dazed and helpless. Their majority in the House of Representatives had dwindled to an insignificant remnant; and the campaign speeches which

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before had stirred the prejudices of the country against the administration of Benjamin Harrison had become more worthless for political purposes than the cries of the fish market.

When we consider that in order to have a political campaign it is necessary for both sides to have something to talk about, it is no wonder that the Chicago convention in 1896 set up another issue as paramount. The free coinage of silver furnished a subject, and the convention selected Mr. Bryan to present it, on account of the extraordinary skill and power with which he interpreted to the delegates their own convictions and emotions on the matter. Nor is it remarkable that the scheme of bogus bimetallism, put forward there as a panacea for hard times, attracted so great a following throughout the country. It was a time of trouble, of business disaster, of wrecked fortunes, of shrivelled investments, of unemployed labor; and behind all these the American farmer stood under his burden of debt, disheartened by the daily reports of a bankrupt market-place. Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Bryan spoke on his paramount issue in 1896. It will remain an everlasting vindication of popular institutions that the American people, rising above the misery that surrounded them, took a just and rational measure of this issue; choosing rather to guard the national integrity from reproach than to enjoy the doubtful advantages of 16 to 1 for a season.

It will not be denied that Mr. Bryan made a brave and picturesque fight. The very boldness of the man attracted attention; and through all his speeches there ran a distinct line of sincerity, which made even his light predictions of the future seem to multitudes like the inspired prophecies of old. He was brave in disaster; for immediately after the election he issued an address to the "Bimetallists of the United States, saddened by temporary defeat." Remembering how thickly he had scattered his predictions about the railway stations of the United States, he felt the sobering influence of the fact that his fine-spun philosophies were at length to meet the test of experience. He was not wanting in confidence. "In the face of an enemy rejoicing in its victory," he called the roll for the next engagement. "The friends of bimetallism have not been vanquished," he declared; "they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the money changers against the welfare of the human race, and they will continue the warfare against it. Events will prove whether they are right or wrong. Our opponents," he added, "have succeeded in this campaign and must put their theories to the test."



It will be admitted by every one whose mind is at all adapted to the consideration of such a subject, that the last four years have played sad havoc with the prophetic literature of Mr. Bryan's last campaign. If the patriarch Noah had predicted a drought instead of a deluge, and had advocated a system of irrigation instead of building an ark, his friends and relatives would have had less reason to complain of him than Mr. Bryan's disciples now have to complain of their leader. He said that if the gold standard were continued prices would still further decline. But the prices of all products of labor have gone steadily up. He said that wages would decrease, and the employment of people, even then precarious, would still further fail. But wages have increased until, if we may believe Mr. Carroll D. Wright, they have reached the highest mark yet known in our industrial history, while the employment of the people is now universal and uninterrupted. Mr. Bryan said that the burden of debt would be multiplied by the increase of interest rates and the scarcity of money. But money was never so plentiful, and interest rates, tending still lower, were never so low before.

It is not claimed that things are going as well in the United States as could be wished; but it is not too much to say that things are going so much better than Mr. Bryan predicted that the general confidence in him as an apostle of the national deliverance has quite generally disappeared. Nobody doubts that his opinions on the subject of the free coinage of silver were sincere, and that very fact determines the issue of this campaign. There may be a wide difference of opinion as to the causes of the present prosperity of the people; but there is one thing which cannot be disputed, and that is, that the standard of value upon which the whole fabric of American business rests cannot be disturbed, or even put in serious jeopardy, without producing results fatal to the employment, investments, and enterprises of the whole community. The Democratic party has not put aside the silver question, because it has recanted its faith in the platform of 1896. It has begun talking about something else, simply because the old subject has become tiresome, and because the audience is so scattered that it is beyond even the eloquence of Mr. Bryan to bring them together again.

If any man doubts the real purpose that is in the minds of Democratic leaders, and the real motive that would control Mr. Bryan's administration, if he were elected President, let him recall the fact that while the Kansas City Convention was sitting Mr.

Bryan staked his political life on a demand, telephoned from his home at Lincoln, that the platform of 1896 should be re-stated in the exact terms which he invented for use in the last presidential campaign. His success, therefore, whatever else it may mean, foreshadows the exact legislation and administrative policy required to overthrow the gold standard and plunge the country into new agitations, fatal at once to industry and commerce. It is in vain for men who have a stake in the national prosperity, whether they work for their living by the day or enjoy the dividends of invested capital, to silence their apprehensions by believing that the financial law of 1900, enacted by the Republican party against the protest of the Democrats in both houses of Congress, has made it safe to vote the Democratic ticket again. The Secretary of the Treasury has given to the business world a timely admonition, that notwithstanding the new provisions of law, a single act of executive folly may, even now, throw away all the fruits of the victory of 1896.

Four years ago Mr. Bryan was denouncing President Cleveland because, in the discharge of his duty, he permitted those having claims against the treasury, payable in coin, to choose either gold or silver at the counter. To-day Mr. Bryan refuses even to open his mouth when the question is squarely presented to him whether, if elected President, he will follow that example. Before that question, in which are wrapped up not only the earnings but the savings of American labor, this gifted orator, whose voice never before failed him, is silent as the grave. Nor does any one come forward to speak for him, unless the recent remarks of Mr. Carl Schurz may be thought by some to have been spoken in Mr. Bryan's interest. It is, to be sure, a little puzzling to find Mr. Schurz, while yet the memory of his unanswerable denunciation of Bryanism is fresh in the public mind, coming forward to reassure his friends that even after Mr. Bryan is elected it will not be beyond the power of the Republican party, in the short session of Congress, to bind him hand and foot, in order to reduce to a minimum his ability to destroy the prosperous conditions which now surround us.

There are others, not without interest in the industrial welfare of the people, who justify their support of Mr. Bryan by the reflection that in the present state of the law his administration of the treasury department would be safe, because no statute could be enacted within four years authorizing a departure from the existing standard of value. All such ought to be warned that Mr. Bryan's



election as President would carry with it, undoubtedly, a majority of the House; and it is certain also that a reversal of public opinion so momentous would find a speedy expression in the Senate of the United States. There are in this world pious persons whose mission leads them to visit unfortunates who are in prison, and to cheer up those condemned to death with the benignant consolation that they are not to be hanged for some time yet.

If the election now about to occur should leave the industries and commerce of this people under sentence of death, suspended to await the action of the Senate, there would be plenty of business for all charitably disposed persons whose influence contributed to the verdict. As the campaign proceeds it becomes more and more evident that there is only one issue of supreme significance to the people of the United States. The question is whether the fortunate and happy condition which now surrounds the American people shall be deliberately voted down. That question concerns every business in the United States, enters into the homes of the whole community, and must be answered upon the judgment and conscience of all. It is not a party question. Four years ago we saw in the United States a victory won for sound principles, in which men of all political parties had a share. That victory had a moral significance hard to overestimate. It was a notice served upon agitators, mischief makers, demagogues, and political leaders of all trades, that whoever attacks the integrity of American business must settle his account, not with a political party, but with the national character of America. It ought to have taught political managers also that they will not be permitted to conceal their motives, hide their purposes, and cover their plans by the invention of imaginary issues, made paramount only by the distraction and confusion of party counsels. If the blind lead the blind the Scriptures teach us to expect them both to fall into the ditch; but if the blind undertake to lead those of us who can see, it is not too much to expect that most of us will have sense enough to avoid pitfalls which have grown familiar in the glare of experience.

Already the issue made paramount by the Kansas City resolutions has dwindled away before the eyes of the political charlatans who discovered it. It has taken its place with the minor clamors with which bewildered politicians have filled the air in order to avoid the main issue. It takes no very profound knowledge of passing events to know that the President's course in dealing with the possessions which came to us as a result of the war with Spain has been dictated not

by national greed and selfishness, but by a disinterested purpose to promote the welfare of the alien populations which have come within our jurisdiction. Nobody is deceived by Mr. Bryan's dogma that the Constitution follows the Flag. That phrase was dug up by Calhoun, in order to put slavery in the Territories beyond the reach of Congress. It has no place either in a sound philosophy of our affairs or in the recorded history of our dealings with acquired territory. No friend of the early Republican faith, no genuine Lincoln Republican, as a lot of broken-down politicians are now calling themselves, will be scared if, in managing our new possessions, we stand on the proposition laid down in the first Republican national platform, that Congress has full power over the Territories of the United States for their government. Those of us who have seen the Democratic party at work in Congress, daily engaged in laying snares for the feet of its adversary, may be called as witnesses that the anxiety of the Democrats to get the Constitution into Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands was dictated less by their love for these distant peoples than by their desire to put the administration in the attitude of having amalgamated with our working population ten or fifteen millions belonging to backward and barbarous races.

If the Puerto Rican legislation, which produced the most amazing tempest ever seen in a teapot, had no other good result, it put to silence, at least, the Democratic clamor that there is no power in Congress to stand between the workingmen of the United States and the degradation which three centuries of Spanish despotism have left on the borders of Asia. There has been a good deal of talk about the United States having taken up the rôle of Spain in these islands; yet no man has come forward to put his finger upon a single act of injustice or oppression chargeable to the Government of the United States. There has been, it is true, an insurrection in portions of the Philippine Archipelago. Mr. Bryan has declaimed for more than a year against the operations of our army in those islands; yet neither the army nor the navy has done any act there which was not required by a respect for the authority for our Government. The Philippine Republic is a myth; it never had any existence except in the military family of an insurgent leader. If any intelligent man will take the trouble to read the report of the Philippine Commission, of which Dr. Schurman was president, he will see that there is no Philippine Republic, and that there is and can be no Philippine nation. He will discover that the Philippine population consists of many tribes and races in various



stages of civilization, some hostile, but for the most part friendly to us, and none of them at present capable either of establishing or maintaining a form of government like our own. It does not require a very profound wisdom to understand the absurdity of Mr. Bryan's proposal to turn over these Islands to the military chieftains of a single tribe, thus literally betraying those who have been our friends into the hands of their own enemies and ours.

Some have upbraided the administration because we are in the Philippine Islands at all. They ask by what right we occupy these Islands. Mr. Bryan is not in a position to join in these reproaches. He knows by what right we are in the Philippine Islands, because, except for him, the treaty of Paris, which created all the responsibilities which now burden us, would not be to-day the law of the land. Therefore, he cannot raise the question of our right to be there without making a little more elaborate an explanation of his activity in behalf of the treaty when it was pending in the Senate than he ventured to give the other day at Indianapolis.

It is evident to every healthy mind that when the war with Spain was over we could have chosen one of two courses, either of which had some sense in it: we could have withdrawn from Manila, leaving the Islands to fight it out with Spain and with one another, or we could have remained there to administer their affairs under our own authority, in trust for the whole population of the Islands. Mr. Bryan has announced a programme so obviously wanting in good sense as to need only a plain statement utterly to discredit it. He has not dared to say that our Government, having in the progress of the war erased the authority of Spain in the Islands, had a right to depart, leaving life and property without protection. Such a course would have violated not only the law of nations but the common precepts of public morality. If our settlement with Spain involved the barter and sale of men, women, and children at a fixed price per head, it will not be forgotten that Mr. Bryan was probably the most influential individual party to the transaction.

Mr. Bryan cannot escape the fact that our sovereignty in the Philippine Islands was created by the treaty, in approval of which he gave the full weight of his great influence. That instrument defines our duties to the kingdom of Spain, to the native inhabitants, and to the world at large. We must either discharge these duties, as required by the treaty, or run away from them without regard to the treaty. The course which Mr. Bryan recommends has all the burdens of the

former course and all the humiliation of the latter. He wishes first to give these people, whether they ask for it or not, whether they consent to it or not, a stable government of our own manufacture. Nobody pretends to tell us how long that will take; but anyone who has given attention to the subject will acquire at least a suspicion that it may take more than a generation. The length of time it will take is not likely to be lessened by the promise of independence, which is to lie at the end of this benevolent process. It is not thought by those familiar with the motives of the present Tagal insurrection, that the prospect of having a treasury of their own thirty years from now will be very alluring to its surviving leaders.

But suppose that the hour for independence has arrived, what does the Democratic party propose to do? It proposes to make the Government of the United States responsible for all time to come for whatever the independent Philippine Republic does. It proposes to bring the whole world to us for a settlement of whatever grievance may arise against this independent government which we have set up in business for itself. Now, it ought to be as plain as such a thing can be in a world like this, that if we are to become responsible for what happens in the Philippine Islands, we ought not to renounce the legitimate sovereignty which we now possess, or to relax our supreme authority to control what happens there. If we go away we ought to take our baggage with us. If we stay for any purpose it must be in the exercise of the authority conferred upon us by the treaty of Paris. The present Government of the United States, mindful of all the responsibilities that are involved, mindful of the expense of blood and treasure, has solemnly resolved that the nation cannot retreat from the position in which the treaty of Paris has placed it.

In that fixed resolution the President of the United States has the sympathy and support of patriotic men of all political parties. The party to which he belongs has heard these noisy declamations on the subject of Imperialism before. It heard them when Abraham Lincoln stood calm and patient in the storm of calumny. It heard them when Ulysses S. Grant left the chief command of the Union army to take up its unfinished work at the Capital. It hears them now when William McKinley, with his eyes on the map of the world, guides the Republic into the larger opportunities of the new century. We walk in the very footsteps of our fathers, though they were no more free than we are to choose an ideal path. We shall have little difficulty in



framing for the Philippine people a freer government than Mr. Jefferson gave to the inhabitants of Louisiana, or than that which Mr. Monroe, through the military dictatorship of old General Jackson, gave to the Floridas. We are neither surprised nor alarmed to find about our ears a swarm of criticisms, exactly similar to those which assailed these early administrations. "The President proposes," said the "New York Herald" on March 7, 1804, "to erect a government about as despotic as that of Turkey in Asia." The same newspaper, on March 21st of that year, contained this indictment, which sounds almost as if it were up to date:

"The folly which supposes that the people of Louisiana are not as well qualified to enjoy political liberty as those hordes of aliens and strangers who are continually intermeddling with our public concerns will not always pass current with the people of America. Nor is it possible that any part of our empire can be long held in a state of vassalage even under the philosophic Jefferson. We revolted from Great Britain because her parliament taxed us without consent. Our colonies may adopt our principles. Even the limited monarchy proposed in the bill now under discussion in the House of Representatives will not probably be established, and it is next to a certainty that the session will terminate leaving Mr. Jefferson in complete possession of all the despotic powers which were lately acquired by the Spanish monarchy."

These are only samples of the noises which Thomas Jefferson heard while he was laying the foundation of greater America. They did not in the least turn him from his duty, though his correspondence shows how deeply he resented the unctuous interference of political enemies. Aaron Burr was one of these whose love of freedom was so persistent that it brought him into the District Court of the United States to be tried for treason. To all of them Mr. Jefferson uttered these words of rebuke, applicable to-day as they were in 1803: "Although it is acknowledged," he said, speaking of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence as applied to Louisiana, "that our new fellow citizens are yet as incapable of self-government as children, yet some cannot bring themselves to suspend its principles for a single moment." (Letter to Dewitt Clinton, Works of Jefferson, Vol. viii, page 282. Putnam, 1897.)

Unless all signs fail the Democratic party of to-day will have more trouble in posturing as the champions of the Declaration of Independence than the enemies of Mr. Jefferson had in his day. If William McKinley, who gave his youth to the Union army, and Theodore Roosevelt, who won his fame among the troops which volunteered for the emancipation of the colonies of Spain, cannot be trusted to protect the cause of civil liberty in the territories now be-

longing to the United States; if the colored races on the other side of the world are left with no other refuge except the political party which has trampled the rights of the colored citizens of the United States under its feet, leaving ten millions of people without voice or participation either in the national government or in the government of the States where they were born; then it may be said in all sobriety that our poor efforts to unravel the mystery of human affairs are hopeless and superfluous.

JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER.

[The article by Mr. Charles A. Towne, promised for this issue of THE FORUM, went astray in transmission and did not reach our office in time for publication. — EDITOR.]



## WHY CUBA SHOULD BE INDEPENDENT.

As the day of the Cuban Convention for the framing and adoption of a constitution approaches, the question of Cuban independence assumes greater, and still greater, proportions, and the eyes of the American people are beginning to turn anxiously toward the Pearl of the Antilles. By the time this article appears in print, delegates to the convention will have been elected, and interest in the convention itself will have become widespread. The task I have set before me is briefly to review the situation, and to discuss the probable results to be expected from a number of causes, remote as well as proximate.

Little more than a year and six months has elapsed since the red and yellow flag came down from the flag-staff on Morro Castle, and Spanish domination, of more than four hundred years' standing, was brought to a close. Such a domination has produced a lasting effect, and Cuba still bears the mark which Spain has stamped upon it. In language, in habits, in religion, and, to a certain extent, in sentiment, Cuba is still Spanish. Her wounds are scarcely healed, and the memory of wrongs is still vivid; but there is a tie that binds the Cuban people to the Latin race which nothing can sever. Long years of crushing tyranny had, it is true, alienated the affections of Cuba from the mother country, and the feeling of bitterness is still intense; but it is impossible for the Cubans to forget their ancestry, as it is impossible for them to divest themselves of their language. As time goes on the memory of sufferings endured will grow weaker; but the influence of a common ancestry and a common language will still be strongly felt, and the race sentiment will grow in proportion to the antagonistic tendencies which, consciously or unconsciously, the Anglo-Saxon race may excite.

For a long time the United States, the stronghold of the Anglo-Saxon race in America, had been the hope of Cuba, as Cuba had been an object of interest to the United States. Sons and daughters of the best Cuban families have been educated in this country; and

on their return they have taken with them an acquired love for our institutions, thus becoming so many centres of propagandism. The air of liberty which we breathe here communicated itself to the Cuban atmosphere, and a feeling of restlessness under the yoke of Spain began to permeate all classes of the native population. Our hospitable shores always afforded a safe asylum to the exiles from Cuba; and, in spite of the efforts of our Government, dictated by the requirements of international law, many an expedition went forth from these same shores to wage war against the Government of Spain, while the Cuban revolutionary centres plotted and executed their movements under the folds of the starry banner.

Ever since the Black-Eagle conspiracy in the early part of the present century the American administration and the American Congress have busied themselves with Cuba, which, on account of her frequent revolutions, as well as of the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the Spanish Government, became a thorn in our side. A sentiment in favor of the annexation of the island increased, and at various intervals unsuccessful attempts were made to conclude with Spain a bargain looking toward its purchase. Offers of this kind were, however, again and again rejected.

In the Ten Years' War, as well as in that which culminated in 1898, friends of Cuba in this country labored hard to bring about a recognition of Cuban independence, or, at least, of the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents; but all efforts in this direction failed. In those exciting days which immediately preceded the Spanish-American war, when the Capitol was jammed to the very doors by an eager multitude, there were passed what I may call compromise resolutions. There were those in Congress who wished for the recognition of the Lone Star Flag, and of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, of which Bartolomé Masó was then president; but the majority was against them. Instead of the proposed recognition of the Cuban Republic, the following joint resolutions were passed, and on April 20, 1898, obtained the President's signature:

"The people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

"The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and the control of the island to its people."

Such were the resolutions of Congress which obtained the force of law, and became binding upon the people of the United States. In



view of our subsequent conduct I shall undertake a careful and impartial consideration of them.

Closely following the passage of these resolutions active operations against Spain began. The Cubans in arms were regarded as allies, and their aid and coöperation were sought and obtained. By coöperating with the army under General Gomez — whether officially or not, it makes little difference — we implicitly and practically recognized the belligerency of the Cubans, and, consequently, their flag and organization.

What was our conduct toward our Cuban allies and their flag after the war, which so suddenly and unexpectedly came to an end? The republic was entirely ignored, its flag was not permitted on the palace at Santiago, and its soldiers were dismissed with the grant of a few dollars. But, you tell me, this was quite logical, in view of the fact that the Congress of the United States had not officially recognized the Cuban Republic. I grant that there had been no explicit recognition, but was there not an implicit and virtual one? The Cuban soldiers, fighting under their own flag, were accepted and acknowledged as allies. Was not this a recognition of their flag? And what was that flag but a symbol of their republic?

Let us take the joint resolutions in detail. I read first that “the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.” What does this sentence mean? To my mind it contains words, and nothing more, if it was not a virtual recognition of the “*de facto*” Cuban government. “The people of the island of Cuba are free.” In what sense was this true? Was it true of the inhabitants of Havana, of Santiago, of Matanzas, and of the most important towns of the island? Far from it; for the Spanish flag still waved over them, and Spanish rule still ground them. It was, however, true of the rural population, especially in the eastern provinces. This constituted the real, free, Cuban people. But what is a people without a government? What but a mob in anarchy? And surely the United States could never have intended to recognize an unorganized mob. Therefore, the recognition of Cuban independence and of the freedom of the Cuban people was a necessary, logical, and, at least, an implicit recognition of the government which that people acknowledged. It was, therefore, quite logical to recognize and accept the aid of its army. Has our subsequent conduct been as logical, or has it not been an abandonment in fact of the principle contained in our joint resolution in which we not only declared that the people of

Cuba ought to be free and independent, but that they were actually free. To be sure, it cannot be said that they have been free under the autocratic rule of our American military government. Therefore, either the joint resolution was not true or we have cancelled it by our occupation of Cuba. If the people of Cuba were free when that resolution was passed, then have we, for two years, been robbing them of their freedom.

“All that I have done was for your own good.” These were the words spoken by the President of the United States within my hearing to Mr. Salvador Cisneros, ex-president of the Republic of Cuba. I believe that they were the sincere expression of Mr. McKinley’s sentiments. The question, however, is not what his intentions were, but whether his conduct has been in accord with logic and the principles of law. In this connection I may ask, What is the legal status of the United States in Cuba? We are not masters of the island, nor do we pretend to be, either by the right of treaty or conquest; and yet we exercise sovereignty over it, and in the most despotic form — that of military rule. Was there ever a condition so abnormal in the history of nations?

Undoubtedly our conduct has been at variance with the first of the joint resolutions that I have quoted. Let us now turn to the other and consider our position in regard to it.

“The United States disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof.”

This is a saving clause. We have no right to exercise sovereignty over a free people; but, being the greatest nation on the Western hemisphere, we assume the right to see that our young neighbor is pacified. We undertake to govern it, for its own good, because it is not yet able to govern itself. We do this because we are responsible for its freedom, and because we have its welfare at heart. Such is the position we have taken, whatever may be the legal basis and the antecedents justifying this position. In view of the disorganized condition of Cuba and of the fermentation of passions immediately after the war, it was, perhaps, the only practical, and the only charitable, course to pursue, illogical though it might have been, and the Cuban people will ever feel grateful to the United States for her exertions in their behalf.

But have the Cubans a reason to be universally contented over the period of intervention and the conduct of the military administration?



Mr. Cisneros, generally known in Cuba as the Marquis de Santa Lucia, assures me that they have not.

Some very severe accusations have been made by him against the military administration of Cuba, and if these can be substantiated by proof, the conditions are certainly not calculated to increase love for the United States in the hearts of the Cubans, nor is it any wonder that if, at the close of the war, there was in the island a sentiment in favor of annexation, this has almost disappeared.

There are at present several political parties in Cuba, although their differences are more nominal than real; but there is no party in favor of annexation. Of these political parties the *Nacional Cubano* is the oldest. Its object is to unite all Cubans and to consolidate their sentiment on the one question of Cuban independence. Its organ is "El Cubano," a paper published in Havana, strong in opposition to the military administration, and radically in favor of independence. This party is principally composed of the masses of the population. The *Union Democratica* is a party chiefly composed of the old autonomist elements and of some of the revolutionaries, like José M. Rodriguez, Fidel Pierra, Aristides Agüero, and Gen. Enrique Collazo. Its object is to obtain for the Cubans a voice in the administration of the island during the period of intervention. It also opposes the new electoral law. The *Partido Republicano*, of which the principal organ is "Patria," is another independence party, with a cut-and-dried programme for a republican form of government. *Concentracion Patriotica* is a recent movement, originating in Santiago de Cuba, identical in spirit with the *Nacional Cubano*. It has not yet assumed the organization of a party. The main object of all these so-called parties is to secure absolute independence for the island.

Among the influential papers of the capital, besides those already mentioned, I may say that "La Discusion" and "La Nacion" are independent of all parties, but that, like "El Cubano" and "Patria," they favor independence. "La Lucha," partly published in English, sides with the powers that be, while "El Diario de la Marina," the organ of the Spanish colony, is highly anti-Cuban. The "Nuevo Pais," which was formerly the organ of the autonomist party, favors an American protectorate more than absolute independence. "El Comercio" somewhat resembles "La Lucha," but with a stronger tendency toward the Cuban element.

It will thus be seen that, with the exception of a few dissentient voices, the sentiment of the Cubans is overwhelming in favor of abso-

lute independence. They are willing, as Mr. Cisneros expressed it, to grant the United States every reasonable concession, every commercial privilege, but they draw the line at sovereignty. For years they fought and suffered for the sake of independence, and they are not willing to surrender their ideal. They revere the Stars and Stripes, but their attachment to their own Lone Star flag is and will remain supreme.

What is the sentiment in this country? The imperialists, no doubt, have a hankering after Cuba. In army and navy circles, and in those of the Government generally, I believe there is a sentiment for annexation. Certain business interests, actuated by selfish motives, also look wistfully in that direction. But what of the masses of the people? The impression made upon me is that comparatively little interest is evinced in the matter, although, if opinions could be canvassed, I think the balance would incline toward the independence of Cuba. If there is a sentiment more than any other predominating in the American heart it is that of fair play and a keen love of justice. When our people realize the meaning of the joint resolutions, they will necessarily awaken to the fact that the honor of the United States demands that Cuba be free and independent. The anti-imperialists, both in the Republican and the Democratic ranks, are, of course, in favor of Cuban independence.

The Government of the United States makes open profession of the fact that it intends to be faithful to the joint resolutions and to grant Cuba her independence. The instructions of the military governor of Cuba, dated July 25, of the present year, ordering the general election to be held in September, let it plainly be understood that the people of Cuba, having established municipal governments, are now ready to proceed "to the establishment of a general government which shall assume and exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, and control over the island." The impression I took with me from the interview I had, not long ago, with the President of the United States, in company with Mr. Cisneros, Gen. Lacret, and Dr. Mustelier, was that Cuba's independence was only a question of a few months.

In spite of these assurances, however, and of the confidence reposed in the honor of the American government, the Cuban mind is not without certain misgivings. There is a clause in the instructions already cited which has added to these misgivings. It is said there that the object of the convention will be to "frame and adopt a constitution for the people of Cuba, and as a part thereof to provide for



and agree with the government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that government and the government of Cuba.” “As a part thereof”—this looks suspicious. The constitution of every free and independent government is, and must be, unhampered by foreign relations. What can the constitutional relations of Cuba to the United States be but one of dependency? Were they merely those of nation to nation, upon a basis of equality, there would be no need of embodying them in the constitution. But the idea of dependency is the very antithesis of independence. In a document handed to the Secretary of War by Mr. Cisneros, at the recommendation of the President, a strong protest was made against this clause. I watched the Secretary as he hastily scanned the paper and rapidly turned over the pages. Laying it aside he said that the subject would have to be referred to Gen. Wood. Mr. Root was most courteous and affable, but the rapidity with which he passed over the protest left but little opportunity for an impression to be made then and there.

Again, why was the date of the convention set for the first Monday of November, the day before the Presidential election? Was this done with a purpose in view, for fear that our own elections might be influenced by the Cuban convention, should it happen that the government of the United States showed a tendency to interfere with its working?

Objection is also made to the number of delegates to the convention. Thirty-one delegates are to be elected; but this number can scarcely represent all the varied interests of the island which ought to have a share, at least indirect, in the convention. To this Mr. Root objected that a small, deliberative body is generally more efficient than a large one. This may be true, but is it just as satisfactory to those represented, if the number of representatives is out of proportion to their constituents? Besides, as Mr. Cisneros justly remarks in his memorandum, the limited number renders independent action more difficult, and facilitates outside pressure. It is easier to control a small than a large body.

Certain rumors, which may or may not be founded on fact, have certainly not served to allay suspicions. Thus the Secretary of War is reported to have stated that the United States intended to keep control of the Custom House, of the Public Works, and of the Sanitary Works. If such be the case they might as well keep the whole island at once. Again, it is said that Gen. Wood recently stated in

Puerto Principe that if the elected members of the Constitutional Convention were not persons of knowledge and experience in the island and who, by their conditions, would afford a guarantee of stability to the government elected, the United States would not withdraw from Cuba.

As for myself, I am a firm believer in the sincerity and in the good intentions of Mr. McKinley, but I fear outside pressure and the network of influences which the Annexationists may weave around him. I hope, however, for the honor of our country, that we shall be true to ourselves and our promises, and that we shall be just to a weaker people, to one which has made so many sacrifices for the sake of liberty and is ready, if need be, to make more.

CHARLES WARREN CURRIER.



## IS A TIMBER FAMINE IMMINENT ?

THE woodlands of the United States are estimated to comprise in the neighborhood of 700,000,000 acres, or about 1,100,000 square miles; in other words, about one-third of the area of the country, excluding Alaska and our recent accessions of territory, is wooded. In the term "wooded" are included all lands covered with trees in all stages of growth, from young saplings to mature trees. Of this area about two-thirds lie in the eastern part of the country, extending from the Atlantic coast to the prairie region, and about one-third is comprised in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States. The wooded area may be roughly divided into three classes. The first contains forests of size and quality fit for manufacturing purposes. The trees are, for the most part, mature. Another part of the wooded region was formerly occupied by merchantable forests; but the latter have been cut away for the use of man, and the areas are now occupied by a tree-growth varying in size, age, and quality, but mainly young and small. The third part of the wooded area is covered by trees which, though mainly mature, are of value only for fire-wood or other subordinate purposes. On the first and third of these areas we have a ripe crop of timber, on all of them a growing crop, and on the second a growing crop only.

Geographically, the wooded regions of the United States may be divided into two parts. First we have the eastern part of the country, stretching from the Atlantic coast to the prairies. The prairies themselves are but lightly timbered, forming a transition region between this eastern timbered region and the plains. The latter form a broad belt several hundred miles in width, which is practically devoid of heavy timber.

The Rocky Mountain region west of the plains is timbered only upon the higher mountains and plateaus, the valleys being, as a rule, destitute of forests. Northern Washington and some parts of central and eastern Oregon are forested, and that portion of those two States west of the crest of the Cascade Range is covered with heavy, dense

forests. In California the Sierra Nevada is in great part a forested region, as are most of the coast ranges north of San Francisco Bay.

Thus, as respects its forests, we may divide the country into two parts, the East and the West. In the northern part of the East, near the Canadian border, *i. e.*, in northern New England and New York and in the Lake States, the timber consists mainly of conifers, pines, spruces and hemlock, with an admixture of hardwoods. In this region is found almost all of the remaining supply of white pine. Going southward the hardwoods become more abundant, and in mid latitudes they predominate greatly, consisting here of oak, chestnut, and kindred species. In the Appalachian Mountains, where the altitude induces low temperatures, the conifers extend southward as far as the Carolinas and East Tennessee. On the uplands surrounding the Appalachians and in the Mississippi Valley generally hardwoods preponderate greatly; but along the Atlantic plain, stretching, from Virginia southward, to and across the Mississippi and into northeastern Texas, is a broad strip of yellow pines, with little hardwood. This extends from the coast inland nearly to the broken country of the Appalachians, and constitutes the great southern pine belt. In the swampy coast regions along the Atlantic and the Gulf and in the Mississippi bottomland are large areas containing cypress timber.

Throughout the thickly settled parts of the East the merchantable timber has been largely cut away, leaving an alternation of open cultivated tracts and of young woods, suitable at present chiefly for fire-wood. The pineries of northern New England and the lake States have been pretty well culled for white pine, leaving, however, most of the spruce and hemlock. The southern pine region of the South has also suffered from serious inroads by the lumberman.

The timber of the West is composed almost entirely of conifers. There is no hardwood of commercial value except a little oak found in California. The conifers of the Rocky Mountain region form rather sparse forests, composed of various species, prominent among which are pines, firs, and spruces. This region, even on the mountains, the habitat of the forests, is somewhat arid and has been devastated by fires for centuries, so that the forests are of various ages. Owing to the somewhat unfavorable climate, the frequent fires, and other discouragements, the forests are not commonly dense nor is the timber of much value. Still, being the only timber within easy reach, it is of the most vital importance to the industries of the region.



The forests of the western coast are probably the heaviest and densest on earth. The only known forests which are at all comparable with them are those of tropical regions, such as those of the Amazon and the Congo basins; and here, although the undergrowth may form a more impenetrable jungle, the trees are by no means as large, do not stand as closely together, nor do they contain as much lumber. The reason for this exceptionally heavy forest growth lies in the favorable climatic conditions, a cool, uniform temperature, with slight variations between the seasons, a copious rainfall, and a humid atmosphere. Lying in the north temperate zone, the prevailing winds are from the west, *i. e.*, from the sea, and they bring to the coast region the uniformly damp climate of the ocean. These air currents are constantly saturated with moisture; and in the winter season being warmer than the land, they are forced, on reaching the shore, to discharge copiously their stores of moisture. Similar geographic and climatic conditions prevail upon the west coast of Europe; but there the forests which formerly covered the land were cut away centuries ago.

The heavily timbered area extends in Oregon and Washington from the crest of the Cascade Range to the Pacific coast. This entire region, with the exception of a few small areas in the Willamette valley and in the valleys of the Umpqua and Rogue rivers, is, or was before settlement began, completely covered with a most magnificent forest growth. This body extends into California in two great tongues; one occupying most of the breadth of the coast ranges, and extending nearly down to San Francisco Bay, the other extending southward along the west slope of the Sierra Nevada nearly to Tehachapi Pass.

To appreciate the density of these forests we must have recourse to some well-known unit of comparison. In the white pine forests of Minnesota a heavy stand of timber contains perhaps 5,000 feet (British measurement) per acre, and a stand of 10,000 feet per acre in this region is very heavy. Such areas are few and small. The yellow pine regions of the South contain, on an average, about 3,000 feet (B. M.) per acre, and 5,000 feet is a large stand. Upon the Pacific coast a stand of 5,000 feet per acre would not be regarded as worth lumbering; a stand of 10,000 feet is light. There are whole counties in which the stand averages 30,000 feet. There are townships of thirty-six square miles in which the average stand exceeds 50,000 feet, and there are many square miles whose stand exceeds

100,000 per acre. Among the redwoods a stand of 150,000 feet per acre is common. The lumber companies operating about Humboldt Bay, the principal centre of the redwood industry, have thus far averaged 85,000 feet per acre from the total area which they have cut. Single redwoods have been cut which furnished 100,000 feet in lumber.

Nor is it solely in the stand of timber that these forests excel. The individual trees are of enormous size. The fir ranges in diameter up to 12 feet, with an extreme height of 250 to 300 feet. The spruce is quite as large, while yellow and sugar pines are but little smaller. But the king of all these trees, from the lumberman's point of view, is the redwood. The extreme diameter of the fir, cedar, and pine may almost be regarded as the average diameter of the redwoods. They range up to 20 and 25 feet in diameter, with height exceeding 300 feet.

The *Sequoia gigantea* of the Sierra Nevada occurs only in small groves or tracts, where it is mixed with yellow and sugar pine. Even here it forms only a small component of the forest, being greatly outnumbered by other trees, even in its habitat. It is an old, old tree, the patriarch of the forest. Nearly all of the individuals are in old age; their branches and tops being broken, their butts fire-scarred and perhaps badly burned. They are relics of an age long past. Many thousands of years ago this species was in its prime and covered the land.

The distribution of the tree species is controlled by temperature and rainfall, and these, in turn, by latitude, by proximity to the coast, and by altitude above sea level.

Closely bordering the coast and extending ten or fifteen miles inland, stretching southward from Cape Flattery across Washington and Oregon, is a belt of forest composed almost exclusively of Sitka spruce and cedar. In California these species are replaced by the redwood, which extends in a long, narrow strip from the Oregon-California line southward nearly to San Francisco Bay. Proceeding inland in Washington the species change, and in the place of spruces and cedars the forest becomes composed of the celebrated red, or Douglas, fir, with a large admixture of hemlock. The amount of hemlock diminishes as the Sound valley is approached, and in that region, as well as on the western slopes of the Cascade Range, the forest is composed almost entirely of red fir. This extends up the slope of the Cascade Range 3,000 or 4,000 feet, when its place is taken by sub-alpine species of comparatively little value for lumber pur-



poses. The same succession of species is seen in the northern part of Oregon west of the Cascade Range.

The northern part of Washington east of the Cascade Range is sparsely timbered, mostly with yellow pine. The line of demarkation between the pines and firs is sharply defined by the crest of the Cascades throughout Washington and half way down that range in Oregon. At about the middle point in the range in the latter State the yellow pine succeeds in surmounting the range. Thence it extends southward, spreads over the depression west of it, and even goes into the coast ranges, where it forms a mixed forest with the red fir. Southward it gradually becomes the larger and more important component of the forest. Throughout the forested regions of the Sierra it is the predominant tree. The northern coast ranges east of the redwood belt are largely covered with this tree, intermixed with sugar pine and red fir.

The Sierra Nevada shows three well defined belts of vegetation. The lower belt includes the foot-hills and ranges up to an altitude of 2,500 to 3,000 feet. The vegetation here consists mostly of chaparral of many different species, ranging in height from three to six or eight feet, among which are scattered a few oaks and digger pines. Succeeding this and extending up to altitudes of 7,500 or 8,000 feet, with a breadth of thirty to forty miles, is the yellow pine belt, the true forest of the Sierra. This is an open forest of large trees, with little undergrowth, consisting mainly of yellow pine, with a considerable admixture of sugar pine and incense cedar, and here and there groups and groves of the greatest tree on earth, the *Sequoia gigantea*. Succeeding this belt and extending thence to timber line is a forest of sub-alpine species, consisting of black hemlock, white bark pine, lodgepole pine, and balsam fir, which are of little or no value for lumber purposes.

With reference to the future timber supply of the country, we are concerned with the magnitude of the ripe crop, with the rate of growth, and with the condition of the growing crop, in order that these factors may be compared with the known rate of consumption of wood.

Of the amount of standing timber of merchantable size and quality we have no complete information. We have, however, many bits of knowledge relating to different parts of the country, to different species of trees, etc. ; and by putting these together we may be enabled to make a guess at the extent of our resources.

During the past three years the forests of the West have been examined with considerable care, both within and without the forest reserves, for the purpose of aiding in the administration of the reserves, for the establishment of new reserves, and for learning the local supply of lumber in various parts of the West. The results of these examinations enable me to state with some confidence that in the Pacific Coast States there are in the neighborhood of 600 billion feet (B. M.) of merchantable timber, and that in the Rocky Mountain region there are some 30 billions, making a total of 630 billions in the country west of the plains.

Concerning the eastern part of the country we have comparatively little information. The amount of timber in Minnesota has been estimated with considerable care, with results showing 27.6 billion feet. Wisconsin has been examined with equal care, and is said to contain 45 billion feet.

In the manufacturing investigations of the Eleventh Census, made in 1890, lumbermen and mill owners were asked how much timber land was owned by them, and what was the stand of timber upon it. These questions were quite generally answered, and the replies showed that a total area of 27,664,626 acres, or about 43,200 square miles, was reported upon, with an average stand upon it of 7,830 feet per acre. Nearly all of this area was in the Eastern States. The stand of timber averaged by States ranged from 3,000 up to 41,000 feet per acre, the latter stand being in the State of California. The average stand in the Southern States, including pine and hardwood was 6,000 feet, and in New England 6,500 feet. These figures of average stand, however, are misleading, since they represent not the average of the timber land of the country, but the best of it, quality having largely determined the selection of lands. It would, therefore, be unsafe to accept these figures of stand as the average, even for the lands which are covered with merchantable timber. The average stand of the wooded regions of the eastern country must be far below these figures. Indeed, estimates of the stand of southern pine show the much lower average of about 3,000 feet per acre for the entire region.

Judging by the above facts and numerous other straws of evidence which it would be tedious to enumerate here, I have come to the conclusion that the average stand upon the wooded lands in the East probably does not exceed 1,500 feet. The area of woodland in this part of the country is a little less than half a billion acres. The



stand of timber upon it, therefore, may be in the neighborhood of 750 billion feet (B. M.). With that estimated in the West, 630 billions, the total stand in the country would appear to be, approximately, 1,380 billion feet (B. M.). In 1890, the cut was about 25 billion feet, and since then the annual cut has somewhat increased. The present stand would therefore supply the present rate of consumption for about fifty years. As a random statement, then, it may be said that we have timber in stock sufficient to last the present demands of our industries for nearly two generations. Some species, however, which are applicable to certain purposes, such as the southern pine, the redwood, and the red fir, will last longer than others, and some species, like the black walnut and the white pine, are already very nearly exhausted.

But in saying that the merchantable timber in sight may supply the needs of our country for fifty years to come, it must not be understood for a moment that at the end of that time we shall be at the end of our timber resources. Our timber supply is not like our supply of coal, of iron ore, etc., upon which we have only the principal to draw. It is constantly being replenished by growth, so that we have the interest as well as the capital to live on. It is estimated that each year the average acre of woodland adds a third of a cord by growth. The annual increment of our supply of wood material by growth is, therefore, over 300 billion feet (B. M.). Of this it may be estimated that one-tenth, or 30 billion feet (B. M.), consists of merchantable timber. This is a little in excess of the annual demands of our sawmills, but when we add to these requirements the amount destroyed by fire and other sources of loss, it is altogether probable that the annual growth is considerably less than the annual destruction. It seems, therefore, that if we could reduce the sources of waste to a minimum, the prospect of a continuous supply of timber from our woodlands would be good.

The principal sources of waste are fires and wasteful lumbering, and of these the more serious is the first. Fires operate to destroy timber in various ways, according to their intensity. It is only the fiercest, hottest ones which make a clean sweep of a mature forest, but many of less intensity do great damage. Even light fires destroy the young growth and may injure mature trees in such a way as ultimately to cause their death. Fires, however, can be prevented.

The present methods of lumbering are extremely wasteful, from 60 to 75 per cent only of the tree being cut and utilized as lumber. The

younger trees — those of insufficient size — or the trees of inferior species, are left standing. The waste of the cut trees is left upon the ground, where it dries, and inevitably, sooner or later, intentionally or unintentionally, is burned, producing a hot fire which destroys all the trees left by the lumbermen. Thus, over the lumbered tract not only are all the mature trees cut, but the young growth, which might be depended upon to seed the area for a future crop, is destroyed by the inevitable fires. The lumbered area then depends for reseeding upon trees at a distance, and this reseeding takes place slowly. It may be many years before the area is covered with young growth; and even then for many years this young growth has to run the gauntlet of forest fires, before it reaches an age at which it can resist even the lightest.

It is under such difficulties that the future supply of timber for the country labors. The remedy is simple. When the lumberman changes his policy from that of merely reaping a harvest and abandoning the ground to one of providing for a continuous harvest, year by year, the problem will be solved. This he will do just as soon as he can see a greater profit in the change of policy, and not until then. Sentiment and altruism play no part in business and cannot be depended on as motives for reform. There should be much greater economy in the use of the trees cut, and this is sure to be the case as timber appreciates in value. There is vastly greater economy practised in New England and in the Lake States than upon the Pacific coast, simply because the lumber is more valuable. In eastern regions three-fourths of the tree are utilized, while on the Pacific coast less than one-third of it gets into the lumber market.

The methods of lumbering should be radically changed. Instead of lumbering clean, *i.e.*, cutting every tree which is of size suitable for the mill and destroying the rest, the forest should usually be culled. The mature trees only should be taken out, and they should be removed in such manner as to afford to the remaining trees the best possible chance for future development. In brief, lumbering should be carried on with an eye to future crops of timber from the same land as well as to present profits. The details of method are out of place here; but they are thoroughly understood by foresters and by some progressive lumbermen, and are in practice on many hundreds of thousands of acres of forest to-day, under the supervision of the Division of Forestry of the Department of Agriculture. They are to be introduced upon the National Forest Reserves, under



the same competent advice, as it is believed that, thus operated, these reserves can be made to supply the local demand for lumber for an indefinite length of time.

These forest reserves, numbering thirty-seven, have a total area of 70,645 square miles, or 45,212,800 acres, an area about equal to that of the State of North Dakota, and larger than that of the State forests of Europe combined. They comprise nearly all the large tracts of forest land in the West still owned by the Government, consisting mainly of mountainous regions at considerable altitudes. They contain the sources of many important streams, which are of inestimable value for irrigating the desert lands below, and the forests doubtless have much effect upon the regimen of these streams.

Of the areas of these reserves nearly all are still held by the Government, small tracts only having passed into private hands; and measures have been taken for obtaining the latter by offering the holders the opportunity to exchange them for lands elsewhere. These lands have thus been reserved from sale and settlement, not for the purpose of withholding them from use, as many people have supposed, but, on the contrary, to make them of the greatest possible use, not only in the future, but at the present time. The purpose is to obtain from these lands, if possible, a continuous supply of timber. If given over into private hands all the timber upon these lands which is of any value will be immediately cut and marketed, while that remaining will be destroyed by the fires which inevitably sweep through cut areas, not only destroying all timber and leaving no trees for seeding purposes, but injuring the surface soil for the reproduction of trees, so that often many years elapse before tree-growth is resumed, even in regions having an exceptionally favorable climate for such growth.

The restrictions of the Government upon the use of the timber in the reserves are not onerous. In certain regions where the timber is young and open no cutting is at present permitted. In other regions lumbering is permitted, the cutting being confined to trees above a certain diameter; that is, the Government permits the harvesting of what it regards as the ripe timber crop. It is often an advantage to the younger growth, and consequently to the forests as a whole, to have the older trees, if properly selected, cut out, affording space and air for the young growth to develop. While thus permitting lumbering, the Government requires that the refuse be brought together and disposed of, in order to prevent fires.

The guarding and administration of the forest reserves has been vested in the General Land Office. The organization consists of superintendents, each of whom has charge of one or more reserves. Under each of them are several supervisors, who have charge of separate reserves or definite parts of reserves, and under the latter are rangers, to the number of several hundred, to each of whom is assigned the guarding of a portion of a reserve. Upon this portion the ranger is expected to live, and it is his duty to patrol it constantly. In case of fire rangers are called in from all sides, and the aid of the settlers is invoked if necessary. The system has now been in operation for two years, and its purposes and operations are beginning to be understood by the Western people. Although initiated in the face of the bitterest opposition from them, it is now approving itself to such an extent that the opposition has well-nigh disappeared. Indeed, some who formerly were its bitterest opponents are now heartily in its favor.

One of the most difficult questions to settle regarding the forest reserves is that of grazing upon them, particularly the effect of sheep raising. The reserves include most of the high mountain country of the West, the regions which in summer, when the grass is dried up on the plains and in the valleys, contain practically all of the available pasture land. The pasturage interests of the West, which are great, being worth many millions of dollars, are, therefore, in great part, dependent upon these forest reserves. To bar cattle and sheep from the reserves would be practically to destroy these interests. It would therefore seem inexpedient to prevent grazing in forest reserves, unless it would be clearly established that grazing is sufficiently injurious to the forests to warrant the destruction of the pasturage industry for their protection.

Contrary to widespread belief, especially in the West, the forest reserves are not withheld from the operations of mining land laws. Prospecting may be carried on in the reserves as freely as elsewhere, and mining claims may be taken up there as in other parts of the public domain.

HENRY GANNETT.



## THE LESSON OF THE MAIZE KITCHEN AT PARIS.

I HAVE been astonished many times to notice the alacrity with which hotel guests in America order preparations of Indian corn. I think this is noticeable in the better class of hotels and restaurants found in the great cities, as well as in the ordinary county-seat towns. In our country, where we grind all the cereal flours, and make all the cereal foods, this fact stands out prominently in favor of corn. Our people are not confined to rice and rye. They have the meal of the oat and all the flours of the wheat. They have the brown bread of the German baker and the various kinds of macaroni made either in Italy or in the United States. In late years many new preparations of our cereal grains have been fabricated and put on the market; yet, corn cakes, corn fritters, corn porridge, fried corn mush, hot corn bread, corn grits, and hominy are in active and constant demand. Even the highly prized buckwheat is not consumed to the same extent as are our American preparations of corn. Now, this clearly demonstrates that there is an inherent merit in Indian corn food-products.

The situation in Europe is different. Lately I have taken pains to examine carefully the cereal food-products of the different nations as exposed at the World's Fair. In many of them I find that corn is not grown at all, and in a few only is the imported grain milled for food. In Hungary, Italy, and Roumania some maize is grown, but it is not used on the table to any considerable extent. Nor have these European people anything like the variety and excellence of our cereal foods. Their bread-stuff is composed almost exclusively of rye and wheat flour, milled and bolted. Such a situation would indicate that the exploitation of Indian corn products here would be an easy matter. But the Europeans have taken a dislike to it. Why is this? The inquiry is very important. It goes to the core of the whole thing. It raises a point which must be met. Either our people with their ample opportunities have depraved palates or the Europeans are mistaken. Mr. J. Williams, an expert in Russian agriculture, and an

attaché of his government here, tells me that he is surprised to know that corn is used so extensively as food in the United States. He thinks the poor people in his country might be induced to use it, but is very much puzzled to hear that all classes not only eat but relish it in our country.

An examination of the grain at the Exposition shows this: European maize is grown only on the Mediterranean slope. This maize is flint corn. It is small—not as large as our old King Philip. It resembles the sod-corn of early days. It is hard, dry, woody, and hard to digest, though not unnutritious. It will not grind into flour like the dent varieties. It hasn't the oil; it hasn't the life; it hasn't the sugar; it hasn't the blood-making, the heat-making, the strength-giving qualities of the best varieties of this great grain, such as are found in America.

In the Hungarian pavilion is a collection of antiquities. Among the old mummies, armor, and heavy, rusted broad-swords is a little piece of bread supposed to be a thousand years old. In a case near the little piece of bread are two blackened nubbins of pre-historic corn found in Peru and supposed to be over four hundred years old. The custodian of that pavilion, which was built by the best corn-growing country in all Europe, asked me in all seriousness if those two blackened, ancient nubbins, which were scarcely three inches long, were anything like the corn which is grown in the United States at the present time.

The people of the United States travel. They go to Europe and return. The people of Europe are largely provincial. They do not come to America and return. Year after year they go to Italy, Spain, France, or the Alps, where they find nothing to dispel their preconceived notions about corn and the products of corn. The notion which they have formed pervades the whole Continent, and it is this notion which creates the prejudice against our maize. American palates are not depraved. European minds are simply mistaken. Even the market quotations do not discriminate in favor of the American grown corn.

In many of the agricultural sections assigned to the different nations at the World's Fair I have seen charts showing by graphic work the relative productions of farm products. The leading place in cotton, wheat, and corn is always placed to the credit of the United States. There seems to be no disposition either to hide or to obscure this prodigious fact. The second place in wheat is accorded



either to France or Russia. The farmers of Roumania and Hungary grow an excellent quality of this grain. Indeed, it was at Budapest that our modern system of milling wheat had its origin. An agent of a Chicago reaper company tells me that his house sold 20,000 reaping and mowing machines in Europe last year, and that probably one other Chicago house sold even more. There are a dozen American and Canadian reaping machines competing for European trade. The French tariff on wheat is light, but the country lays a duty of two dollars and fifty-five cents a barrel on flour, which practically bars this commodity out of the French market. The policy of the French republic is to protect the native miller, and we have no right to complain about that.

Now, the situation, taken as a whole, shows plainly that a large introduction of corn or corn flour might enlist the combined opposition of European wheat interests; and I present these facts to show the prodigious work which lies in front of our Indian corn propaganda. But it can all be overcome, and a tremendous market can be created among the middle classes in Europe for maize breadstuffs. Almost the same situation lay in front of our firms which undertook the sale of rolled oats in European countries; but they have established an enormous trade, and the rolled oat is quite a staple on the European table. The essential fact of merit lies with the corn products. Notwithstanding the large amount of wheat raised here, European people need our maize preparations, so that the practical question is: How shall we proceed to create the demand and supply the market the same as we have done in rolled oats and in cotton, bales of which may be always seen piled high on the piers at European ports?

To meet the inquiry, let me suggest the following: (1) Through our consuls and other agencies the differences between American and European maize ought to be shown to the people; (2) depots of supplies ought to be established where corn flours and corn foods could be obtained at the lowest prices compatible with a fair profit; (3) the methods of cooking these maize dishes should be promulgated at the supply depots. Some of these things are now being done in a very creditable manner. The so-called Corn Kitchen at the Exposition is truly a success. It serves corn dishes to from one hundred to five hundred persons a day, and the dishes are well prepared. It is an annex to the agricultural exhibit, and is under the direct supervision of Mr. Charles Richards Dodge, the United States director of

this part of the Fair. From personal knowledge I know that the Kitchen has created a large amount of inquiry among visitors. It would not be in good taste to disparage the grains of other countries while competing for national honors at this Exposition. Hence, the Kitchen is not the place to point out the wide difference between bread made from our corn and that made from Hungarian maize; but when it comes to actual business this of course is an entirely different question.

Naturally this Corn Kitchen cannot supply the flours and meals and grits and hominies that an inquiring people demand. Hence, the functions of the kitchen are limited to presenting the dishes as prepared in the American homes and hotels. Hence, too, it falls short of the real necessities. A German may like the bread and cakes ever so well, but if he has no available place in which to buy the meal and the flour little is accomplished. Our country has practically a monopoly in corn production. It is the most valuable plant that grows. It is rich in forage, rich in feed, rich in food. All animal life upon the farm, from poultry up, grows and fattens upon it — a fact which can be affirmed of no other grain. Millions of people in Europe would be blessed if they knew how to use the cheap corn foods of America and had easy access to them. No mind can take in the commercial possibilities of a market for this grain in Europe.

It is pleasant to note that American milling companies have done much to promote this enterprise. The American Cereal Company, the Decatur Cereal Mills, the Indianapolis Hominy Company, the Cereal Food Company, the National Starch Company, the Hudnut Company, the United States Frumentum Company, and the Patent Cereal Company supply the materials that are consumed in the Corn Kitchen. The Government simply pays the freight and customs charges. Col. Carr, of Galesburg, Illinois, and Mr. B. W. Snow, of Chicago, equipped and installed the Kitchen under the direction of Mr. Dodge. Two of the best chefs obtainable in the United States are employed, and they are assisted by two colored cooks, one of whom is well-known as “Aunt Jemima.” She had large experience in making griddle cakes at both the Omaha and the Nashville Expositions.

The management of the Corn Kitchen prepare and serve free of charge the following dishes: The different corn soups; yellow and white corn meal mush; hominy grits; hominy in cream; hominy *au*



*gratin*; all kinds of corn fritters, from yellow, white, and sweet corn; the different griddle cakes with maple syrup; frumentum pudding; maizena blanc mange; corn muffins; yellow and white corn bread; Boston brown bread; popcorn.

Russians make considerable inquiry at the Kitchen about how the meals are ground and as to the machinery necessary to make them. Two Roumanian cooks have frequented the kitchen a great deal and have learned how the dishes are prepared. The Vegetarian Club of France has also interested itself, and sent cooks to learn something about Indian corn and its products. The International Restaurant of the city of Paris has introduced a few of the dishes into its bill of fare. All this shows that something essential is being accomplished by the propaganda.

It is interesting to compare the above list of foods with the water gruel made in Roumania from the flint-corn meal. It is still more interesting to compare it with the corn cakes made in Italy called *polenta*, hard as nuts, containing neither eggs nor milk nor lard. It is from these that Europe has taken its dislike to corn as a table food, and it must not be forgotten that prejudice is always hard to overcome. As to prejudice, the following incident is a good illustration: Not long since Count Nadady, who owns large estates in the corn-growing district of Hungary, and has perhaps the finest stud of American horses in Europe, was in a coaching party touring the southern Alps. Some American gentlemen in the party had canned sweet corn, and gave a sample of it to Mr. Lumière, the inventor of the cinematograph. The latter seemed to like his new dish very much, but one day found a few silks in his can and confided his mysterious discovery to the Count. "Why," said his lordship, "that is only food for animals!" This little episode tells the whole story. It is needless to say that no more sweet corn was eaten by Mr. Lumière on that trip.

Another difficulty in popularizing corn foods in parts of Europe will be found in the equipment of the family kitchen; for what little cooking is done there in the family is accomplished on a small oil or gas stove. Corn foods, at their best, must be served hot — a fact which precludes the good offices of the public baker. In countries where the people are very conventional, and where long custom has fixed their habits, they grow to look upon domestic changes with a mild sort of abhorrence. I fear, therefore, that naturally they would be slow to make their stoves and stove furniture suitable for the preparation of corn dishes.

In the plain, practical, but comprehensive and massive exhibit which Director Dodge has made of American agriculture at the Universal Exposition stands a case not more than three feet square and six feet high. In that case are samples of the more important products and by-products of Indian corn. It might be thought that a list of these commodities would be prosaic and commonplace. Not so. On the contrary, it is highly interesting, and, to the thoughtful man, more than suggestive. In that collection you may find corn meal (yellow and white), pearl hominy, hulled corn, cream of maize, granulated corn meal, canned green corn, canned hulled corn, maizena, samp, degerminated samp, cream meal, self-rising pancake flour, quick malt, brewers' grits, husks for mattresses, cellulose made of pith for packing the coffer-dams of battle-ships, paper stock prepared from shells of the corn-stalk, degerminated brewers' meal, Bourbon whiskey, alcohol, bolted corn meal, hulled corn meal, feed of ground corn blades and stalks and cobs, varnish, cob pipes, lager beer, fancy table syrup, pop corn, table grits, British gum, salves, laundry starch, table starch, frumentum, flaked hominy, gum paste, corn oil, vulcanized corn oil, oil cake, grape sugar, gluten feed, glucose, confectioner's crystal glucose, and confectioner's paste.

Many of these by-products in turn give rise to a second series of most interesting products. For example, corn oil, vulcanized, forms the basis of a substitute for rubber. This substitute, compounded with 60 per cent commercial rubber, is used in the manufacture of sheet-rubber boots, linoleum, wheel-tires, blankets, and other articles. Crude corn oil has been used in the manufacture of toilet soap. In the rectified form it is as clear as alcohol, and is then used as the base of a substitute for olive oil. The porosity of the cornstalk pith adapts it for sheathing between the walls of battle-ships, so that if the armor is penetrated this pith swells and automatically closes the leak. It also has peculiar properties which render it of value in the fabrication of fine paper, varnish, films, imitation silks, and gun cotton and other explosives. All this not only indicates but demonstrates that our campaign for the introduction of Indian corn and its products into the markets of Europe can be made squarely upon merit. Before merit, custom will yield, prejudice will vanish, the wheat interests will give way, and kitchen furniture will undergo the necessary modifications.

These products of Indian corn make a beautiful display. They run from the richest yellow to the purest white. The meals are



ground as finely as wheaten flour. They show novelty and variety. Thus it is that in one small, collective exhibit there is a most interesting and inviting study to all who come to Paris to gaze upon the wonders of the World's Fair.

Not many years ago a German chemist, named König, who is an authority on food composition, published the following table of food values :

	PROTEIN, PER CENT.	FAT, PER CENT.	CARBOHY- DRATES, PER CENT.
Maize, American.....	10.17	4.78	68.83
Maize, S. E. Europe.....	9.42	4.13	69.37
Maize, S. W. Europe.....	8.84	5.80	65.79
Rice hulled .....	6.73	1.88	76.46
Barley, average, all countries.....	9.66	1.93	66.99
Barley, North American.....	10.48	2.42	66.94
Barley, England and Scotland.....	9.80	2.17	64.45
Barley, C. and N. Germany.....	9.88	1.80	66.75
Rye, average, all countries.....	10.80	1.77	70.21
Wheat, average, all countries.....	12.04	1.91	69.07

	FUEL VALUE OF ONE POUND CALORICS.
Cornmeal.....	17.30
Barley, granulated.....	16.40
Rice.....	16.30
Rye Flour.....	16.30
Wheat Flour.....	16.75

I have not the technical knowledge sufficient to expound or pass upon the scientific value of these tables, but I see that the Secretary of Agriculture at Washington, who is an enthusiastic promoter of the movement to exploit Indian corn products in Europe, has issued a pamphlet in the French language and is circulating these tables with a liberal hand. American grown Indian corn is shown to stand next to wheat in food composition.

Intelligent people agree that corn is very digestible and healthful. Now comes the crowning fact, namely that Indian corn meals can be prepared for the European markets at one-half the cost of wheat flour. Other facts are important; other facts are prominent; but this fact is predominant. By the new process of degerminating the kernel these meals stand shipment in any weather and remain good in any climate. The oil that is lost in the germ may be easily replaced with butter or lard, and the nutty flavor so welcome to most palates retained. Indian corn bread-stuff, then, is nutritious, palat-

able, digestible, healthful, preservable, and inexpensive. These are the elements of its merit. The cry that it is "food for the pigs" may be raised against wheat or rye or oats or barley. Prejudice everywhere slowly but surely gives way to merit. Wisdom may speed the day; folly and bad management may delay it. Our dealers have not always been honest, they have not always shipped their best goods to foreign markets. Neither have the Indian corn propagandists always been wise. They have not uniformly presented the exact truth to the American public, but have been rather inclined to magnify its possibilities.

Still, much has been done, especially among the Hollanders, the Germans, and in the British Isles. Our Indian corn export has doubled in ten years. In 1890 it was, in round numbers, 100,000,000 bushels; in 1898 it was 208,000,000 bushels. The export of corn meal has likewise doubled, and is now about 800,000 barrels a year. Dr. H. W. Wiley, Chief of the Division of Chemistry in the Agricultural Department at Washington, tells me that we export a thousand tons of ground shells of corn stalks to Europe for feed annually, and that the trade may be developed into prodigious proportions. The strong, honest, practical sense of the German people is beginning to assert itself, and they will soon find that the cry set up against corn as a breadstuff is wrong. I anticipate that in another ten years the export trade of Indian corn to Germany will again have more than doubled. The annual yield of this grain in the United States is estimated to be not far from 2,000,000,000 bushels. That being so, we do not export more than one bushel out of ten. Hence the exports may increase enormously without in any way interfering with the home supply.

In my judgment, no time should be lost in promoting this movement. Russia has well-nigh finished railroad communication between Havre and Port Arthur. From the Atlantic to the Pacific by this line of rails is 7,200 miles, and 3,300 miles of this distance lies in the southern zone of Siberia. Soon a connecting line will be finished to Peking, when it will take only half the time and cost only half the money to go from London to Hong Kong by way of the Trans-Siberian Railroad than now by way of the Suez Canal by steamer. The uplands of southern Siberia grow an excellent quality of wheat, while the valleys produce an average quality of corn. In this country beef on the hoof is less than two cents a pound. Fruit does well; food is cheap; feed is cheap; fuel alone is expensive.



The regional aspect of the western part of this zone is similar to that of Iowa and Nebraska. In extent it more than equals two States like Texas. Immigration is now setting that way, and in a few years its products are bound to affect the markets of Europe, when the Czar of Russia will no longer place immense orders with Chicago firms for army meats. The great distributing centres for these Siberian products will be Riga, Berlin, and Paris. I am thinking that the sooner the United States of America preëempt and pre-occupy these European corn markets and establish themselves therein the better it will be for our farming and exporting interests.

J. S. CRAWFORD.

## THE FUTURE OF CHINA AND OF THE MISSIONARIES.

It is evident that the books which have been written on China will, for the most part, have to be revised. They describe a condition which is passing away. Out of the existing riots and disturbances will come a new system. It cannot be possible that such great events should pass and leave no results behind. The position of China will be fixed and determined. Her relations with the foreign powers will be defined. Whether she shall be effaced as a nation, as other countries have been, and her territory shall be occupied as their own by the European powers, or whether she shall remain the self-poised, long-lived, enduring "Middle Kingdom" that she has been for centuries, with a greater freedom and new rights, will be registered by the fiat of the Western powers in the volume that is called international law.

Meantime, the ground and basis of the arguments of current political writers will have dropped from under them. The theory of their theses was that China was the ward, or the tributary, of the Western people. She was the world's oyster — to be opened, if need be, by the sword. Not in remote contingencies were her rights to be considered, but ponderous essays, and even volumes, were written to show that some countries were getting more power than they ought to have, and that other countries should assert themselves, and seize larger strips of territory. All these countries had partisans, but, like ancient Rome, China had none. New phrases were coined, and the veiled larceny of "spheres of influence" became pregnant with indefinite but portentous meaning. The "open door" became a phrase to swear by, though few men ever knew what it meant, and in its discussion the owner of the land was ignored.

Treaties — the embodiments of international concessions, and the measures of international rights — were as worthless as last year's almanac. The old enthroned exemplar of equal rights, the "favored nation" clause, under which the treaty powers were each to have all the rights that any one nation enjoyed, was as worthless as the right of a colored man to vote in some of our Southern States. Abso-



lutely, there was no check or rein on unbridled lust for territory. Each nation took what it pleased. One of them, in order to save something for the future, stipulated that the Yangtze valley should not be ceded to any other power, while another claimed a mortgage on a southern province. In the public mind, according to the books, there was a well-defined notion that no country in which dark-complexioned men lived had the right to keep out modern civilization. By this civilization were meant commerce, inventions, railroads, and machinery. It was contended that the advanced nations of the world, whose people were white, had the undoubted right to enter in and upon the dark nations, and force them to introduce modern methods, including the etiquette of palaces. Some writers went further, even, and asserted that it was a providential duty of the cultivated nations to compel the others to adopt improved methods of government.

At the bottom of all this cant lay the thirst for gold. When commercial regulations were satisfactory the spread of civilization was secure. Commerce was king. To it mankind was tributary. Its bales and boxes were to go up every river, and circumnavigate every lake. The internal and customs systems of taxation were to be dictated by the foreigners. If the foreign powers in their treatment of the peoples of the Far East had rested on this purely commercial view of the situation, and had refrained from the seizure of territory, their conduct might have been condoned. But every now and then a country was swallowed up, sometimes by a forced protectorate, sometimes by simple deglutition. Thus went Burmah, Cochin China, Madagascar, Annam, Tonquin, Africa, Formosa, and certain parts of China; thus have now gone the Boer Republics, and thus will possibly go the whole of China. Every now and then the yellow giants, bound in chains, writhed in their agony, and desperate deeds were done under the semblance of revenge.

There is another class of thinkers who have repudiated force, relying on slow and peaceful methods of civilization. Some of them have been diplomats, notably in China. The early diplomatic corps — from 1863 to 1895 — at Peking did not violently interfere with Chinese methods. They recognized China's autonomy. They realized that Western methods were not adapted to the Orientals, and they were not insisted on. A coöperative policy existed, and all the foreign representatives acted together. The diplomatic body took up all the questions which affected foreigners generally, and pressed their consideration on the Tsungli Yamen. The era of demanding vast con-

cessions for railroads and mines had not supervened. Promoters there were who wanted jobs; but the schemes were originated by the Chinese, and were not forced upon them.

There existed then in Peking the distinct idea that it was not desirable to assimilate China to the West. It was understood that the outer world would benefit most by refraining from introducing into her borders such modern improvements as would make her independent of the great manufacturing countries. We were selling to her immense quantities of cotton cloth; and it was not deemed desirable to introduce machinery for its manufacture, because we should then lose our market; and so with other things. Her statesmen were ignorant of international law, and did not know their power. They had made treaties by which the tariff dues were fixed at five per cent. It was best not to teach them that any nation has the right, as our Supreme Court holds, to set aside treaties by legislative acts.

The idea of the most successful corporation that the world has ever seen — the East India Company — was exactly on these lines. It did not seek to instruct or proselyte. It was a company of traders, pure and simple. *En passant*, let me say that this company had a very noted factory at Canton. Originally there were two East India companies, which were consolidated in 1600 under a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth. In 1825 the company was in its greatest glory. As a commercial body it ceased to exist in 1834. Some idea may be formed of its grandeur by the statement that the sum of £100,000 per annum was allowed for the expenses of the factory at Canton. The salary of the chief was £25,000. This corporation became too powerful, and it passed away. In 1843 five ports were opened to foreign trade, and a development of the new China began.

In this development the missionaries began to assume an important part. Here was a vast field for the exercise of religion and of charity. For two hundred and fifty years the Catholics had been in China; the Protestants were now to enter the arena. At the beginning of the new era, after the British treaty of 1843 had been made, the Protestant missionary work was quiet and unostentatious. Missionaries were settled in the open ports, and some went into the interior. France, the natural protector of the Catholic missionaries, secured the adoption of what was called the Berthemy Convention, under which the French missionary has the right to go into any province and buy land, build houses, and permanently reside. Of course, this right inured under the favored nation clause to the Pro-



testants. It was largely made use of. The Protestant missionary began to settle in every part of the Empire. Between the years 1885 and 1895 the movement assumed the character of a new crusade. Now the finger of the world points to the missionary as being the cause of the recent outbreaks in China, and one of the questions confronting us is whether his work shall be abandoned. In the accounts that have been published of the existing disturbances, I do not find that a distinct anti-missionary feeling was the impelling force of the riots. The missionary was driven out because he was a foreigner, not because of his occupation.

The rioters found a new field of operations in the province of Chihli, where since 1870 peace has prevailed. The great riot that year at Tientsin was due to a common cause of disturbance. Very young children were received in the asylum for infants, and it was charged that their eyes were used to make medicines. The alleged kidnapping of children for this purpose, ridiculous as the accusation is, has caused several great riots in China. Riots are ordinarily organized by some secret society. They do not originate in the body of the Chinese people. To them life is simply a struggle for existence, and above all they want tranquillity. To the lower classes the missionaries bring bread and education. They gather up refuse children of the street into great Sunday schools and teach them. I have seen as many as twelve hundred children gathered in the Methodist church at Peking, divided into classes, and taught exactly as is done here. Who can predicate harm to any one from such a charitable observance as this?

In any résumé of the elements that have contributed to the progress of China, it is simply just to allude to the labors of the missionaries of all nations and of all denominations. Truthful history must say of them that they preceded commerce, that their literary and educational labors have instructed foreigners as to China and China as to foreigners, and that their exalted philanthropy has begot among the poor and the rich a great measure of respect and confidence. While it is proper to give to the Imperial Maritime Customs, to the ministers and consuls, and to the great commercial houses full praise for their labors, we should not forget gratefully to remember those unobtrusive, but influential, agents of progress, whose inspiration came from a holier source than a desire for gain.

The question of the future of the missionaries is clear-cut now, and it lies outside of any consideration as to the intrinsic value of

their work. It is this: Conceding all the good that is claimed for missionary work, should it, in view of the present condition of China, be abandoned? That question is to be answered. In the beginning we must recognize the undoubted fact that the Catholic powers — the Pope, Spain, Italy, and especially France — will never consent that the Catholic missionaries shall be driven out of China. Their interests there are immense. There are twenty-eight Catholic bishops in the Empire, of whom three are in the province of Chihli. There are vast establishments over the country with schools, colleges, and asylums. Curiously, the Catholics have not gone into medical or surgical work, but they fill all other fields, covering industrial schools, carpenter and other shops, and all the forms of labor. The great cathedral at Peking was built mostly by the native Christians. The wealth of the Church is enormous. The chief religious societies, the Jesuits, Benedictines, Augustines, Christian Brothers, Lazarists, and Franciscans are found at many places. You cannot turn the dial of progress back. You cannot revoke all the treaties. You cannot undo the work of three centuries. If the Continental Catholic remains in China, his Protestant colleague will go thither. It is not in human nature to stand back and see others occupying fields of danger or of venture, and it is not in Christian nature to disregard the Divine command to go into the world and teach all nations.

The subject transcends the scope of human laws. It is the same "higher law" which was preached by Seward and his associates prior to 1861. No American law forbids the going of any citizens abroad; and if China should admit them into her territory, no administration in this country would dare to order them not to go thither, even if it had the power to do so. From a governmental point of view the suggestion of exclusion is impracticable of execution. If the merchant may sell his wares in China, the missionary may sell his tracts and Bibles. Happily we do not recognize any religion in our Constitution. Fortunately the religious wars which have devastated the earth are unknown here. It would not be wise to precipitate one. Let assumed truth go forth to meet assumed error. Let the peaceful battle of the ages go on. Let modern arts, commerce, and inventions follow in the wake of self-devoted religious teaching. It cannot be that the serious disturbances we have witnessed were caused by antagonism to men and women whose lives are devoted mainly to charity. The hurly-burly of the riot overtook the mis-



sionary because he was a foreigner, not because he was a religious teacher. It was racial feeling, such as exists in this country against the negro — the feeling which raged so recently in New Orleans, New York, and Akron.

Whether or not missionary work should be circumscribed in its extent must be left to the great societies which have it in charge. From my experience I would advise that care and prudence be exercised in selecting locations for missionaries. In many localities there would not, probably, for a generation to come be any danger of destruction. In others the danger is patent. It is impossible for our Government to station soldiers all over China to protect its people. It can only demand redress when wrongs are perpetrated, and that it has always faithfully done. The spirit of adventure, which takes no account except of the letter of the Scriptural injunction, should be restrained. In some cases missionaries have defied the advice of consuls, and have gone into the most dangerous localities. There should be reason in all things. Riots occur and pass like summer clouds, and all races are eminently recuperative. A few years will obliterate the marks of the recent outrages; but let not the patient, gentle, persistent labors of decades be brought to naught.

If in the treatment of China now by the powers the grievous wrongs which have threatened to produce her effacement could be repaired, a new and peaceful era would be inaugurated. While probably the nations cannot do this efficaciously, they may, at least, call a halt. They may, at least, bind themselves to the effect that no further seizures of territory shall be permitted. It is certain that this great, calm, majestic Republic will not lend itself to any scheme of aggression, and it is to be hoped that other nations will coöperate with it in the crisis which is impending.

CHARLES DENBY.

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

It is with the kindergarten that the name of Froebel is most intimately associated; and it is this institution that has spread his fame throughout the world. Froebel himself, however, regarded the kindergarten as but a fragmentary part of educational reform. His pedagogy rests upon a distinct philosophical system, the comprehension of which is requisite to an adequate appreciation of his theories.

The philosophy of Froebel is characteristic of the time in which he lived. At the dawn of the nineteenth century the Germans were a race of poets and thinkers, and regarded all questions of material existence as secondary to the great problem of moral culture. Politically weak, the nation was yet sufficiently strong to delve into the depths of the universe and to develop the spiritual life; and thus the grandeur and dignity of man became the predominant idea of that epoch. Upon this basis there arose a multitude of conceptions as to world and life; and Froebel, although not an adherent of any particular school, was most closely associated with the movement designated as "romanticism," which was most perfectly personified in Schelling. It was for Krause, however, that Froebel seemed to have the greatest affinity, and from him the great educational reformer borrowed much of his technical phraseology.

According to Froebel's conviction, the world is the creation and revelation of a Supreme Being, operating not from without, but from within, as the essence of all things. Briefly formulated, "The divine agency, operating in every form and object of creation, constitutes the nature of that particular form or object." Thus founded in God, the infinite complexity of the universe becomes an organic whole; the same laws everywhere become operative; and, most important of all, nature and the intellectual life become one and inseparable. Therefore, whatever at first glance may seem an evil loses this signification so soon as it is considered in relation to the universe.

Nevertheless, the unit, by becoming part of the whole, does not sacrifice its independence; for God, being life, infinite and inexhaust-



ible, is imparted to every atom of the universe; and thus every atom becomes invested with the mission of transmitting and propagating, according to its special nature and endowment, the whole sum of existence in which it is rooted. Inseparable from the totality of creation every particle is compelled to absorb this totality — to take it into account in every situation and in every act.

This applies above all to humanity; for if man, like nature, is a manifestation of the divine essence, the manifestation must here necessarily attain to higher expression and fuller consciousness. The operation of the divine agency in nature is effected by silent physical laws; in man, by the exercise of independent judgment. Thus we perceive how the philosopher endeavors to establish harmony between dependence and liberty, between the silently operative laws of nature and the manifestation of the human will.

These views derive an especial importance, not so much from their instructive content, as from the personal manner with which Froebel advances them. Of an intuitive, artistic nature, Froebel impresses us, above all, by the whole-hearted manner in which he accepts and advances doctrines which, on closer examination, occasionally reveal a certain ambiguity of ideas. Endowed with a full consciousness of life he is desirous of carrying this spirit into every form of activity. He constantly endeavors to clarify his spiritual experiences and to develop the ideas that arise within him. Although dominated by a strong desire to turn from the superficialities and distractions of daily life to the contemplation of divine nature, his love of humanity impels him to practical activity in order that his fellowmen may also be directed to that God-given nature in whom their being is centred. Froebel's life, therefore, may serve as an example of high spiritual activity; and all his thoughts and actions may be said to have been deeply rooted in what the Germans designate as "*Gemüt.*"

The fundamental principle of Froebel's work is the elimination of the element of chance from the affairs of life. The human race with him is a product of evolution; and the birth and progress of humanity is presented as analogous to the development of the vegetable kingdom — growing and expanding from within, ever blossoming, unfolding, and enlightening.

The name "*Kindergarten*" arises from this conception. But it would be erroneous to assume that Froebel stops here, contenting himself with that silent contemplation so characteristic of numerous

romanticists. With Froebel life was not a bare fact, but a mission. According to his conception, creation, in its essence, is not mere existence, but activity. Knowledge, also, must be preceded by action; and here, indeed, all human progress must be centred. But activity can only then be engendered when the great contrasts of life are clearly defined, in order that a means of mediation and unification may be secured to the ultimate establishment of harmony. This goal can never be attained, however, without incessant and independent action. Consequently, it is the duty of every individual to labor in the cause of culture.

Froebel did not succeed in establishing perfect harmony between natural development and free activity; and this failure constitutes the weakest part of his pedagogical system. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the great educator was indefatigable in his efforts to establish such a unification; and, after all, it may be said of him, as of many other great thinkers, that the presence of striking contradictions is frequently conducive to the fullest development of life.

Froebel's conception of activity is centralized in the proposition that of all contrasts that between the internal and the external world must be accepted as the most important; hence, a unification of these extremes must be regarded as a primary consideration. Now, the inner life, in order to be understood, must be outwardly expressed; while external manifestations must penetrate to our inner consciousness before they can be realized. Consequently, our first task consists in externalizing the inner and internalizing the outer world — *i. e.*, in unifying the fundamental extremes of nature. This is accomplished by the forms of activity known as presentation and creation.

As our loftiest conception of the Almighty is that of the Creator, so also our highest conception of the function of man is associated with the creative principle. The primary function of education, therefore, is the presentation of our individual life; and suffice it to say that this conception greatly increases the ideal value of labor. Man does not labor solely to earn his bread, but principally in order that the divine, the spiritual, within him may find expression, so that he may become conscious of the nature of God and of his own Godlike identity. Bread, dwelling-house, and clothes, though acquired in the course of labor, are yet unimportant accessories. When elevated to this standard, labor is brought into intimate relation with religion, each being complementary of the other. "Religion, without activity or labor, is ever in danger of becoming empty speculation, vapid



enthusiasm, in short, an unsubstantial phantom; while labor, without religion, degrades man to the level of a beast of burden or a machine."

These convictions lead to the recognition of the relation between nature and culture. The latter is not in itself creative and cannot presume to dictate to the former. On the contrary, culture must observe and follow nature and seek to develop it. Only at a very advanced stage is it permissible to indicate the direction. His own doctrine Froebel preferably designates as "training by development"; and he holds that education can be fruitful only when engrafted upon the individuality of the pupil, so that the child-nature may be developed like a bud or a shoot. According to his theory, education must assume that there is an inner life in every soul by which it becomes united with the universe; otherwise all efforts at development would be futile. Education is in danger of becoming spiritless so soon as it treats man as a vacuity.

The primary object of education is to stimulate independent action. Where proper training exists, necessity must be converted into freedom, law into personal judgment, and outward pressure into free-will. The child, despite all deviations and interruptions, must be made to strive persistently toward the goal—as determined by its individuality; it must be treated as a creative being, and stimulated to the exercise of independent activity. True, independence cannot be developed without an incessant struggle against obstacles; but this very struggle, if victorious, will be conducive to peace, happiness, and liberty, and will elevate man to the likeness of God. Religion must beware of weakening personal independence by encouraging hopes of an external reward. It must, above all, guard against inculcating into the childish mind the doctrine that good deeds will meet with a material recompense; for this doctrine fosters false expectations of life, leads to an erroneous criticism of events, and tends ultimately to destroy peace of mind and strength of will. Far better is it to let our youth realize that noble, disinterested endeavor is often followed by pain and suffering; but that herein the inner, spiritual, and true life becomes more clearly manifest and shows its superiority. "Renunciation and privation to the end of our spiritual welfare"—this is the first condition to the attainment of the highest development.

In accordance with his fundamental purpose, viz., the harmonizing of contrasts, Froebel seeks to develop man, both as an individual and as a member of society. He regards the child both as an inde-

pendent unit and as a part of the general organism of life; and, consequently, all his utterances have a two-fold application. For example, man can develop his individuality only in connection with others, and is, indeed, born with the social instinct; on the other hand, life in the community is valuable only because it stimulates the development of the individual. To Froebel, however, the kernel of all activity is the representation of the individual life. Man does not attain to full consciousness until he objectifies his personal being; nor can he understand outward nature until he has assimilated, modified, and expressed it anew.

“Training by development” demands the closest conformity of the educator to nature. For this reason, he must closely follow the progress of the child-soul through all the successive stages; and these stages, though part of a general plan, are to be kept distinctly sun-dered. The method to be followed in this regard is clearly elucidated in Froebel’s masterwork, “*Die Menschenerziehung*” (“The Education of Man”), and emphasizes that nothing shall be demanded of the individual, mature or immature, but adequately to fulfil the requirements of each period of life. Froebel himself, it is true, took an increasing interest in the period of early childhood; and this attitude was entirely in accord with his general conception of training.

The period of childhood affords the most fruitful soil to the educator. The pupil here presents himself as an organic entity, not yet bound by complex relations to the outer world. The springs of life are strong within, and would seem to direct the educator as to the general trend of the youthful faculties; while all the conditions favor the establishment of an intimate relationship between teacher and pupil. Froebel vigorously asserts his conviction that the internal and vitalizing element diminishes in the course of years, while the force of outward expansion increases. Consequently, the whole educational fabric rests upon a proper appreciation of the budding nature of the child. This must be directed into the proper channels, and never diverted from its bent, in order that the inner or spiritual life may ever predominate, and that diversity may be subservient to unity.

Our primary aim, therefore, should be to awaken and to stimulate the innate principle of life slumbering within, so that this principle may be developed according to eternal laws. Primarily, it is the mother upon whom this duty devolves; the family circle thus becoming invested with a high significance as the first seat of culture. The agency of the divine spirit in human affairs first manifests itself in the



bosom of the family, whence all regeneration and rejuvenation must proceed. "At present, it is to the quiet and secluded sanctuary of the family that we must look for a revival of the divine spirit among mankind."

While engaged in the elaboration of these principles, Froebel evolved the conception of the kindergarten, an institution designed to fill a hitherto neglected gap in the development of the child — the interval between the nursery and the schoolroom. Froebel perceived that this stage of life was not sufficiently appreciated, and that the vital and active impulses of childhood were neglected; and thus there arose within him the idea of the general establishment of kindergartens, in which child-nature was to be cultivated like a plant, under the skilful supervision of experienced gardeners, and in accordance with eternal laws. Here the teaching of Froebel regarding the importance of creative work and the expression of the inner life obtains especial recognition. The kindergartens, indeed, are particularly designed to stimulate the creative impulse, and this, primarily, by means of pleasant games, here appearing in the form of independent exercises, and serving as an introduction to a wider acquaintance with nature.

Play is the highest stage in the development of the child; being the free, untrammelled expression of the inner nature — the presentation of child life according to inward necessity. The elaboration of this idea constitutes the salient feature of Froebel's achievement. He analyzed the plays of childhood, demonstrated their important bearing upon the development of the soul, and arranged, in strict systematic sequence, a series of occupations for the furtherance of the creative impulse, ever dominated by the idea that everything we behold is the outward presentation of an inner life, and that all diversity must centre in unity.

Although Froebel was occasionally defective in execution, freely introducing symbolism where misapplied, and expressing mere theories in a spirit of dogmatism, these defects in nowise detract from his splendid achievement as an analyst and promoter of child-play. He has opened a great domain, revealed an inexhaustible fund of life, and invested it with a universal interest.

Froebel believed that the kindergartens would exercise an extraordinary influence on life in general; and he confidently expected that the extension of these institutions would tend to raise the standard of true culture, both in an intellectual and an ethical sense,

bring man into closer relationship with nature, and promote maternal affection and feminine influence. He contended that we were overburdened with external attainments, and were unwisely disposed to augment these, while neglecting the cultivation of our innate faculties. In his opinion a liberation from our unnatural system of education will be secured as soon as insight and independent judgment shall be stimulated by a spontaneous and rational development of the individual.

This is the mission of the new education: the influence of our children, owing to the establishment of a closer relationship with them, will affect our own life and make us purer and better. Krause, in his philosophy, tells us that we must return to a state of childhood, if we would have an impressionable heart and a mind receptive of truth. Froebel believes that veracity and simplicity will be promoted as soon as we learn to institute and cultivate a beneficent intercourse with our children.

Froebel undoubtedly expected too much of his work; but for this he surely does not incur our censure. No man is capable of lifelong and single-hearted effort unless inspired by the conviction that the especial thing which he advocates may prove a pivotal center of affairs. Nor will the simplicity of the reformatory methods advocated by Froebel detract from the greatness of his achievement — more particularly when we consider that all fundamental reforms were, like his, originally simplifications. This applies not only to education, but to religion, art, philosophy, and many other departments as well. The kernel of reform usually consists in the establishment of an essential, original, and natural basis, and in the coincident abrogation of a network of artificialities, superfluities, and complications.

Furthermore, it is indisputable that, notwithstanding all the great changes wrought during the nineteenth century, the philosophy of Froebel has remained a fruitful source of inspiration. True, Herbart is superior to Froebel as regards clearness of conception, and he is undoubtedly the more scientific. But in many important particulars the influence of Froebel is paramount. This especially applies to his lofty conception of the dignity of man, whom he ever represents as an organic entity. He strenuously defends the conviction that culture centres in the "Gemüt," and must, therefore, be developed from within; and this doctrine becomes a safeguard against hyper-intellectual training. He places independent activity in the foreground, and succeeds in tracing it to its elementary stages; and,



while ever according the full exercise of individuality, he brings man into relation with society at large.

As the follower of Comenius and Pestalozzi, Froebel gave a powerful stimulus to childlife and inaugurated a closer investigation into the nature of the child; and thus, by reason of his indefatigable labors as an organizer, he eventually converted a movement, previously confined to a few scientists, into a matter of universal interest and importance.

Despite its numerous advantages, however, the philosophy of Froebel does not furnish a sound basis for an educational system; and this because, as already stated, it is fundamentally established upon conflicting principles. Froebel's pedagogy regards spiritual development as a natural growth — as a slow and sure development from within, analogous to that visible in the plant world. On the other hand, the principal tenet of his philosophy is the establishment of independent activity, which would necessarily elevate man *above* nature, and, indeed, places him in contrast with it.

In his theory of natural development, Froebel resembles Rousseau; in that of independent activity, he approaches Fichte. In the former instance education must be entirely subordinate to nature and content itself with the removal of obstructions; in the latter it must proceed independently, ever presenting new ideals of life. Undoubtedly, both methods are essential: natural development and independent activity together are requisite. But we must arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to which of these is to be accepted as the leading principle; and the pedagogy of Froebel presents no solution of this question.

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

## IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL PREFERENTIAL TRADE.

THE relations of the British Colonies to the Empire, while continuing the same as in former years in form and in character of mutual obligations and control, are undoubtedly undergoing modifications of an important character. This, however, does not relate to laws defining, on the one hand, the extent of paramount authority, and, on the other hand, the degree of subordination, but rather as to the development of a marked spirit of imperialistic unity, and of a harmony of action based upon sympathy and sentiment.

The revolt of the American colonies, and the erection of a new nation upon what seemed for the time to be the ruins of the British Colonial Empire, marked a turning point in Britain's Colonial policy. This great blow shattered the policy of governing the Colonies from London; of interfering with their domestic affairs; and of making them preserves for British merchants, shippers, and manufacturers through arbitrary restrictions upon Colonial manufactures and trade. A more liberal and rational Colonial policy was entered upon. In Canada the French Canadian inhabitants were treated with justice and liberality; and by degrees the policy of Great Britain grew more forbearing, and the absence of interference in Colonial affairs grew more marked. Canada won for herself responsible government, in 1837, more through the removal of internal disorders and abuses than through the change of any Imperial policy at variance with the spirit of justice and liberty in the course pursued by Great Britain. Since confederation, in 1867, Canada has been truly a self-governing Colony. She makes her own laws, fixes her own tariff, controls her own military system, and contributes not a single dollar to the revenue of Great Britain. The only burden upon her in consequence of her connection with the Imperial system is the payment of the Governor-General's salary of \$50,000 per annum.

While under the provisions of the Canadian constitution the home government may veto any Canadian legislation within two years of the passage of the law, the power has never been exercised except at



Canadian request. The judicial committee of the Privy Council in London has appellate jurisdiction in all Canadian cases when a constitutional question is involved ; and the concurrence of the Imperial Parliament would be required to sanction any change in the constitution of Canada. In these respects only does Canada come short of being independent and self-governing.

The recent action of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in placing contingents of Colonial soldiers at the service of the British Government in South Africa was entirely voluntary. The expense of raising and equipping the troops sent from Canada and of transporting them to South Africa was borne by the Canadian Government ; and in addition to this the British allowance of pay has been supplemented by an additional grant of the same amount by Canada. The state of sentiment which prompted this action seems to have been chiefly incited by the remarkable demonstrations incident to the Jubilee year, when the Premiers of the various Colonies, accompanied by detachments of Colonial troops, leading Colonial statesmen, and a great host of Colonial citizens, met in London and added to the dignity and impressiveness of the great pageant. Following this, Canada gave to British imports a preference of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in 1897-8, and of 25 per cent in 1898-9. This preference has been increased in the last session of Parliament to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent.

The granting of this preference was severely criticised by the Conservative opposition of Canada on the ground that Great Britain gave no preference to Canada in return, which it is asserted might have been obtained. The recent increase of the preference to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent has not been received with a cordial spirit of approbation by the manufacturing interests of Canada. The Conservative line of adverse criticism is met by the answer that Great Britain admits all the natural products of Canada free of duty ; that Canadian exports to Great Britain exceed Canadian imports from Great Britain in the proportion of three to one ; and that it was only reasonable that a policy should be adopted which would tend to stimulate the British export trade to Canada. In connection with this view of the matter account is taken of the fact that the fiscal policy of the United States renders our exports of farm and forest products to that country insignificant in volume, while our imports from that country are enormous, exceeding our exports to it in the ratio of nearly three to one ; and this fact is held to furnish an additional reason for seeking to stimulate imports from the country to which we are bound by ties of interest.

The claim made by the Conservative leaders, that preferential treatment to Great Britain should only have been given in return for preferential treatment accorded by the tariff of that country to Colonial food products, and that such preferential treatment can be obtained if sought for, is to be one of the party issues in the next Dominion election, which may take place before the close of the present year, and which must take place before the end of July, 1901. That this claim of ability of the Conservative party to obtain such arrangement, if placed in power, will serve as an issue at the polls is foreshadowed by the amendment offered by Sir Charles Tupper, the leader of the Conservative party, to the motion of Mr. Fielding, the finance minister, when presenting the financial statement of the Government for the last fiscal year. The amendment offered by the Conservative leader is as follows :

"This house is of opinion that a system of mutual trade preference between Great Britain and Ireland and the Colonies would greatly stimulate increased production in and commerce between these countries, and thus promote and maintain the unity of the empire; and that no measure of preference which falls short of the complete realization of such a policy should be considered as final or satisfactory."

Mr. Chamberlain, the English Colonial Secretary, met the assumption thus presented, that Great Britain would revive the corn laws and tax the food of her citizens for the benefit of her Colonial dependencies, by the following statement made in answer to a motion by Mr. Hedderwick, M. P., bearing upon the questions of Colonial and Imperial relations. Mr. Chamberlain's reference to the matter was this :

"We are not going to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Colonies, nor are they going to interfere in ours. I have never advocated, as has been reported, the formation of an imperial Zollverein, but I have pointed out that if there was to be any kind of fiscal arrangement with the Colonies, I believe the only form that would meet with the slightest favor would be an imperial Zollverein, in which there would be free trade between the portions of the empire and duty as against strangers."

This would seem to be explicit enough ; and the obvious inference is that no proposal for preferential duties upon food for the advantage of the Colonies would be considered by Great Britain, except as a corollary of the free admission of all British manufactures and products into the markets of the Colonies. Nothing, in fact, short of such an Imperial Zollverein could be considered.

It is proposed to inquire into the relative volume of British trade



with the Colonies and with foreign countries, and into various matters fiscal and commercial, with a view to arriving at a conclusion as to whether any reasonable hope can be entertained by Canada that the British Government will concede what Sir Charles Tupper asserts can be obtained. It is also proposed to deal with the practical outcome of the granting of preferential duties by Canada to Great Britain, as relates to the influence exerted by that policy upon the volume of exports from the United States to Canada.

A scrutiny of the trade returns of Great Britain will give satisfactory evidence that the assumption of the Conservative party of Canada that Great Britain will impose a tax upon foreign food products for the benefit of Canada is not well founded. In the statement of British trade for 1898, which is the latest for which returns are available, the pound sterling has been converted into dollars at the rate of five dollars to the pound, and percentages have been worked out to illustrate more strikingly the story that the figures tell:

## SUMMARY OF BRITISH TRADE RETURNS, 1898.

Total imports.....	\$2,351,892,000
Imports from British possessions.....	497,169,000
Foreign imports.....	1,854,723,000
Colonial imports percentage of total imports.....	20.7
Imports from British North American Colonies.....	\$103,773,000
British North American Colonies percentage of total imports .....	4.41

## EXPORTS.

Total exports.....	\$1,470,069,000
Colonial exports.....	450,553,000
Foreign exports.....	1,019,516,000
Colonial percentage of total exports.....	30.64
Exports to British North American Colonies.. ..	\$37,705,000
British North American colonies percentage of total exports .....	2.56

## TOTAL TRADE.

Total trade.....	\$3,821,962,000
Total Colonial trade.....	947,723,000
Total foreign trade.....	2,874,239,000
Colonial trade percentage of total trade.....	24.77
Total trade British North American Colonies .....	\$141,478,000
British North American Colonies percentage of total trade .....	3.70

The proposal of the Canadian Conservative opposition, it will thus be seen, is that Canada with less than five per cent of the import

trade of Great Britain, with less than three per cent of the export trade, and with less than four per cent of the total trade of that country, should be put upon a favored footing in the markets of that country by placing duties upon the breadstuffs, the animals and their products, of the United States and of other foreign nations, and by admitting all from Canada and other Colonies, free of duty. It requires but little reflection to arrive at the conclusion that British interests will not permit the adoption of such a policy even at the united requests of all the Governments of the British Colonial Empire, much less at that of Canada, the proportions of whose trade are so insignificant as compared with the enormous volume of Britain's aggregate trade as to render the proposal to tax the British consumer for the benefit of the Canadian producer utterly inadmissible. In fact, there is scant reason to suppose that an Imperial Zollverein, with free trade throughout the Empire, and the admission of British goods free of duty into all the Colonial markets, would possess attractions for British statesmen, if it were to be secured at the cost of duties upon food products for the benefit of Colonial producers.

In the present state of Britain's trade in the export of the products of her skilled labor it is evident that a tax upon the food of her artisans will not be resorted to. For half a century free trade has been a cardinal feature in British commercial policy. Cheapness of production is essential to the continuance of Britain's supremacy in the business of exporting finished wares. Cheap raw material and cheap food, the latter of which is practically a raw material in the production of goods, are essential to success. A tax upon either would do violence to the time-honored policy of the great free-trade power, whose goods are found in all markets, and whose merchant marine performs three-quarters of the ocean-carrying trade of the world. This supremacy in the export of manufactures is now threatened by the keen competition of Germany and the United States, and the struggle already in full play is certain to become more acute.

The volume of export of manufactures from the United States has increased greatly in recent years. Already the Great Republic has practical control of the iron and steel trade in all neutral markets. This trade has slipped from the grasp of Great Britain with no prospect of its return. The intelligence of operatives, the vast aggregations of capital, and the methods of management in the United States, in pushing trade, give promise that further inroads will follow. The manufacturing interests of the United States, if confined merely to



the supply of the demands of that nation, are of vast magnitude. This market is secured to American establishments by heavy duties upon imports, which prevent foreign competition, and enable the realization of high prices and great profits; and surplus of production can be unloaded upon markets where British goods are the competitor, with little regard to price received. Notwithstanding the clamor for protection in the United States, it is doubtful whether many lines of goods are not actually produced in that country cheaper than in any other, leaving the American manufacturer able, if content with small profits, to compete with British and German goods in various lines in all markets.

It is, therefore, evident that under the existing conditions of trade Great Britain is in the last degree unlikely to place a tax upon food, unless indeed the pressure of successful competition should lead her voluntarily to abandon the world's markets, for access to which she now demands an open door, and should leave her content to take refuge in the citadel of an Imperial Zollverein, through the agency of which she could control the markets of the Empire, by means of absolute free trade with all of her Colonies and heavy duties against the outside world.

It is in the highest degree unlikely that Canada is now, or will be for many years to come, prepared to accept the suggestion of an Imperial Zollverein embracing the admission of British imports free of duty. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, the total imports from Great Britain were \$36,945,000. Of this amount the dutiable portion was \$27,450,000, upon which duty was collected to the amount of \$7,328,000. The proposal to surrender this large amount of revenue would be met by two serious difficulties. Canada has a large debt amounting to \$345,160,000, from which deduct \$78,887,000 of assets actual and nominal, leaving a net debt, counting nominal assets as good, of \$266,273,000, or \$48.36 per capita. Canada cannot spare so large an amount of revenue; and the manufacturing interests, which are of considerable moment, and have been largely developed by a moderate system of protection, would be severely injured by such a policy, and would probably command a sufficient amount of influence to defeat the party proposing it.

The effect produced by the Canadian preferential tariff in favor of British imports affords an interesting subject for investigation. The result thus far has been a disappointment to those who anticipated a large increase, on the one hand, of the importation of British manu-

factures, and a decrease, on the other hand, of the importation of manufactures from the United States. Two full financial years have elapsed since the differential rate was made 25 per cent, it having been  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in the year previous. In spite of this change of policy, the importation from the United States has increased rapidly; and the state of trade at the close of the year 1899 showed large importations from the United States, a large free list applicable to such importations, and a larger balance of trade in favor of that country than in any previous year.

The general state of trade between Canada and the United States and between Canada and Great Britain for a period embracing the last ten years, according to the Canadian Trade and Navigation returns, has been as follows:

## EXPORTS.

	GREAT BRITAIN.	UNITED STATES.
1890.....	\$48,353,000	\$40,522,000
1891.....	49,280,000	40,522,000
1892.....	64,906,000	38,988,000
1893.....	64,080,000	43,923,000
1894.....	68,538,000	35,809,000
1895.....	61,856,000	41,297,000
1896.....	66,690,000	44,448,000
1897.....	77,227,000	49,373,000
1898.....	104,998,000	45,705,000
1899.....	99,091,000	45,133,000
Total.....	\$705,019,000	\$426,336,000

## IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION.

	GREAT BRITAIN.	UNITED STATES.
1890.....	\$43,390,000	\$52,291,000
1891.....	42,047,000	53,685,000
1892.....	41,348,000	53,137,000
1893.....	43,148,000	58,221,000
1894.....	38,717,000	53,034,000
1895.....	31,131,000	54,634,000
1896.....	32,979,000	58,574,000
1897.....	29,412,000	61,649,000
1898.....	32,500,000	78,705,000
1899.....	37,060,000	93,007,000
Total.....	\$371,732,000	\$616,937,000

Excess of exports to Great Britain over exports to the United States for the period, \$278,683,000.

Excess of imports from the United States over imports from Great Britain for the period, \$245,205,000.



The export returns for the last three years of the above period show the marked influence exercised by the cold storage system lately introduced, and of other means used to stimulate the export of Canadian cheese, bacon, eggs, butter, fruits, and other food products to Great Britain. The exports to the United States, as given in the trade returns, though small as compared with the exports to Great Britain, are really greater than the actual amount of Canadian products exported, as coin and bullion are included to the extent of millions annually; and the estimate of the short returns, which comprise a portion of each year's export returns, is a rough guess at the amount of produce that leaves the country by farmer wagons and in other ways, without being reported. This estimate averages \$3,400,000 annually for the period. There is good reason to suppose that the smuggling of coal oil, cotton goods, and other wares from the United States will quite offset the unreported exports. The amount of coin and bullion and of estimated short returns included in the export returns for the above period is: Coin and bullion, \$29,453,000; short returns, \$34,206,000. To secure a fair basis for comparison, both items should be deducted from the exports of Canadian produce for the period.

The import returns for this period reveal the tendency to diminution of imports from Great Britain. For the first five years of the period the annual amount was greater than in the last year under the stimulating influence of a differential duty of 25 per cent. In the first three years after 1872 the imports from Great Britain for consumption averaged \$64,000,000 annually; and in all but two of the years between 1872 and 1895 the imports from Great Britain exceeded those of 1899.

The labor of separating manufactures from the unclassified list of imports prevents me from making a reliable statement of the import of manufactures for a period covering more than the last two years. The volume of this class of imports from the United States has been increasing rapidly for some years past, while the tendency to diminution of imports from Great Britain was not arrested in the last fiscal year through the influence of differential duties to a sufficient extent to overtake the ratio of increase in imports of manufactures from the United States.

The import into Canada of manufactures from Great Britain and from the United States for the two fiscal years ending June 30, 1899, was as follows:

## GREAT BRITAIN.

1898.

Dutiable manufactures.....	\$21,696,000
Free manufactures.....	5,236,000
Total .....	\$26,932,000

1899.

Dutiable manufactures.....	\$26,426,000
Free manufactures.....	5,172,000
Total .....	\$31,598,000
Increase, \$4,666,000, or 17.32 per cent.	

## UNITED STATES.

1898.

Dutiable manufactures.....	\$29,709,000
Free manufactures.....	10,953,000
Total .....	\$40,662,000

1899.

Dutiable manufactures.....	\$35,353,000
Free manufactures.....	13,292,000
Total .....	\$48,645,000
Increase, \$7,983,000, or 19.63 per cent.	

This statement reveals the unexpected fact that the imports of manufactures from the United States were greater than the corresponding importations from Great Britain to the extent of \$13,730,000 in 1898, and of \$17,047,000 in 1899. In the matter of total imports for consumption from Great Britain and from the United States, the increase in the case of Great Britain was 10½ per cent between 1897 and 1898, and 14.02 per cent between 1898 and 1899, while in the case of the United States the increase for the first named period was 27.66 per cent, and for the second period 18.07 per cent.

At first glance it may seem surprising that the importation of manufactures from the two countries should be apparently so little influenced by the differential duties. The solution of the matter is found in the fact that in the line of manufactures, as well as in all other lines, the importations by Canada from the two countries are almost entirely distinct in character; so that discrimination will tend to increase the volume of transactions with Great Britain in the kinds of goods we purchase from that country, by reducing cost, and will at the same time have little influence upon the volume of our purchases from the United States of that class of goods furnished to



us by that country, and produced to a limited extent only in Great Britain. This view of the case is borne out by the fact that the average duties upon all dutiable imports from the two countries give no evidence of the existence of discriminating rates. The rate of duty upon dutiable imports from Great Britain entered for consumption in 1899 was 26.27, while the corresponding rate from the United States was 24.13.

It may be reasonably held, therefore, predicated the opinion upon some of the facts above set forth, that Great Britain will not in the near future impose duties upon her food supply for the benefit of her Colonial possessions. The relative unimportance of their trade, as compared with the trade of foreign countries, renders it entirely improbable that such a proposal will receive favorable consideration. Due consideration will also without doubt be given to the probability that such a course would provoke unfriendly fiscal regulations and retaliation on the part of many of the foreign states with whom she has trade relations.

As regards the preferential treatment accorded by Canada to Great Britain, the results under the application of the 25 per cent reductions for the year 1899, as relating to the United States, are that the increase of total imports from the United States over the previous year were 18.07 per cent; that the increase in the importation of manufactures from the United States over the previous year was 19.63 per cent; that the balance of trade against Canada on total exports and imports was \$56,509,000; that Canadian farm products were well-nigh shut out of the United States by duty rates ranging from 25 to 100 per cent; and that out of a total of \$64,618,000 of free goods imported into Canada for consumption, the United States furnished \$48,535,000, or 75.11 per cent. This is a condition of trade matters that ought to be satisfactory to the United States. It can be hardly said to be satisfactory to Canada, chiefly for the reason that while she purchased  $62\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of her total imports from the United States, the tariff of that country seems to have been arranged with the purpose of preventing the sale of any of her products in exchange. Her scale of duties upon the total imports from the United States is 11.52 per cent, and upon dutiable imports for consumption 24.13 per cent, while the general rate of the United States upon total imports is  $24\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and upon dutiable imports  $49\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

The action of the Canadian Government in advancing the differential rate to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent is probably a mistake. The step meets

with the general disapproval of the Canadian manufacturers, and there is force in the Conservative objection that the action is purely sentimental, as the British tariff presents no features applicable to ourselves that do not apply to all other nations. It is not at all improbable that in the event of Conservative success at the general election now but a few months distant, the entire system of preferential duties will be swept away, unless Great Britain should reciprocate by granting preferential treatment for Canadian products in her markets.

In the meantime it is gradually dawning upon the Canadian mind that there is a more direct road to securing a remedy for the great disparity existing between the volume of exports to the United States and of imports from that country than preferential duties in favor of Great Britain. As the fact becomes known that while we buy \$48,000,000 of manufactures from the United States, we are only permitted to sell \$6,000,000 of our farm products in return, this query is naturally suggested: If the American tariff continues to bar our farm products from the markets of that country in exchange for the goods we buy, why not put our duties up to the American standard of 50 per cent, and commence feeding the operatives that produce the goods by securing the production of the latter in our own country? Upon the action of the United States will probably rest, in the near future, the form of answer to this question.

JOHN CHARLTON.



## THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION.

A PRIMARY difference between the presidential election in the United States and a general election in Great Britain is that while one contest is avowedly a matter of personal preference, the other is ostensibly, often actually, a conflict around certain broadly defined principles. It is true that whilst Disraeli and Gladstone were yet alive and confronted each other in the political arena, the fight raged as closely and distinctly around a name and a personality as is the custom at presidential elections. In 1874 and in 1880 the electors throughout the Kingdom did not profess to vote either as Liberals or Tories. They voted for Gladstone or Disraeli.

With the passing away of those colossal figures the British general election has reverted to its former manner. Lord Salisbury is a statesman who, even beyond the limits of the party pale, is held in the highest esteem. But his is not a name to conjure with at the polls. On the other side Mr. Gladstone has left no successor. Accordingly, the forthcoming general election will be fought, as far as ministerialists can control it, on the question of the war in South Africa, whilst opposition candidates will endeavor to concentrate the attention and judgment of the electors on the shortcomings of the administration in respect to the conduct of the war, and on the sins of omission and commission committed by the Government during their more than five years' term of office.

Another fundamental difference between the two electoral campaigns appears in their inception and direction. A presidential election is a more or less well-ordered battle, every movement being directed by the commander-in-chief on either side. A British general election is a series of independent skirmishes, taking place all over the country, each under local command, owning no supreme general, observing no common plan of battle. The British voter knows nothing of delegates, conventions, or party managers. He walks into the polling booth and votes directly for the man of his choice. It is true that both the Conservative (now the Unionist) and the Liberal

parties have a paid official who is supposed to undertake general supervision of party interests in the electorate throughout the kingdom. He is generally consulted by constituencies in the selection of a candidate. What he tenders in response is advice, not instruction. Nothing is calculated more quickly to put up the back of a constituency than any movement having the appearance of dictation from London.

A great gulf, wide as the Atlantic, separates the party manager of the presidential election campaign from the chief agent of the Liberal or the Unionist party in England. Whilst one has almost an unlimited supply of money at his command, and is not too grievously hampered in disposing of it for campaign purposes, the other has but a meagre subscription list, and is bound hand and foot by the Corrupt Practices Act. It is that legislation which has crippled the political party agent in Great Britain. As will presently be shown, the election agent is bound by law, under heavy penalties, to keep strict account and make full disclosure of every penny spent.

In the good old times, the costs of a parliamentary election were sufficient permanently to embarrass the estates of the combatants. In two contests that took place in the county of Hampshire — one in 1790, and the other in 1806 — the ministerial candidates disbursed between them £50,000. In respect of cost, the most famous English election took place at Northampton, a borough now modestly represented by Mr. Labouchere, who for some time had as colleague a man so far from rich as Mr. Bradlaugh. What is known in history as the Spendthrift Election was fought in 1768. It was a three-cornered duel, the combatants being the Earl of Halifax, the Earl of Northampton, and Earl Spencer. Each threw open his ancestral home — Horton, Castle Ashby, and Althorpe. All were welcome, whether they had votes or not. Hither thronged the wool-combers, the weavers, the shoemakers of Northampton. Over fourteen days the polling was spread, and for a full fortnight the free and independent electors and their friends feasted and drank. At Horton, the mob made short work of Lord Halifax's prized port. That gone, he served up his choicest claret. But, as a well-known story testifies, with claret you "get no forrader." The disgusted electors deserted Horton and went over to Castle Ashby, where port was still on tap.

It is small wonder that, in these circumstances, out of a legally testified total of 930 electors, 1,218 recorded their votes. In the



end, it was found that the votes had been equally divided. The three earls thereupon agreed to toss for Northampton, and Lord Spencer won. He had further the satisfaction of knowing that he had spent less than the others. His bill footed up a mere £100,000, whereas Lords Halifax and Northampton had between them spent £300,000. Lord Halifax was ruined, and to this day his family estate bears the scars of the Spendthrift Election. Lord Northampton cut down the trees in his park, and sold his furniture at Compton Winyates. With the proceeds he went abroad, and died in Switzerland in poverty.

The House of Commons is elected for a period of seven years, but it has never availed itself of its full opportunity of life. It begins to fade at the end of its fifth year, and, as a rule, gratefully accepts dissolution in its sixth session. The present Parliament, which assembled for a short session on the 12th of August, 1895, was a few days short of attaining its fifth year when it was prorogued. There is, therefore, no statutory reason why it should not sit through another session, the dissolution being postponed till January—perhaps, on the whole, the most widely convenient month of the year for a general election.

Experience testifies to the sufficiency of a five-year term. Since Queen Victoria came to the throne she has summoned fourteen Parliaments. Of these, only six have exceeded the term of five years. One, memorable for its accomplished work, exceeded the date by the narrow margin of one month and sixteen days. This was the great Parliament of 1868, in which Mr. Gladstone commenced his colossal labor of legislative reform. Meeting on the 10th of December, 1868, it was dissolved on the 26th of January, 1874. The second Parliament of the Queen's reign, summoned in 1841, lasted five years, eleven months, and six days. In the century only three Parliaments have timidly entered upon their septennial year. The first Parliament of George IV. trenched by one month and nine days upon its seventh year. The Parliament of 1859 lived for six years and two months. The Parliament of 1874, which first saw Disraeli in power, as well as in office, enjoyed for twenty days its septennial privilege.

The duty of advising the sovereign as to the proper date for dismissing the sitting Parliament is not, as is commonly assumed, a Cabinet matter. It is a fact that when, early in 1874, Mr. Gladstone decided to dissolve Parliament, some of his colleagues in the Cabinet were first made acquainted with his decision on opening their morning papers. The sole arbiter in the case is the Prime

Minister. In the time of the Georges the sovereign had a good deal to say in the business. In some royal moods the fact that the Premier desired to bring about an immediate dissolution led the King to conclude that he would keep Parliament sitting a little longer. In these times the will of the first minister of the crown is not disputed. But it is the sovereign who summons "my faithful commons" to repair to Westminster. Parliament dissolved, there is promulgated an order from the Queen in council, addressed to the Lords High Chancellors of Great Britain and Ireland, commanding them to cause writs to be issued for the election of knights, citizens, and burgesses to serve in Parliament. At least thirty-five days must elapse between the date of this mandate and the meeting of Parliament.

Up to a recent date a property qualification was essential to a Parliamentary candidate. If he stood for a county he must have either real or personal property amounting to £600 per annum. In boroughs £300 a year served. The march of democracy swept aside this obstacle and created the possibility, now enjoyed, of admission to membership of Irish Nationalist members and of the British workman. The basis of the electorate has been extended in the same spirit. In 1884 Mr. Gladstone introduced and carried a reform bill which extended household and lodger suffrage to counties uniform with boroughs. This added two millions to the electoral register.

Even with this uplifting of the gates the number of electors in Great Britain is but a small fraction of the population. According to the last census the population of Great Britain and Ireland was 37,732,922. It has considerably increased during the ten years that have sped since the counting was accomplished. Yet, according to a return presented to the Parliament in the present session, the numbers of electors who will have the privilege of voting at the forthcoming general election, assuming it is taken on the present register, is not more than 6,732,613. Nor do all who are on the register care to avail themselves of their privilege. At the general election of 1892, which scotched Home Rule and drove the Liberal party into the wilderness, not more than 4,605,442 electors went to the poll. In 1895, with a natural increment of electors on the register, the proportion was still less. It was a trifling aggregate majority on a poll of 3,867,060 that returned Lord Salisbury to power by an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons, and made possible the momentous events that followed in his administration.

England's claim to the position of the predominant partner, con-



ferred upon her by Lord Rosebery in a memorable speech, is justified by the fact that of the something like six and three-quarter millions of electors privileged to vote, not less than 5,287,285 are resident in England and Wales. Scotland has an electoral roll of 681,132. Ireland may poll 764,196. Yet whilst England and Wales have 495 members, and Scotland 72, Ireland sends to Westminster 103. These figures, whilst demonstrating that, proportionately, Ireland is over-represented, do not state the full case. During the last twenty years, it has frequently happened that when British political parties in the House are more evenly balanced than in the present Parliament, a section of the Irish members, representing the Nationalist party, untrammelled by allegiance to either of the British political banners, are arbiters and masters of the situation. A minor exceptional privilege enjoyed by Ireland is that whereas English and Scotch peers are ineligible for seats in the House of Commons, Irish peers, if they can secure a majority, may sit for British constituencies. This stipulation endowed the House of Commons with the presence of Lord Palmerston.

The procedure of polling at a general election is conducted in counties by the sheriff; in boroughs by a returning officer appointed by the sheriff of the county within which the borough is situate. Immediately on the writs being prepared the messenger or pursuivant of the Great Seal conveys them to the general post-office in London and delivers them to the postmaster. They are despatched by first post, postage free, to the returning officer. In country and district boroughs, the day fixed for the election must be not later than the ninth day from the receipt of the writ; and there must be an interval of three clear days between the notice and the election. In boroughs the returning officer must proceed to the election within four days after the receipt of the writ, giving two days' clear notice.

This arbitrary power carries with it some political influence. A sheriff or returning officer of Liberal principles is pretty sure to fix the polling day for a Saturday, when the working man is at liberty to spend part of his half holiday in recording his vote. Where the authority is a Unionist, Saturday is carefully avoided. Counties and boroughs are divided into polling districts, the former under the direction of the county council, the latter by the town council.

The Reform Bill of 1867 abolished one of the liveliest and most picturesque features of a parliamentary election. It did away with the hustings and the ceremony of public nomination. My earliest

recollection of political life was attendance at the hustings in the 1865 election in South Shropshire. A vigorous attack was made by a young Radical, to-day a prop of the Unionist government, upon the family seat of a Conservative landlord. A short time before the date of the general election Sir Baldwin Leighton incurred much unpopularity by prosecuting one of his tenants for snaring rabbits. This was not overlooked in the election contest. As soon as Sir Baldwin presented himself on the hustings, smiling benignantly upon the intelligent electors, the summer sky was darkened by a cloud of rabbit skins, which fell upon the just and the unjust. The performance on the hustings was frequently gone through in dumb show, amid howls, cat-calls, and the flight of missiles even more odorous and harmful than rabbit skins.

The proceedings to-day are, by comparison, lamentably prosaic. Nominations are made in writing, the documents being subscribed by two registered electors of the county or borough, and by eight other registered electors, as assenting to the nominations. Going to the extreme contrary of the old order of things, where the multitude gathered round the hustings to witness the nomination, it is now enacted that no one save the candidate, his proposer and seconder, and one other person selected by him is entitled to attend the proceedings. It is not necessary that even these should be present. The nomination paper being duly signed, it suffices that the candidate delivers it in person to the returning officer.

Beside peers of England and Scotland, there are many persons expressly disqualified by statute from being nominated as candidates for seats in Parliament. They include all judges, from the High Court of Justice to the County Court, and the magistrates at the Westminster Police Court. Large classes of civil servants are also excluded. To this day there exists in Scotland a little known, but absolute, disqualification of a person who, twice in a year, shall have attended a Scotch Episcopal Church, where the royal family is not prayed for. This quaint enactment, too obscure to challenge repeal, will be found in "32 Geo. 3, C. 63, S. 13." In that standard book, "Rogers on Elections,"<sup>1</sup> indispensable to all concerned in Parliamentary elections, it is, with quite exceptional vagueness, stated that deaf and dumb persons are "said to be" ineligible to Parliament. On another point the great authority is uncompromising. "Mental imbecility," it is written, "is a disqualification for Par-

<sup>1</sup>"Rogers on Elections." Seventeenth edition. Stevens: London.



liament.” This dictum is supported by citation of two judgments based upon the statutes. But we all know that there are ways of evading acts of Parliament, even to the extent of driving through them coaches and four.

On receipt of the nomination papers the returning officer publishes the names of the candidates, with the names of their respective proposers and seconders, placarding them in a conspicuous position outside the building in which the election is held. If at the expiration of an hour after the handing in of the nomination papers no more candidates are nominated than there are vacancies to be filled up, he declares the persons nominated to be duly elected. If the number of candidates be in excess of the number of vacancies he adjourns the election, giving notice of a day fixed for taking the poll.

This takes place by ballot, and is girt about with innumerable precautions in order to make secrecy a real thing. The returning officer is directed to erect a reasonable number of polling booths, which he generally does, at the expense of the candidates. In not very distant times the contract for setting up polling booths was a valuable gift at the disposal of the election agent, not to be dispensed without *quid pro quo* in the form of promise to vote. As much as £40 was permitted by a statute of William IV to be expended on a county polling booth, £25 being credited for booths in boroughs. The charge is now cut down to seven guineas, whether in counties or boroughs, with an allowance of one guinea for each compartment over two. It is understood that this leaves a fair trading profit. But the contractor thinks with regret of the spacious times of William IV.

According to the act governing these disbursements, the presiding officer in a borough constituency has an allowance of three guineas a day. In the counties he draws four. He is permitted to employ polling clerks in the proportion of one to each 500 voters. These are paid in boroughs one guinea for their services on polling day; in counties they draw 30 shillings.

Whilst the presidential election is determined on a single day, the British general election straddles over nine, the maximum term within which the returning officer may fix the date of polling in counties and district boroughs. Midway in the reign of George III there was no limit to the duration of the poll. In the twenty-fifth year of his reign an act was passed fixing the maximum duration at fifteen days. Now, in boroughs and counties, the poll opens at 8 o'clock in the morning and closes at 8 o'clock in the evening of the same day. Ex-

ception is made in the cases of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, where the poll may remain open for five days. Here votes may be received orally or by means of open voting papers; the universities, for some occult reason, being specially excluded from the benefits of the Ballot Act.

When the conjurer is about to perform a box trick he makes a point of first showing the audience that the box is empty, so that, as he puts it, there may be no deception. This procedure is, for the same reason, closely followed by the presiding officers in the various polling booths. Before the poll opens they take up the ballot box and show it to the clerks and agent authorized to attend, each of whom has sworn an oath to secrecy. Satisfied that the box is empty, the presiding officer locks it and seals it up, so that it cannot be opened without breaking the seal. Thus safe-guarded it is placed in a prominent position, and the doors of the polling booth are then thrown open to the voters.

The voter having stated his name, the register is consulted, and the number, name, and description of the elector, as therein set forth, are cried aloud. A ballot paper stamped on both sides with the official mark is handed to him. This is kept secret, and an interval of not less than seven years elapses before the same mark is used again at a parliamentary election. Retiring to the secrecy of a compartment in the polling booth, the voter finds printed on his ballot paper the names of the candidates who have been duly nominated and are standing for election. Down the right hand side of the paper runs a blank column. In this he is required to mark a cross against the name of the candidate or candidates whom he desires to see elected. He then folds up the paper with the names inside, the official mark on the back. This latter he shows to the presiding officer, and drops his paper into the ballot box, assured that the secret of his preference is safe with him.

At the close of the poll the ballot boxes are sealed up to prevent the insertion of additional papers. The boxes, after having been conveyed from the various polling places to a convenient centre, are taken charge of by the returning officer, who proceeds to count the votes given for each candidate. During the counting no one may be present save the returning officer, his clerks, the agent of the candidates, and the candidates themselves. On the completion of the counting the returning officer seals up in separate packets the accepted and rejected ballot papers. They are all forwarded to the clerk of the crown, in



whose custody they remain for a year, and are then destroyed. The interval amply suffices for any action in the direction of a recount. This may be undertaken only by order of the House of Commons, of a Superior Court, or of a judge in chambers.

The illiterate voter is carefully looked after. The printed names on the ballot paper conveying no information to his mind, it is obvious he cannot, unassisted, affix his mark against the name of the man of his choice. A form of declaration that he is unable to read is recited to the voter, who makes his mark in token of assent. Thereupon the presiding officer, in presence of the agents, marks the ballot paper in accordance with the voter's wishes, and places it in the box. The same procedure is observed in the case of blind men. If the poll be taken on a Saturday, difficulty arises in the case of Jews, who, on their Sabbath, are forbidden to transact business requiring their signature. Short of that, they may vote, and freely do; the presiding officer writing their names, under their instructions, as if they were physically blind, or unable to read.

Particulars of the illiterate voter, as illustrating the operation of the Education Act, are among the most interesting in the statistics of a general election. In 1892, of the 4,587,036 voters who polled, 135,605 were returned as illiterates. Of the three and three-quarter million electors in England and Wales, 46,109 were illiterate; in Scotland, there were 4,577 out of 466,040; whilst in Ireland, out of a total of 395,024 voting, not less than 84,919 were returned as illiterate. At the general election taken three years later, of 3,858,923 votes polled, 72,940 persons voted as illiterates. This is a drop within three years of nearly one-half. In Ireland, the fall was more than a half, the number of illiterates being 40,357. It is true that the total poll was less in 1895, the Home Rule question not being to the fore, than it was in 1892: only 220,506 Irish voters went to the polls. The political circumstances of the day may also, in part, account for the illiterates in England and Wales falling to 28,521, and in Scotland to 4,062. The illiterate voters in Great Britain are doubtless largely recruited from the Irish laborers in the large towns. But there still remains sufficient margin to make the growing influence of free and compulsory education perceptible.

A matter of the utmost importance to a candidate is the selection of an election agent. The Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 is a hard taskmaster. Only a cool-headed, keen-witted man, intimately acquainted with its provisions, can be relied upon safely to steer through

their labyrinth. In a judgment delivered upon an election petition, Lord Justice Field clearly defined the position of an election agent. The passage will serve to show how distinct he is from the party manager in the United States, or any of his staff. "The object of the Corrupt Practices Act," said the Judge, "is that a person shall be the election agent who shall be effectively responsible for all the acts done in procuring the election. No contract is to be made by anybody but him. He is the person to make the contracts, because he is a known and responsible man, who can be dealt with afterwards, and who can be looked to afterwards for an explanation of his conduct in the management of the election."

There is something grim in the Judge's satisfied contemplation of a man "who can be dealt with afterwards." A candidate may act as his own election agent. He will find he has a very miserable client. A person found guilty of illegal practice, under the act, is, on summary conviction, liable to a fine not exceeding £100. He is further declared incapable during five years from the date of his conviction of being registered as an elector, or of voting at any election held within the county or borough where the illegal practice was committed. There is no appeal against a summary conviction by an Election Court.

The maximum expenditure permitted at a Parliamentary election is absolutely defined. In a borough where the number of electors on the register does not exceed 2,000, the maximum amount of expenditure, other than personal expenses and sums paid to the returning officer for his charges, is £350. Where the number of electors exceeds 2,000, an additional £30 for every complete 1,000 electors above 2,000 may be disbursed. In a county or division of a county legal expenditure is more lavish. If the number of electors on the register does not exceed 2,000, £650 may be spent, with an additional £60 for every complete 1,000 electors above 2,000. A candidate's personal expenses are limited to £100.

Within twenty-one days after the return to the writ has been made, the returning officer transmits to the election agent of every candidate a detailed account of all the charges claimed by him in respect of the election. This enables the agent to complete his statement of accounts, which is exceedingly minute. It gives particulars of every payment made, accompanied by vouchers in the form of bills and receipts. On the other side is a statement of all money securities and equivalent of money received by the agent from the can-



didate, or any other person, for expenses incurred in the conduct and management of the election. Ten days after receiving these accounts the returning officer publishes a summary in two newspapers circulating in the county or borough where the election was held. The account and vouchers are kept for two years open to inspection by any who desire to examine them. Thus does the law jealously guard purity of Parliamentary elections.

Looking up the detailed return of costs of the last two general elections, I find that the election of 1892 cost on the average per vote polled 4s. 1d. The election of 1895 was got through at the average cost per vote of 3s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. In 1892 there were 1,307 candidates for the 670 seats composing the House of Commons. The maximum expenditure allowed by the Corrupt Practices Act was £1,129,430. The actual expenditure was £958,532 0s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Mr. Mantalini would have been scornful of "the demnition coppers" in a bill of a trifle under a million sterling. They undesignedly testify to the minuteness of the account rendered. In 1895 there were 1,181 candidates. The maximum scale allowed by the statute was £1,025,207. The actual disbursement was £773,333 0s. 3d.

The cheapest part of the United Kingdom for a Parliamentary candidate to present himself is Ireland. The dearest is Scotland. In 1892 Irish votes cost on the average 2s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. In 1895 they were not to be had under 3s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The movement was slightly in the opposite direction in Scotland, where, in 1895, votes were obtained at an expenditure of 4s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., having cost 4s. 8d. at the previous general election. In England and Wales, votes which in 1895 had averaged 3s. 10d. apiece in 1892 cost up to 4s. 2d. It will be understood that the whole of these charges fall upon the candidates. At a general election, the only cost borne by the State is the conveyance, postage free, of the writs issued by the clerks of the Crown, directing elections to the new Parliament.

HENRY W. LUCY.

## A PLEA FOR THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA.

“If they wish the Spanish flag to cease to wave over Cuba, they will have to realize it through a glorious Trafalgar at the gates of Havana.”

So spoke Señor Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo, Prime Minister of the Spanish monarchy, in the beginning of the year 1896. These words have been since contradicted in the waters of Santiago de Cuba. The Trafalgar, indeed, has been realized, but with no more glory for Spain than to suffer, without retaliating, the strokes of an adversary superior in force and dexterity.

Cuba has broken the bonds which bound her to Spain; and as the social functions cannot be suspended it is urgently necessary to organize them. Those who united love of country with hate of the tyranny of Spain are about to take definite roads; some esteeming, with honest conscience, that American intervention has irremediably determined new paths for Cuba, and others, equally honest, believing that it is imperative to take up categorically the consequences of the revolutionary programme.

The Cuban revolution began with a negation which embraced many opinions; hence its strength. “Nothing with Spain; nothing with the degenerate nation which knowingly and systematically despoiled and tyrannized us.” Such was the cry which was heard from Maisi to San Antonio, culminating in the rebellion in which a few colonists, impelled to desperation by tyranny, were able to resist a display of force never before equalled in any colonial war. This vigorous negation was accompanied by an expressed determination to create in Cuba a republic, “founded on the free exercise of the natural capacities of man.”

The country acclaimed and proclaimed the negation; and with it affirmed the declaration of “Cuba Libre” — which was the symbol under which all the elements of Cuban society were united, and which gave to the revolution its moral and material support. If the revolution, fighting single-handed against Spain, could have reached the



redemption of the whole territory, its triumph would have been complete and beyond all discussion. Victory, absolving it from the rashness of the undertaking, would have crowned its work by imposing upon the vanquished its own terms and its own programme. Such has always been, in humanity, the process of ideas.

But the triumph of the revolution, if so it may be called, is more nominal than real. He must be blind who to-day does not see that all the blood poured out, and all the ruins spread over the soil of Cuba, in our noble struggle to redeem her, were in imminent danger of being converted into a sterile sacrifice. The situation, however, has been saved. A neighboring nation, in whose soil are always found rest for the oppressed and an asylum for the unfortunate, heard our cry, and, at the moment of our wavering, as the sword was about to drop from our hands, made our cause her own, and restored us to the life that is sweet, and to the liberty which men love. Our horrible revolution shook the American conscience, and intervention was determined upon. War was declared, and hostilities began. The American troops disembarked in Cuba, and our exhaustion and weakness could be no longer concealed.

We appeared to the Americans as we ought to have appeared — full of enthusiasm; undimmed in our faith as to the final result; and with an immovable resolution to perish in the contest rather than to recede from our demand. But our numbers were small, and our clothing and provisions. We had no surplus of discipline, and no more military organization than the mere rudiments which accompany a war of guerrillas. On the other hand, Spain, which left us drained and exhausted in her efforts to resist the American invasion, brought from her leanness sufficient force to demonstrate that, left to our own resources, the independence of Cuba could have been no more than a new chimera of patriotism, and our persistence in the conflict a lingering but certain suicide.

The peculiar form in which the revolution has come to receive its material triumph has complicated the solution of the problem. On the side of independence, and as a derivative of it, new principles have been created, resting on great interests which must be heard and discussed; and these interests are the permanent social interests of the Cuban people, which must be preserved at any cost, whatever may be the political destiny of Cuba, if the empire of right is to reign in her. Hence comes the necessity of studying, discussing, and analyzing other solutions than that of independence, to insure the definite and

stable condition of our country. The three requisite formulæ into which public opinion is crystallized seem to be : First, immediate and absolute independence ; second, independence with an American protectorate ; and third, annexation to the United States, more or less immediate. Each one of these will be examined.

National independence is a noble, holy, and exalting idea. History teaches us that the peoples who have acquired and known it have not hesitated in the hour of danger, and that a large part of the blood shed in the wars that have wasted humanity has been consecrated in sacrifice to this most sacred principle. But history teaches us also that wheresoever such efforts have been realized, independence has not been a mere abstraction of the mind, a mere desire, but a determined and tangible fact, strengthened by possession, and consecrated by use. These are factors which in time gradually crystallize into that jewelled bond which is known as National Conscience.

But the independence of Cuba has not yet reached the embryonic state, and before crossing these limits American intervention has introduced the hard lot which is reserved for all products of precocity. These unripe fruits lack sufficient personality to devote themselves to any other sentiment than that melancholia which accompanies all disappointed hopes. In the age in which we live we desire something more real, and we fight and die for something more practical than the uncertain longing for the unknown. And the independence of Cuba is the unknown, with all its illusions, and all its terrors.

To constitute a nation the following elements are essential : unity of race, population proportioned to the territory, and a sufficient political education to discharge the functions of government, foreign as well as domestic. Let us examine, with serene impartiality, Cuban society, for the purpose of inquiring if there are to be found in it the three imperative conditions required for the establishment of a national life that shall be stable.

The dispassionate observer who earnestly studies the conditions of Cuba will find in her population three well-defined and entirely distinct products, possessing trifling modifications and partial tints, originating from racial mixture and climatic adaptation. These elements are the white Cuban, the Cuban of more or less confessed African extraction, and the peninsular Spaniard. Through special circumstances these three elements have acquired, and still maintain, a strength so nearly equal that it may be assumed without fear of error that each one of them—in one case, through numbers, in



another, through adaptation to the climate, and in the other through wealth—possesses an equal share of social power. The white Cuban is the most numerous; the negro is the most apt to prosper under the sky of the torrid zone; and the peninsular Spaniard is the possessor of nearly all the personal, and of a good part of the real, property of the island, and by the ties of family is very intimately connected with the white Cuban population. By another peculiar circumstance these three constituent elements of Cuban society do not live separately, and are not confined to certain provinces, giving the region where they reside a special character, but are found side by side in every province, in every town, and even in every house.

There abound in Cuba homes in which besides the father—a Spanish peninsular, versed in the old traditions of his race, and a faithful believer in the entailed divine right—lives the first-born son, with as much love for Cuba as for Spain, and trusting his destinies to that process of evolution which, in his judgment, presides over and determines all progress; the younger son, a faithful adherent of the revolution, firmly convinced that peoples advance more in one hour of revolution than in an age of pacific propagation; and there is the *penumbra*, dedicated to domestic service—the negro, yesterday a slave, to-day free, with a part which he esteems not insignificant in the revolutionary legend, feeling himself stronger than the white man in this ardent tropical clime, which seems to be formed by nature expressly for his race. The proposition to mould a nation out of elements so heterogeneous and complicated would be an insensate and preposterous idea. And which of the elements composing the integral parts of Cuban society is so strong that under its wing and favor a nation may be crystallized?

Nationality is a politico-social state which determines inexorable duties, as well in an exterior as in an interior sphere. To the first belong international relations, the common defence, commerce, and navigation; and to the second, order, liberty, and assured justice through all and for all.

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.”

These are the ends to which a nationality ought to respond. Is Cuba in condition to do it? The revolution has put upon her shoul-

ders a burden far superior to her strength and to the number of her inhabitants whose life war has spared. Before it, Cuba was depopulated, and is to be still more reduced. No one will charge us with exaggeration if we calculate that, in one form or another, the Cuban population has been reduced to a scanty million of inhabitants. And this number becomes paltry when distributed over a territory of forty-five thousand square miles.

Cuba is a land essentially agricultural. Even in the times of her prosperous production the laborers were few. The war fed mercilessly on the rural population, from which the revolution drew its soldiers, Spain her guerrillas, emigration its refugees, and Weyler the victims of his infamous reconcentration. If Cuba desires to have products to exchange with the stranger for the many necessities of life which she neither harvests nor manufactures, she must, first of all, give attention to the restoration of her rural population, by immigration wisely selected and judiciously stimulated. Where shall she select it? And how shall she stimulate it without first guaranteeing order and liberty to her immigrants? And it is not idle to point out that, without great and powerful incentives, the white race has never looked with favor upon the establishment of homes in tropical zones. The agriculturist is neither improvised nor invented; and the truest and most useful laborers are those whose fathers and grandfathers were laborers before them.

It is true that the best partisans of independence believe in good faith that they are going to establish in Cuba a model republic; but as this promise has no more guarantee than their word, however respectable that may be, it appears to us insufficient to attract the immigration of the laborers that Cuba needs.

Another drawback to independence, and certainly not the least important, is the notorious deficiency of our training in all those political functions which are necessary in the development of a republican form of government. The Spanish colonies of America, so many of them as were made independent in the first third of this century, like Cuba and Puerto Rico, had not been educated by Spain for liberty and self-government, but had been trained for domination and servitude. Spain never gave to the Cubans any serious part in the decision of the political problems of their country. Independence will put in our hands — utterly inexpert — an organization most delicate and complicated, such as the democratic Republic must be; and it is not rash to predict that before acquiring the experience necessary



for its management we shall have broken the organism in pieces, and crippled ourselves with the fragments.

Of peoples who have been launched on the tempests of independent life without the necessary practical preparation, the map of America offers us an abundance of examples from which we may receive most profitable instruction — *i. e.*, if we examine them with our backs turned toward that sickly sentimentalism which, by its exaggeration, has become the sore spot of the Latin race. I refer to the tendency to summon sentiment as the only or principal criterion for the solving of those questions which ought to be solved by reason or calculation. Excepting Chile, where circumstances succeeded in cementing a republic of the Venetian pattern, all the peoples of the Latin race, scattered over the American continent, have exhibited, from the day of their emancipation, the most notorious political incapacity.

In a single half century, Mexico has had eight constitutional charters, twenty revolutions, and fifty *pronunciamentos*. She has had a succession of little tyrants, some entitled Emperor and others called President — who have arrogated supreme authority through the medium of force, each in his turn to be overthrown by force. And if to-day the Mexicans appear to enjoy a measure of rest and peace, it is by purchase at the price of a dictatorship more or less disguised — a transaction always resorted to by societies when the fundamental principles of their existence are menaced. The five republics of Central America tremble less through the seismic convulsions of their numerous volcanoes than from the quaking of their continuous mutinies and revolts, which, like the fevers of their marshes and morasses, seem to have taken the clinical form of periodicity.

Colombia has had different changes of constitutions and even of name, but without abandoning those proceedings of force and violence which seem to form the political dogma of our race in America. Tyrannies succeed tyrannies. The instrument is changed, but not the system. In Venezuela, the *pronunciamento*, the only method of maintaining power, has become a veritable institution of state; and the republic is a domestic animal publicly sacrificed for the ambition and benefit of the conquering leader. Until very recently Ecuador has been a fragment of the Europe of the Middle Ages, encrusted between the Pacific and the heights of the Andes, an immense monastery with the honors of a nation. In the last twenty years Peru has suffered a foreign war which has cut off her two richest provinces, and more than ten civil wars, which have impoverished and ruined her to

such a degree that the evidences of her national debt have no more value than the paper on which they are printed. Equally unfortunate conditions exist in the other Latin-American Republics.

Brazil has arrived at the life of nationality through the medium of evolution, and, like Chile, enjoys stability, owing to institutions solidly conserved. When these institutions are disturbed, anarchy is extended over the land, and civil wars follow each other.

But none can present a better comparison with Cuba than those two *opera-bouffe* nationalities — the so-called Republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo — which, situated like Cuba, in the Sea of the Antilles, are in the same torrid zone, and, like Cuba, are found inhabited by negroes and whites of Latin origin.

In Haiti, the negro race, somewhat more numerous, has absorbed the white race, in spite of these being richer and more cultivated, to such an extent, that the few whites who to-day are seen in Haiti are nearly all foreigners. There, the free arbiter of his own destiny, and in complete liberty to follow his own pleasures and inclinations, the Haitien negro has retrograded to his good times on the coasts of Oro and Guinea to such an extent that to-day he is neither more nor less than a veritable Dahomeyite of Africa, planted in the bosom of America through the blindness of France.

Still stronger are the points of similarity between Santo Domingo and Cuba. The principal one of them is the very similar distribution of the population of the two countries in respect of color. Notwithstanding this, the white race, although somewhat more numerous and cultivated than the negro, has constantly seen elevated to the chief office of state — nearly always, of course, by violence — numerous representatives of the latter race. The equilibrium that the white race has been able to maintain by its numbers, and the negro by the almost constant administration of the chief magistracy of state, has prevented the absorption of the one by the other; but it possesses an element of danger. This danger some Dominicans desired to avert by annexation to the United States. This desire, however, was not realized, and annexation to Spain became the programme, resulting in a most furious war, without removing the menace from the future of Santo Domingo.

In all that makes for the political development of a country, Santo Domingo is in no sense an exception to the hereditary infirmity which overshadows the people distributed by Spain in the Americas. The country is not consulted by its governors; and the supreme power is



obtained by a bullet in the public plaza, or by the same methods as those employed by the highwayman in securing the purse of a traveller at the cross roads. Justice is a vain word, written in the laws for the comfort of the credulous.

This glance at the history of the Latin countries of America is painful in the extreme. The unsupportable tyranny of Spain compelled them to emancipate themselves when too young and without education in the practical life of representative and democratic government. From this have sprung their misfortunes.

Now what do the partisans of immediate Cuban independence answer when this picture of the misgoverned Latin-American republics is put before them? They artlessly respond that they, the Cubans, who are resolved to organize the Republic of Cuba, are in every respect more advanced than the Spanish colonists of the first third of this century. We do not know what the descendants of those colonists might say to such a statement; but we do not believe that they will readily admit that Bolivar, Sucre, San Martin, O'Higgins, Guerrero, or Morelos are less great than the modest heroes of our Cuban revolution. Cubans are neither better nor worse than the other Spanish-American peoples. They are of the same nature and substance, a product of Spanish blood, in greater or less degree of purity; and unless Nature has changed her laws, introducing an exception for the especial benefit of the Cubans, these sons of Spaniards must resemble their fathers as much in the moral as in the physical life, without other limitations than those inherent in the climate and in education. However painful this confession may be, it is impossible to refute it. It is not strange that Cubans, with the proverbial pride of the Spanish race, should deem themselves qualified for independence; but it is pertinent to reflect that, after our long struggle, there remains scarcely enough material for the organization of a new republic.

We have seen the lamentable results which lack of practice produced in South America during the colonial period. Let us now direct our gaze toward the north of this continent, that we may appreciate the benefits of arriving at national estate with a political education more or less developed, as well in the theory as in the practice of public life. Exactly the reverse of the Spanish settlers is the history of the English in North America. At the beginning they adopted the character of new societies, the English citizen concurring. In their hearts there was an intense love of liberty; in their brains the clearest political conception ever possessed by any people; and in their hands the Augs-

burg Confession which consecrated freedom of conscience. There was also Magna Charta, that ancient fountain of political rights which has been the foundation of the social, political, and economical well-being of the Anglo-Saxon race.

From the day of the foundation of the English colonies of North America, they evinced all the essential characteristics of a well defined political organization. A citizen of Lancashire was not more free than the most modest colonist of New Hampshire or Connecticut. The colony voted its taxes, and provided for public security with its provincial militia, from whose files went out, later, the majority of those chiefs and soldiers who, at the side of Washington, conquered at Yorktown. Through the medium of its legislative councils, freely elected, it satisfied all the public and private necessities of those embryonic societies, so that when the conflict surged between the mother country and the colonies there was little or nothing to be changed in preparation for the necessities of the war, and later for the exigencies of peace and nationality. The united colonies made their transit from a colonial to a national life, like the peaceful revolution of the stars, or the invisible evolutions of human life. In the federal compact each colony reserved unalterably its individuality in regard to all the purposes of local life, and only surrendered to the central power — and this in a manner limited by law — those privileges necessary to the formation and maintenance of national life. The fruitful results obtained from circumstances so fortunate are to-day the wonder and astonishment of the world.

And if from the United States we pass to Canada, we shall find that similar beginnings have produced identical results. Canada, through her prime minister, Mr. Laurier, in the midst of representatives of all the people who constitute the British Empire assembled to solemnize the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, declared her right to be considered and reckoned with as a nation; and this vigorous affirmation, being more than simply assented to, was received with applause. Certainly no one to-day doubts that Canada could pass into national life without the least internal perturbation, and with complete mechanical equipment.

However great our vanity, it is difficult to suppose that the Cubans, in endeavoring to develop nationality, and to install a republic, will realize the miracles wrought by the Anglo-Saxon race in America, which, in fact, are no more than the result of the clear ideas brought by the Anglo-Saxon immigrant to the banks of the



Hudson from his old homestead. What the old communities of England, Holland, and Switzerland learned in ten centuries of doleful experience the Cubans are not going to secure in twenty-four hours. War, which, up to the present time, has been the fortune of Cuba more or less, is peculiarly the function of youth. To administer and to govern is the privilege of age, and is so difficult that often age is no guarantee of success. Do Cubans confide in a ray of Divine light which shall illumine the brain of their statesmen? It would be a vain expectation. Miracles are not of our time, and a miracle it would be, and not a small one, if one generation should complete with advantage the monumental work which enters into the problem of Cuban independence, and which merits the efforts of at least two and possibly three generations.

And if independence in the social order threatens us with chaos, and in the political order with anarchy or dictatorship, in the economic order it brings for this poor land of Cuba the sterility of an African desert. Puerto Rico belongs to the United States, and it is more than probable that the Philippine Islands will be favored with a similar close relationship. Both countries are situated, like Cuba, in tropical climates, and, with a population much more dense than Cuba, produce to a considerable extent tobacco, sugar, and coffee — the only crops by which our agriculture lives. It may be considered as certain that American industrial energy will soon extend itself through these territories, and in a little time will build up in all of them a production so immense as to satisfy the necessities of the only market whose gates, at the beginning of the revolution, were not closed for Cuba. This production, even before its development, will require from its government a protective duty, which has never been refused to the industries of the country. What shall we do, then, with our sugar, and a large part of our tobacco? Will it be possible to adjust treaties which will leave a margin wide enough for competition? Will the practical legislators of Washington be so foolish as to prejudice the industries of their new possessions for the benefit of a foreign country?

It does not appear difficult to answer these questions, for they belong to a class of interrogations which are answered before they are made. Puerto Rico produces to-day very nearly 100,000 tons of sugar, and the Philippines not far from 300,000. Both countries, even when they were colonies of Spain, were our competitors in the American market. It is safe to predict that when the American flag

floats over them, and when Yankee capital comes to give active increase to their industries, we shall meet in them true enemies, who will oppose tenaciously and justly the same grant of protection to Cuba which by right belongs to the Philippines and to Puerto Rico. Then all the sugar which we can produce will not suffice to sweeten the bitterness of ruin, nor with all our tobacco reduced to smoke shall we dissipate the sadness of having completed, through our culpable want of foresight, the misery of one of the most fertile isles that nature has created.

But, besides perniciously influencing the economical order, the annexation of Puerto Rico will exercise over the political destinies of Cuba a constant influence. The United States will not only bring to Puerto Rico her spirit of enterprise and her capital, which will justify the name given to the island by the Spanish conquerors, but, with her admirable understanding of the problems of government, she will erect political institutions capable of securing the happiness of the people. Puerto Rico will come to be a permanent object lesson, and as such will render ephemeral the life of the republic. At the meeting of the first obstacles, Cuba will be unable to maintain an independence which will have done no more than to substitute domestic turmoil for a foreign tyranny.

Some Cubans, convinced of the truth of the foregoing, and unwilling to assume the responsibility of trying to constitute an independent government in a country already in the pangs of dissolution, have given consideration to the idea of a Protectorate which, conceding Cuban independence, might guarantee law and order. It is understood that the United States will be asked to assume this Protectorate. We believe that those who contemplate this are actuated by the noble purpose of confederating all Cubans in the work of erecting the new republic, as well those who coöperated in the revolution as those who maintained neutrality.

But the laudableness of the purpose does not insure the realization of the work. Protectorates, hitherto, have been assumed for reasons very different than the mere preservation of domestic and public order. This species of guardianship by nations great and strong over the small and feeble has a higher end than that of maintaining interior tranquillity. Its purpose is the defence of the weaker state against foreign aggression; and when it is assumed it is because that state is menaced by powerful enemies. Such is the Protectorate which, by virtue of the Conference of Berlin, in 1889, England, Germany, and



the United States exercised over the Kingdom of Samoa; such is that which England has exercised over the Republic of South Africa, through the Convention of 1884; and such also is that which England exercises over Egypt, a country yet tributary to the Ottoman Porte, which is guarded for ends purely financial.

In none of these Protectorates does the protecting nation have the least say in the maintenance of the interior public order of the protected. And it could not be otherwise. The first duty of a nation is to afford to its citizens the guaranty of property and person; and only when it has reached the power to give this guaranty, not as a promise, but as a reality, can it be said that a nation has arrived at its majority. National independence and a Protectorate by foreign bayonets to preserve social order are terms incompatible in the science of politics.

The perils of an independent Cuba are certainly not those from without. The sea which bathes her entire border, her tropical climate, so unfavorable to armies from the temperate zones, and, above all, the Monroe Doctrine, which disarmed the hand of the Holy Alliance, expelled from Mexico the soldiers of Napoleon III, and recently foiled England in her aggressive policy against Venezuela, furnish safeguards for Cuban independence.

But the projectors of the Protectorate do not fear exterior dangers. What they fear, and with them many Cubans of experience, are those daily revolts and those monthly *pronunciamentos* that have characterized the early history of all the Latin-American republics, and which in many of them have become permanent conditions. And the Protectorate, as understood and practised by the most powerful nations on earth, will not remedy this. The only help lies in annexation to the United States—a solution which, if accepted by a majority of the Cubans, will be more dignified than a fictitious and nominal independence. In the history of the relations of Spain with Cuba, there are numerous examples of that pharisaic habit which consists in changing the names of things without any change in the substance. Cuba and Puerto Rico, for instance, which were no more than tyrannized colonies, were rebaptized with the name of Ultramarine Provinces. Let us not imitate this conduct of our ancient masters. If independence is to be, let it be in the only form rationally possible. Let us ask a place in the American home.

It may happen that some are holding back who are partisans of annexation, but who nevertheless advocate the Protectorate, esteem-

ing it a form of transition which prepares the way for ultimate annexation. But those who so think are profoundly mistaken, and by attempting a seemingly short route, will be in danger of arriving very late, or of not arriving at all, at the end of their journey. Collective bodies have their instincts of preservation the same as individuals, and, like them, love life and its continuance. The perspective of new tumults, with their accustomed retinue of horrors, is the only allurements that a Protectorate presents to Cuba.

The very sagacious methods employed by the United States in moulding the States and Territories are not yet dead or exhausted; and if such are not found suitable to the necessities of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, the political acumen of the legislators at Washington will surely discover a mode of transition which, saving all that which merits salvation, will give satisfaction to all interests, whatsoever may be their origin or value.

Before the movement of Baire, in 1895, there was not one single Cuban meriting the name who would not gladly have accepted autonomy moulded after the Canadian pattern. And if we would give so much credit to Spain, to whom we owed so much injustice, misgovernment, and exploitation, does it seem natural that we should deny it to the United States, which can justify the pledge of liberty?

A CUBAN.



## THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH.

SINCE the movement to deprive the ignorant negro voter of any share in the government of the Southern States first began, I have read a number of articles prepared by distinguished men of the North defending the cause of the negro in the exercise of the privileges now enjoyed by him at the ballot box.

I am not disposed to criticise the writers for the view of the question taken by them, for I know that they do not understand the conditions existing in the South, and that they draw their conclusions from the experience they have had with the negroes of the North, most of whom have acquired some education. Moreover, the latter do not menace good government in the North, because their numbers are so small in comparison to the white population that, as a race, they rarely determine governmental issues in the Northern States. I doubt if the advocates of unlimited negro suffrage could contemplate with equanimity the political control of such States as Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio, by negro governors or negro legislatures.

When the Northern-born man is compelled to face the problem under similar surroundings, he looks upon this question from the same standpoint as his Southern neighbor. There are thousands of Northern men who have located in the South since the Civil War, who have invested their money there, who have become important factors in its development, who left their homes staunch Republicans and still believe in the principles of that party, but who in the South vote the Democratic ticket, and advocate the election of the nominees of that party. Why do they do so? There can be but one answer. They desire good government and fear negro domination. They know that the negroes once held the reins of power in the South, and that the race then demonstrated its utter inability to exercise the power of government.

The result of negro enfranchisement has been to force the white people of the South to unite in one great white party, regardless of their past or present beliefs in other governmental questions. When

the Democratic party has chosen its candidates and announced its platform, they must fight under its banner and support its cause, to protect themselves from anarchy and ruin. Men cannot be free under such conditions. The white voters of the South desire freedom of thought and action as much as do their brethren of the North. They have been enslaved in their political rights since the adoption of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and the movement now taking place in the South is an effort on the part of the white people to enfranchise themselves.

Those who advocate negro suffrage in the South contend that the negro must retain the use of the ballot in order to protect himself from oppression. If the advocates of this theory lived in the South, they would at once recognize the fallacy of their argument; for, as a rule, the ballot at present is no protection to the negro race. It is true that the negroes have not been disfranchised by law, but are allowed to go to the polls and cast their votes; yet, for twenty years, to all intents and purposes, they have been disfranchised as effectually as if by legal enactment. The most enlightened and prosperous negro has no more voice in the government of the State than the most ignorant member of the race. It is not the desire of the Southern white man to injure or degrade the black man, but existing conditions compel him to protect himself. The white man, be he of Northern or Southern extraction, is and ever will be unwilling to submit to the domination of an inferior race. As I have stated, the white voters are united for the preservation of good government, and they will allow no other question to dominate this one.

Those who do not understand the conditions in the South may ask how it is that the negro still retains the privilege of voting, and yet has no voice in the government of the State. The answer is not a difficult one. The candidates for office are selected and the questions of state are decided in a white primary, in which the negro is not allowed to participate. The united white vote being in the ascendancy, when a decision is reached it is ratified at the polls. As a rule, the negro's vote is not solicited in its ratification; and, if it is, it is not solicited by an appeal to his reason.

It must not be understood that this condition was inaugurated without an effort to secure the support of the negro in the cause of good government. An earnest effort in this direction was made immediately after his enfranchisement. Southern men of enlightenment and great ability affiliated with the Republican party of the



South in an effort to direct the new-made citizen to a use of the power placed in his hands for the good of the state and its people, but only to meet with failure after failure. He followed corrupt and degrading influences in preference to those that appeal to the higher sensibilities of men; and the same conditions exist to-day, as has been demonstrated in those States where in recent years a temporary division of the white people has enabled the negro again to grasp the reins of power. He will not listen even to the appeals of the enlightened men of his race.

It is contended by some that the disfranchisement of the negro will stop the development of the race. I do not believe that he will be affected in his moral, industrial, or educational development by being disfranchised by law; for, as stated above, he has been practically disfranchised for twenty years in most parts of the South. The real question involved is not one of the disfranchisement of the negro, but of the enfranchisement of the white man. I believe that the only development that can come to the negro race must come through the instrumentality of the white race, and that the negro through his own unaided efforts is incapable of rising above his present condition. The black race has come in contact with every civilization that the world has ever known; but, as a race, it has shown no development from its contact with them. The individual may have risen in the scale of life, but as soon as the sustaining influence of the higher civilization has been removed the race has retrograded. The masses of the negro race cannot, and will not, receive the full benefit of their contact with our civilization so long as political hostility keeps up a continued conflict between the two races; and the greatest enemy that the negro has is that man who wittingly or unwittingly prejudices the negro against the Southern white man, on whose shoulders in the end must rest the problem of solving the destiny of the two races.

The contention that the negro in the Southern States must retain the privilege of the ballot in order that he may work out his own development is not justified by existing conditions. The negro, to progress, must be able to work, acquire property, and develop along industrial lines. In the South, as I have said, he has been practically disfranchised for many years. In the North he has the same privilege at the ballot box as the white man. In the South all fields of honest employment have at all times been open to him, and he has been protected in his right to work and earn an honest living. His life and property are always secure, and he receives the full protection

of the law so long as he keeps within the mandates of the law of his State, except in instances where political conflicts arise. In the North, as a rule, he is barred from most of the trades, and must content himself to serve as a day laborer, unless he can enter one of the professions. In some of the Northern States, when he has come in industrial conflict with the white men of those States, he has not received the protection of the law; but, on the contrary, the power of the State has been turned against him in his endeavor to earn a living.

In most of the States it has not been thought necessary to give the female citizens the right of the ballot, in order to protect their property, or to advance their industrial or intellectual development. Most of the States have refused full citizenship to the Indian and the Chinese, and their right to exercise such refusal remains unquestioned. The free government which we enjoy in this country and the personal rights of the citizen have been acquired and attained by the white race after hundreds of years of development, struggle, and sacrifice. They have worked out their own destiny, and through the blood of their fathers have acquired vested rights in our free institutions, and the privilege of controlling them.

But this is not true of the negro, the Indian, or the Chinese. Our freedom and our political institutions were not created either by their intellectual development or the self-sacrifices of their race. It may be said that we have no right to deny the privileges of a free government that we have won for ourselves to the inferior races with whom we come in contact. This may be true when it does not jeopardize our own free institutions; but when it does, our first duty is to ourselves and to the free government created for us by the wisdom and courage of our ancestors. Should the premature admission of an alien race to the privileges of full citizenship endanger those institutions, we not only have the right, but it is our duty, to take away those privileges. There can be no doubt that the granting of the franchise to the negro before he could understand it or was prepared to use it was a great mistake, and has not operated for his good.

Abraham Lincoln, perhaps the wisest statesman in the galaxy of great men who have shaped the destinies of the Republican party, recognized the danger of forcing a conflict between the two races. In a speech delivered at Charleston, Illinois, on September 18, 1858, he said:

"I will say that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races;



that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And, inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior; and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

I repeat that there is no intention on the part of the white people of the South to oppress or degrade the negro. Their desire is now, and always has been, to aid him in his industrial and intellectual development. But they recognize that they must continue to control the government of the Southern States, and that it is not only best for them, but for the negroes themselves, to remove the existing political conflict by the disfranchisement of the ignorant negro vote.

OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD.

## THE COAL SUPREMACY OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE most striking facts of the world commerce of to-day are, perhaps, the coal famine in Europe and the export trade of the United States. These two facts are closely related. They stand in the relation of cause and effect. The foundation of our cheap production and our large exports is the abundance and the cheapness of our coal. The slow growth of the export trade of our rivals is very largely to be explained by the high cost of their fuel. Other important advantages we do indeed possess, in our larger use of machinery, more efficient labor, and cheap raw materials; but the most important of all our points of commercial superiority, the consideration which assures us a permanent and commanding advantage in foreign trade, is the superabundance of our coal.

The supreme importance of coal to machine production was beautifully expressed by Jevons in the opening sentences of his "Coal Question," the book which foretold, more than thirty years since, the passing of commercial supremacy from Great Britain to the United States:

"Day by day it becomes more obvious that the coal we happily possess in excellent quality and abundance is the mainspring of modern material civilization. As fuel, or the source of fire, it is the source at once of mechanical motion and of chemical change. Accordingly, it is the chief agent in almost every improvement or discovery in the arts which the present age brings forth. . . . And as the source especially of steam and iron, coal is all-powerful. This age has been called the Iron Age, and it is true that iron is the material of most great novelties. By its strength, endurance, and wide range of qualities, it is fitted to be the fulcrum and lever of great works, while steam is the motive power. But coal alone can command in sufficient abundance either the iron or the steam, and coal, therefore, commands this age—the Age of Coal. Coal, in truth, stands not only beside, but entirely above all other commodities. It is the material energy of the country—the universal aid—the factor in everything we do. With coal, almost any feat is possible or easy; without it, we are thrown back into the laborious poverty of early times."

Coal is indeed the basis of machine production, and machine production is almost universal. Cheap coal means cheap iron and steel, and so means cheap machinery and construction. Cheap coal means



cheap power to drive the engine and the loom. Cheap coal means low freight rates, which in their turn lower the cost of every article of commerce. Cheap production, the outcome of these advantages, means large exports, a vast and increasing foreign trade. The nation which has the most abundant fuel and the cheapest power will be the commercial monarch of the future, reigning without a rival. That nation is the United States.

The United States has the most abundant, the easiest mined, and the cheapest coal of any nation. The proof of this statement is found in the greater area of her coal lands, the size and accessibility of her coal deposits, and the present price of her coal. The area of the coal lands of Western Europe is less than 10,000 square miles, and practically all this area has been opened to mining. The available coal area of the United States at the present time is 50,000 square miles. Moreover, the bulk of American coal is now produced from six States, Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois, Alabama and Iowa, and the coal-bearing lands which they contain by no means represent our total resources. Coal is found in twenty counties in Virginia. Kentucky contains two large coal fields, the Western being 4,500 square miles in area. The Missouri coal fields embrace 25,000 square miles, and the coal is generally of good quality. Northern Arkansas contains a good-sized coal field, and Texas has a coal-bearing area of 30,000 square miles. The entire Rocky Mountain region abounds in coal; Wyoming having 20,000 square miles of coal lands, Colorado 18,000 square miles, and Montana 60,000 square miles, while large deposits are found in other States and Territories. Abundance of coal is found in Washington.

While drawing upon only a part of our coal-bearing area, we have distanced our competitors in the rapid increase of our output. This fact is shown by the following table, which gives the figures of coal production for the principal manufacturing nations from 1870 to 1898, in metric tons:

YEAR.	UNITED KINGDOM.	GERMANY.	FRANCE.	BELGIUM.	UNITED STATES.
1870 .....	112,200,000	34,800,000	13,300,000	13,600,000	29,900,000
1875 .....	135,400,000	48,500,000	16,900,000	15,000,000	48,200,000
1880 .....	149,300,000	59,100,000	19,300,000	16,800,000	66,800,000
1885 .....	161,800,000	73,600,000	19,500,000	17,400,000	102,100,000
1890 .....	184,500,000	82,200,000	26,000,000	20,300,000	141,600,000
1895 .....	194,300,000	79,100,000	28,200,000	20,400,000	187,000,000
1898 .....	205,200,000	96,200,000	30,300,000	21,400,000	218,000,000

The production of Great Britain from 1870 to 1898 increased 83

per cent, of Germany 176 per cent, of France 128 per cent, of Belgium 57 per cent, and of the United States 629 per cent. In other words, the United States, while drawing upon only a portion of her available deposits, increased her output during twenty-eight years six times as rapidly as the average of her four competitors, who have taxed their entire resources to supply their needs. This rapid increase of American coal production over the production of Europe is due primarily to the greater abundance of our coal deposits, and secondarily to the greater thickness of the veins in our country.

American coal is so abundant that the mines are as yet shallow and easily worked. European mines, on the other hand, are approaching the limit of profitable working. This raises the question of the high cost of deep mining. The availability of coal is closely related to the depth at which it is mined. When the shafts go below the water line, and especially as they descend to the lower levels, pumping becomes necessary. The expense of raising the coal increases with the depth of the shaft. Hoisting apparatus for men and materials must be erected; and, as the shaft goes deeper, the expense of hoisting is increased, and the amount of coal raised in a given time, by a given amount of power, is diminished. At greater depths, the rocks become harder and the veins more irregular, and more timber must be put in to sustain the greater pressure.

Again, as the shaft descends, the heat rapidly increases. At a depth of 4,000 feet the temperature may reach 106° F. The heat lowers the efficiency of the miner, who cannot do sustained and vigorous labor under these circumstances. The labor cost of deep mining is increased by this fact. The amount of gas and the danger of explosion also increase at lower depths. Powerful blowing engines are required to secure ventilation; and, on the lower levels, perfect ventilation and safety cannot be secured. The expense of supervision and management and the amount of subsidiary labor required to assist the miners are increased as the mine is deepened. In a word, every item in the cost of coal production is increased by the necessity for deep mining, and on this account resort will not be had to the lower veins until the surface deposits have been exhausted.

As to the depth of the coal mines of Europe, the "Colliery Engineer," in September, 1892, remarked on the situation as follows:

"The upper seams of coal on the Continent of Europe are being gradually worked out, and it is found necessary already in many quarters to work at greater depths. In the Mons district in Belgium some shafts have lately been



sunk to the depth of 3,775 feet. Though the coal is excellent, the hindrances to mining are tremendous. There are many formidable blows of gas and of water at 122° F. Some very powerful pumps are being put down in order to keep the workings clear of water. It has also been found necessary to replace the ordinary wooden timbering with steel props."

Conditions such as those here indicated are being experienced in France, Germany, and Great Britain. The situation of the European coal miner may be seen from the following table of depths:

LOCATION.	NAME OF MINE.	DEPTH IN FEET.	DATE.
Great Britain.....	Pendleton Colliery.....	3,474	1897
	Dolcoath Mine.....	2,400	1897
	Kentish Mines (just opened)....	1,140	1875-1892
	Four foot seam, Cheshire.....	1,629	1894
	Harris Navigation Colliery.....	2,100	1888
	Ashton Moss Colliery.....	2,880	1891
France.....	Gagmeres .....	2,640	1892
	Société Cockerill.....	1,730	1891
Germany.....	Rheinelbe, Westphalia (1).....	1,181	1894 1898
		(2)..... 3,300	
		(3)..... 2,600	
	Oelsnitz, Saxony	(1)..... 3,100	1888
		(2)..... 2,980	
Belgium.....	Henriette Shaft.....	3,772	1898
	Charlerroi .....	2,640	1896
	St. Gilly.....	3,280	

These figures represent the extreme depths. It must not be inferred that all European mines are worked under similar conditions. For example, in 1891 it was estimated that the average depth of mines in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire was 450 feet, and in Cheshire, 1,200 feet — figures much lower than the maximum depth of older mines. But the existence of more accessible deposits does not alter the fact that it is the cost at the deepest mines which determines the cost of the coal. The price of coal in Great Britain and on the Continent must be sufficient to warrant the operation of the deepest mines, else they would be abandoned. The fact that such deep mines — and they are numerous — are kept in operation shows that the price of coal is sufficient to pay the cost of production.

In the United States it is entirely different, for American coal mines, generally speaking, have no depth at all. This statement, seemingly so paradoxical, is yet capable of exact statistical proof. The depth of a coal mine is, properly speaking, the distance from the water-line to the bottom of the shaft. Below the water-line the real difficulties of deep mining begin. Above that point there is ordinarily little expense for pumping or hoisting, and the expense of ventilation is comparatively small. It is fair to say, therefore, that mines

whose workings do not fall below the water-line cannot be called deep mines. Most of the coal mines of the United States do not fall below the water line. This conclusion is based upon unpublished reports made to the Columbian Exposition and now kept in the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago. The reports include two-thirds of the entire number of mines. I shall present the more important facts contained in them. Conditions have not so greatly changed in eight years as to make the figures here given inapplicable to the situation prevailing to-day.

From Pennsylvania, which produces one-third of the coal supply of the United States, seventy-one mines made reports. These may be divided into three classes: (1) mines worked by shafts — perpendicular excavations extending straight down into the earth; (2) mines worked by shafts and slopes, that is to say, inclined tunnels; and (3) mines worked by slopes and drifts, *i. e.*, tunnels running horizontally or inclining upward. Mines in the first and second classes fall below the water-line. Mines in the third class lie above it. Out of the entire number of mines reporting, only six were worked by shaft alone, and only thirteen by a combination of shaft, slope, and drift, or slope and drift. Fifty-two out of seventy were worked by drifts, in some cases so inclined as to be self-draining, and as to permit of loaded cars running out of their own weight. The proof is conclusive that the bulk of Pennsylvania coal is extracted from deposits lying above the water-line; only two-sevenths of the coal of this State was taken from deep mines.

Contrast this condition with that shown by the mining depths of Europe, and the advantage of the United States becomes conspicuous. Our advantage can also be shown from the depths of those mines which fall below the water-line. Out of the nineteen Pennsylvania mines thus circumstanced the average depth was only  $437\frac{1}{3}$  feet. Other States show the same thing. Thus, in Alabama, out of sixteen mines reporting, six extended below the water line, their average depth being 168 feet. In West Virginia four mines out of twenty-nine reached the water line. In the flat country of the Mississippi Valley the proportion of deep mines is higher, but their depth is not great. For example, Illinois reported only three mines over 600 feet in depth, and only eight out of the forty mines that reported averaged over 400 feet in depth.

In the United States the abundance of the deposits makes deep mining unnecessary. When a shaft has been sunk a few hundred



feet, it is cheaper to sink a new shaft elsewhere than to push on to greater depths. Only in cases of exceptional richness, such as the thirty feet of the mammoth vein of Pennsylvania, is deep mining followed; and in such cases the peculiar advantages of the deposit are more than sufficient to offset the increased cost of the deep mining. The superior advantages of coal production in the United States as compared with European conditions could not be better illustrated. We mine on the surface; they go down into the depths. Our coal can be pulled out on a level track. Abroad, it is sometimes half an hour in reaching the top of the shaft. We have little water or fire-damp, and small expenses for timbering and ventilating. The foreign miner must fight water and gas, great heat, and constant caving. Our coal mines are mere quarries. The coal mines of Europe are veritable mines.

Another important consideration in estimating the relative value of coal deposits is the thickness of seams. At a thickness of five feet the efficiency of coal cutting machines is marked, and where these can be advantageously used, a maximum saving of fifty per cent in the primary cost of working can be made. In narrow seams, coal-cutting machines cannot be used, and coal must be blasted or more often picked out by hand, the miner being sometimes obliged to use his pick while lying on his side. Again, the expense of cutting galleries, in proportion to the value of the coal extracted from the gallery, varies inversely with the thickness of the seam. In thin seams the amount of rock which must be removed to get at the coal is greater than in thick seams where the spaces from which the coal has been taken furnish most of the communications. In thick seams, moreover, the coal can often be broken down directly into the cars without blasting or handling. This, the cheapest method of mining, is not possible in narrow seams. For these reasons the cost of coal mining decreases with the increase in the thickness of seams. It has been estimated that the cost of hand-working in a seam twenty-eight inches thick varied from eighty-one cents to one dollar, while in a thirty-six inch seam it was only thirty-seven cents to forty-one cents. The disadvantage of working narrow seams is much increased when machines are used. Thicker coal seams, then, other things being equal, mean lower cost of coal mining, and the coal seams of the United States are as a rule much thicker than those hitherto found in Europe.

The thickness of English coal is shown by the following table :

DISTRICT.	AVERAGE THICKNESS.	
	FEET.	INCHES.
North of England.....	3	6
Scottish Coal Seams.....	3	6
North Staffordshire .....	3	6
Manchester .....	4	6
South Staffordshire .....	8	4 (small field)
Warwickshire .....	5	2
Leicestershire .....	4	6
West of England.....	2	1
South Wales .....	3	0

The north and west of England produce the bulk of her coal supply, and, making allowance for this fact, the average thickness of English coal seams may be estimated at three feet. On the Continent the coal veins are smaller. The coal seams of northern France range from 1 foot 11 inches to 2 feet 9 inches in thickness. In central and southern France, the thickness is greater; but here the beds are broken and full of faults, being tilted in every direction, and, on this account, difficult to work. The coal seams of Belgium run from ten inches to three feet in thickness. In Prussia, in the more important Westphalia deposits, the thickness ranges from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 1 inch. In Silesia, it is 2 feet 6 inches. Westphalia produces the greater part of the output of Germany. If we admit the average thickness of the coal seams of the Continent to be from 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet, we shall be in little danger of underestimating it.

In the United States we find that the coal seams are generally much thicker than those of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. To show the thickness of American coal seams, I have taken from the Field Museum reports typical mines for the principal coal-producing States. The results appear in the following table:

STATE.	PRODUCTION 1897.	THICKNESS OF VEIN.	
		FEET.	INCHES.
Pennsylvania .....	54,400,000 tons	10	5
Illinois .....	20,000,000 "	4	9
West Virginia .....	13,700,000 "	6	10
Ohio .....	12,400,000 "	7	8
Alabama .....	5,800,000 "	5	1
Indiana .....	4,200,000 "	5	7

This represents more than two-thirds of the coal production of the United States, and gives an average thickness of 8 feet 8 inches. If the seams of Pennsylvania be given the weight in this average which the greater importance of this State as a coal producer demands, the thickness for these six States rises to 9 feet; and if a single average be taken for the entire country — an average which gives



the same importance to the thin seams of Kansas and Iowa as to the thick seams of Pennsylvania and West Virginia — the average thickness of American coal seams may be estimated at 5 feet. All things considered, it is a safe estimate that the workable coal seams of the United States have twice the thickness of those in Great Britain and Northern Europe.

So we see that the superficial coal area of the United States is greater than that of Europe; that our coal deposits are larger, and that our coal seams are thicker. The result of these advantages is seen in the greater output per miner in the United States, in the lower mine price of American coal, and in the growing export of coal from America to Europe.

From 1872 to 1893 the annual output per person employed in the coal mining industry of Great Britain decreased from 310 to 275 tons, in France from 190 to 165, and in Belgium from 167 to 165. In Germany it increased slightly, from 274 to 280 tons, while in the United States it increased from 370 to 540 tons. This was a period of rapid improvement in mining appliances and processes, and the efficiency of production was greatly increasing. In the United States the full effect of these improvements is seen in an increase in the individual output of 170 tons. In this country the character of the deposits allowed invention and improvement to have their perfect work in increasing the supply. In Great Britain and on the Continent, on the other hand, where improvement, although less active than in the United States, still made rapid progress, the disadvantages of coal mining were so great that in every country but one, in the face of technical improvement, the individual output decreased. In spite of his utmost endeavor the foreign miner is waging a hopeless battle. He is fighting the law of diminishing returns, which is steadily forcing up his cost of production.

This increasing cost means higher prices. From 1885 to 1894, wholesale prices were steadily falling both in Europe and the United States, but in Europe, France excepted, the price of coal did not fall with other prices. In Belgium, during this period, the mine price of coal rose from \$1.71 to \$1.80; in Germany from \$1.26 to \$1.59, and in Great Britain from \$1.24 to \$1.60. In France a slight fall occurred, from \$2.28 to \$2.17. In the United States the price declined very materially — from \$1.58 to \$1.20.

The result of this has been a slow, but steady, increase in the export of American coal to Europe, a movement which promises soon to

assume large proportions. In spite of distance, in spite of higher freights, in spite of the low value of the product in proportion to its bulk, the advance in coal prices abroad is rapidly bringing about such a condition that American exporters can pay all the charges and yet profitably export coal to Europe. In 1899, according to the report of the London Board of Trade, the mine price of coal in England was \$1.58, in France \$2.25, in Germany \$1.85, in Belgium \$2.18, and in the United States \$1.10. Here is a margin of fifty cents to one dollar per ton in favor of the United States, and that margin shows no sign of diminishing, rather tending to increase. To quote again from Jevons, who so accurately foresaw this result :

"Our industry will certainly last and grow until our mines are commonly sunk two thousand or three thousand, or even four thousand feet deep. But when that time comes the States of Northern America will still be working coal in the light of day, quarrying it down on the banks of the Ohio, and running it down into boats alongside. The question is, how soon will our mines approach the limit of commercial possibility and fail to secure us any longer that manufacturing supremacy on which we are learning to be wholly dependent?"

The coal mines of Europe are sunk three thousand feet deep ; coal is still being quarried on the banks of the Ohio ; and the mines of Europe are nearing the limit of commercial possibility. The manufacturing supremacy of the Old World is passing to the New. Coal is King, and his throne is fixed forever in the United States.

EDWARD SHERWOOD MEADE.



## EDUCATION IN PUERTO RICO.

UPON assuming command of the island of Puerto Rico, as first military governor, General Brooke found in existence a public-school system the history of which dated back to the beginning of the century. But the conduct of the system had been so inefficient that less than fifteen per cent of the population could read and write, and probably a majority of these had received their education in private secular or ecclesiastical institutions. General Brooke's brief administration, however, gave no opportunity for the consideration of school reforms. As a matter of fact, the initiative in these was taken by the people themselves. At a popular representative assembly, held at San Juan, October 30, 1898, for the purpose of expressing the views of the people as to the island's social and political needs, the following resolution was passed :

As regards public education, the best means of advancing our people would be through kindergartens and normal schools as established in the United States. Our elementary and superior schools should be remodelled and graded according to modern pedagogic methods. Secondary instruction should be a continuation of the primary and a preparation for superior and collegiate. Universal education should be introduced. There should be established schools for adults, Sunday schools, schools of arts and trade, libraries, museums, academies of fine arts, and literary clubs.

Education must be obligatory and gratuitous, and it must be compulsory upon every municipality to sustain its own schools, the number being fixed by law with reference to the population. If the municipality is unable to sustain all the schools, the State should establish the additional ones that are necessary.

Upon succeeding General Brooke as governor, in December, 1898, General Henry issued a circular to the president and secretaries of council, calling attention, among other things, to the necessity of extending present educational facilities, and suggesting the employment of an American teacher in each municipality to give instruction in English. He shortly afterward summoned to the island General John Eaton, formerly United States Commissioner of Education, to take charge of educational affairs, acting under the insular secretary of the interior. The writer of the present article was im-

mediately called to the island as General Eaton's assistant, and, when the latter returned to the United States, the following May, was placed in charge of the department — including, at this time, both public charities and education. Upon the abolition of the secretaryships, by General Davis, in August, 1899, the heads of the various civil bureaus and departments were required to report directly to the military governor, and were assisted, in some instances, by advisory or administrative boards, composed of both Americans and Puerto Ricans. In accordance with this scheme, an insular board of education was appointed, which took quite an active part in the discussion of educational affairs during the continuance of the military government of the island.

When General Eaton took charge of the educational bureau, he found prevailing all the confusion and disorganization incident upon a war and a radical change of government. The system of the recent autonomous assembly had not entirely superseded the former system of the Messina and Despujol decrees; and the provisions of both had seldom been enforced, and, in many instances, had been arbitrarily violated. Many schools were closed, and salaries were in arrears; and there was a general disposition on the part of local authorities supporting the schools to shirk all responsibility for their supervision and maintenance, and to await the action of the military government.

A reorganization of the office force of the bureau was speedily effected. English primers were purchased and placed in the schools, and some attempt at English instruction was made in the larger towns. In March, 1899, by special order of the military governor, a system of close supervision of all the schools of the island, under sixteen English supervisors, was established. The Secondary Institute and the Girls' Normal, which seemed to be giving no adequate educational return for the large sums spent upon them, were investigated by a special commission of Puerto Ricans and Americans; and they were ordered suspended upon the recommendation of this body at the close of the academic year. In April, upon the advice of the secretary of state, but not seconded by General Eaton, an order was issued by the military governor transferring the cost of maintaining the schools from the beginning of the following fiscal year, July 1, 1899, from the municipalities to the insular treasury. During the same month, upon General Eaton's recommendation, a series of general orders, constituting a new educational code, were issued by General Henry.

It was the theory of the early American administrators in Puerto



Rico that the people would react against legislation much as they do in the United States; that they would respond readily to grants of privileges and local rights; and that they would take the initiative in working out their own salvation, if the barriers and restraints of superior authority were once removed. Had we known then that the more enlightened Spanish governors had failed repeatedly to secure results by similar methods our confidence in their success might have been less complete. Be this as it may, the fundamental principle of the new law was that full authority in the control and administration of their schools should be granted to the people of each town and *barrio* (or country district), who were empowered by this act to effect a simple political organization for this purpose.

The insular government offered to provide teachers, text-books, charts, and maps for all schools that might thus be organized, leaving to the local committee only the slight financial burden of leasing and furnishing a building. Other clauses of the new law prohibited the taking of fees from pupils, thus making the public schools for the first time really free; shortened the school year somewhat; designated legal holidays and school hours, which had been left largely to the discretion of the teacher; established a graded course of study covering six years' work, in which catechism and church doctrines were omitted; provided for a more thorough system of certificating teachers, and for their employment by the local authorities under contract, thus destroying their former "proprietary" status; and required that the school-house and the teacher's residence should be on separate premises. Coëducation was not required, but was encouraged; and it was provided that in country districts — where until this time no provision had been made for the instruction of girls — girls should be admitted to the schools upon the request of their parents, unless separate schools were provided by the authorities. This law went into effect with the opening of the schools in the autumn of 1899.

No serious difficulty was encountered in enforcing this law so far as it related to the internal administration of the schools themselves. But wherever it touched upon the political life of the community, wherever it counted upon the initiative or coöperation of local authorities, or of the people, it proved inoperative, and soon required amendment. To a certain extent, exceptional conditions were responsible for this. The great storm of August 8, 1899, destroyed many of the buildings available for school use; and, by devastating the plantations, it put an end to local tax collections, so that municipal revenues practically

ceased for a time. Financial resources and the interest of the people were absorbed for the time being in relieving actual want and distress. Under the circumstances, it was really a remarkable achievement, creditable to local as well as to insular authorities, that in less than five months later more schools were actually in session than ever before, and that the attendance was probably greater than at any previous time in the history of the island. But this result was largely due to the pressure and vigilance of military authority, able to provide a *deus ex machina* for every emergency.

By indications that were independent of the misfortunes that had befallen the island, it soon became evident that if there was a crying demand for public schools on the part of the great mass of the population, it never became articulate or expressed itself in active attempts to secure school facilities. The forces that had been relied upon to start an educational revival from the bottom of society did not appear. The steps by which was demonstrated the necessity of the centralized, and more or less imposed and paternal, system of school administration later adopted are too numerous to be traced in full here. They constitute practically the whole history of school administration in the island during the last scholastic year.

Out of the eight hundred towns and *barrios* of the island less than a score made any attempt to effect a local school organization under the new law. Where this was done it was due in most instances to the initiative of the English supervisor or of some American resident. It was thus made necessary to continue the municipality as the local unit of school administration instead of the town or *barrio* — probably a fortunate result upon the whole. The old local boards of Spanish rule were retained in authority until the recent municipal elections, when five school trustees — not more than three of the same party — were elected in each municipality of the island.

The local boards, where already constituted, failed in many instances to provide buildings or furniture for the schools, or to elect teachers. Private interests clashed in the selection of buildings, and personal and political interests in the election of teachers. In the city of San Juan buildings were not provided for the schools until over a month after the date of opening. As late as March 1 the local board had not yet appointed all the teachers provided for — who were to be paid from the insular budget for the last scholastic year — although less than fifteen per cent of the children of school age were in school, and although there were as many pupils on the waiting list, who had been



refused admission for lack of room and teachers, as there were actually in attendance. The delay in appointing had been due to the fact that the party in power feared that the disappointed applicants might work against them in the coming municipal elections. When this was the condition in the capital of the island, a locality directly subject to the influence of enlightened native leaders and of the central educational authorities, it can well be imagined what was going on in the outlying districts. In Ponce and many other towns a change in the political complexion of the local board led to an immediate discharge of teachers belonging to the party in minority. Sometimes a deadlock in a local board occurred, and the whole body would resign, leaving a town without any local school administration.

Under these circumstances, it became necessary to administer many of the schools from the central office, through the agency of the English supervisors. By general orders amending the school code, the insular superintendent was given authority to appoint teachers, rent buildings — at the expense of the municipality — and take whatever other measures were necessary to secure the opening of the schools where local authorities failed to act. By delegating this authority to the supervisors, who possessed a practical knowledge of local conditions in their respective districts, schools were opened with reasonable promptness, in most instances, and in far better quarters and under more favorable conditions for effective work than had ever been the case before in the history of the island. By the end of the first term, at the close of December, 1899, reliable statistics, gathered during actual visits to the schools by the supervisors themselves, showed an enrollment of 15,440 boys and 8,952 girls, with an average daily attendance of over 82 per cent. About 15,000 of these children were entering school for the first time, and less than a thousand had advanced beyond the most elementary work — simple prose reading and the four operations with integers. About 3,000 children were receiving all their instruction under American teachers.

About seventy teachers, mostly normal graduates, were brought from the United States and sent out to the various towns, in accordance with General Henry's recommendation, to give instruction in English. For the purpose of illustrating our methods of school organization and instruction, so far as was possible under the conditions existing, it was found advisable to place these teachers in charge of model grades of primary children, devoting but a portion of their time to instruction in English in the other grades. These young ladies — as

they were in most instances — did heroic work. It took true heroism to meet the conditions — the isolation, the solitude, the slum life, the absence of all accustomed and the presence of unaccustomed things — that they had to encounter. But it is doubtful whether the experiment should be repeated. The island cannot afford to pay salaries that will attract really competent teachers to work under such conditions; and if it could, the hostility and jealousy of the native teachers, and of their friends and relatives, would be aroused by these higher salaries to such an extent as to make the work difficult and unpleasant, and, to a large extent, ineffective. Puerto Ricans are more excusable for this feeling than we might fancy. They were obliged to contend for a livelihood with the more favored Peninsulars in all phases of public employment during Spanish rule, and they naturally distrust Americans as the possible successors of these.

English instruction of some sort was attempted in all the schools of the island, and books and a reading chart were furnished for this purpose. Experience shows, however, that this subject possesses no practical or pedagogical value unless taught by teachers understanding the language. No parallel can be drawn between the Puerto Rican child and the foreign child learning English in the United States. The former goes home to a hut, or hovel, as a rule, sees no books or pictures, and hears no conversation possessing any culture value outside of school. His simple range of ideas is expressed in a barbarous *patois* of a few hundred words, and he has a peasant's linguistic conservatism. He hears no spoken English, and sees no written English in his play or home life; and he is not in any way committed to an English-speaking career. Add to these adverse influences an imperfectly trained teacher, unfamiliar with the language, and progress is slow indeed.

The race question, while by no means absent, does not present as serious difficulties as in our own country. For the coming year a negro has been elected principal of the largest school in the island — the boys' graded school of San Juan — where probably eighty per cent of the pupils attending are white. In Spanish times persons known to have negro blood in their veins were not generally admitted to the principal café in San Juan, the Mallorquina, or to fashionable clubs or society balls. This restriction still exists. The feeling that dictated such measures was reflected to some extent in the attitude of parents toward schools attended by children of both races. But unless this sentiment is accentuated through the influence of Amer-



ican prejudices upon the islanders, it does not at present seem likely to prove a serious problem in school administration.

In the spring of 1899 an American school, under American teachers, was opened at Ponce. The school was founded and supported during the first months of its existence by a private society of that city, but has since been maintained and administered by the Government. All instruction is in English; the waiting list has always been large; and the progress of the pupils, despite the language difficulty, has been more rapid than in the municipal schools under native teachers, where Spanish was used. This last fact is largely due to the superior discipline and method and system in the school work of the American teachers. This school, I may say, has been coëducational from the start.

In the autumn of 1899 a model, in conjunction with a training, school was opened at San Juan in a public-school building — the only one in the island — erected for its use. It is also coëducational. Its courses are entirely in English, except in one department of the high school, where many of the former students of the Secondary Institute are completing their courses. Instruction extends from the kindergarten through the college preparatory subjects. There are well-equipped scientific laboratories, and there is also a sloyd department — all under competent instructors from the United States. About one-third of the children in attendance are Americans, belonging to the families of army officers and civilian government employés. There is a training class for primary teachers and of kindergartners, who practise methods of teaching in connection with their academic studies.

A normal school is to be established at Fajardo, a coast town in the northeastern part of the island, about thirty miles from San Juan, where a site of one hundred acres has already been purchased. The municipality provided \$20,000 bonus for the school, and the insular government appropriated an equal sum, so that \$40,000 was available for site and buildings.

Teachers' examinations, modelled after the State Board examinations in Minnesota and the Regents' examinations in New York, are held quarterly by the supervisors at the headquarters of their respective districts. Forty-eight native teachers were sent to the United States in the summer of 1899 to study English and American school methods. They were kept separate as much as possible, with a view to securing a better mastery of the language. Several served as

Spanish tutors in private families, in positions secured for them before they left the island. There is a general disposition among the teachers to learn English and to improve their methods of instruction. They still retain a high opinion of American ways of doing things, though some of the American teachers imported probably shattered more ideals than they created. They are as a rule bright and intelligent, as quick to detect our deficiencies as our good qualities, and often possess a good breeding and a native refinement that are very agreeable. There are less than a thousand qualified teachers in the island. This illustrates one of the difficulties we are obliged to meet in immediately extending school privileges to all the children. The number of qualified teachers would have to be trebled or quadrupled to effect this.

General Davis doubled the proportion of the public revenues devoted to education, raising it from six to twelve per cent — still less than half that of the United States. This gave about \$413,000 per annum for the schools, and provided facilities for the instruction of from 25,000 to 30,000 children — about one-seventh of those of school age in the island. Had the entire general revenue of Puerto Rico for the past economic year been devoted to the support of her schools, it would no more than have sufficed for the instruction of the illiterate youth of the island under eighteen years of age — had a compulsory attendance law been enforced. It is readily seen, therefore, that the financial problem is fundamental. It is doubtful whether for fifty years to come Puerto Rico will be able to support, from her own resources, schools enough to raise all her people to a plane of intelligence fitting them for self-government.

Present conditions render necessary the expenditure of a larger share of the revenues for non-educational purposes than with us. In twenty-five representative towns of the United States, including a number in the "black belt," the average expenditure for schools is five times that for police. In twenty-five towns of Puerto Rico the police expenditure is double that for schools, and the number of police employed twice the number of teachers. Increase in the number of schools supported by the island can only accompany an increased revenue-paying power of the people, and conditions enabling a larger proportion of the revenues to be devoted to educational purposes. But, as education itself is the means of securing these results, any immediate solution of the problem is somewhat analogous to lifting one's self by one's bootstraps.



The expense of maintaining schools is very high in Puerto Rico, if we consider what is received for the money. The cost per capita per pupil enrolled last year was over \$13, while in Missouri, with its large and expensive urban systems, its secondary schools, and its university, the per capita expenditure was less than \$9. This is due to lack of school buildings and school plant in general, and to ignorance of the principles of economical school administration on the part of school authorities. Lax discipline and absence of system and organization in the conduct of the schools account for much waste of effort and ineffective work. The gradual creation of an educational plant, and the gaining of experience in the management of their own affairs on the part of the people, will be the only way to obviate the former difficulty. The establishment of good normal schools — our experience at San Juan and Ponce shows that these schools can be conducted successfully under American teachers, and with courses entirely in English — accompanied by a consistently strict central administration, requiring the employment of normal graduates as fast as they become available, will in time improve the internal management of the common schools. To expect that either of these things can be accomplished in a day, or even in a few years, is to doom one's self to disappointment.

The total result of the American influence exerted over the school system of Puerto Rico has been wonderfully broadening and beneficial, however, and were we to withdraw from the island to-day it would certainly endure. Nearly 100,000 modern American textbooks in Spanish have disseminated information throughout the land. Teachers' examinations, conducted in writing and without the possibility of favoritism being shown, have set new standards of attainment before both teachers and pupils. The separation of the schools from the teachers' residences — though the schools still occupy rented buildings — has introduced a higher ideal of school organization, and has tended to emphasize the school as a distinct institution. New ideas and ideals are beginning to germinate, and will in time bear fruit. The progress at first may be very slow, especially in view of the limited resources available; but the educational process that is going on is affecting not only the children but their elders as well. And while none of us can predict just what form the final outcome of our educational work in the island will assume, we can feel assured that the result of our efforts will be salutary.

VICTOR SELDEN CLARK.

## OUR AGREEMENT WITH THE SULTAN OF SULU.

GENERAL OTIS had quite enough to do in the great northern island of Luzon at the time when the duty was laid upon him to assume control of the affairs of the Moros<sup>1</sup> in the south. With Lawton's column making the famous march on San Isidro, Kobbé's moving up the Rio Grande, and MacArthur's covering Pampanga province, the "hermit" at Manila, who directed these operations, might have been pardoned if he had said that he could not spare a thought or a soldier. But the report had come to him that the Sultan and his *datos* were buying arms; moreover, the Spanish Governor-General had received orders from Madrid to withdraw the Joló<sup>2</sup> and Zamboanga garrisons immediately. Delay in taking possession would have invited the Moros to resist, even turning the guns in the abandoned Spanish fortifications upon tardy American troops.

A rather curious situation arose then, bringing together the extremes of experience and of opinion. Entering this field with reluctance and certain misgivings, General Otis was favored by fortune here as in scarcely any other venture. The contact of our soldiers with the most warlike portion of the archipelago's inhabitants was most peaceful; and I think it will appear that the very chapter in the story of the American occupation of the Philippines which has been most commonly referred to with confident scorn by critics of the present administration's policy is, in point of fact, the most creditable of all, or the least open to censure. I shall touch on the diplomacy employed by General Bates, acting for General Otis — the policy of conciliation and of tact as a substitute for force, which might have been equally successful in the north a year earlier — and shall consider the charge, still often repeated, that the United States entered into an

<sup>1</sup> The Mohammedan Malays are called "Moros," whether resident in the Sulu Archipelago or in Mindanao, this being the common name quite naturally bestowed by Spaniards upon followers of the Prophet.

<sup>2</sup> Sulu and Joló: The words are used interchangeably, though the latter is preferred by Spanish writers. As a convenient distinction, I would suggest the employment of "Joló" to designate the town and island, and of "Sulu" in a wider sense—as the Sulu Archipelago, Sultanate, and language.



agreement to pay tribute to the Sultan of Sulu, and to sanction the institutions of slavery and polygamy.

We must bear in mind that Spain's relations to the Sulu Archipelago since her little gunboats succeeded in checking the piratical raids had been indefinite and variable. Steadfast only in the design to maintain a show of sovereignty, she had at critical periods treated for peace with the Moros on terms which, oftener than otherwise, left her nothing but the symbol of authority, while all the revenues and practically unrestrained freedom of action were conceded to the Sultan and his chiefs — the half independent feudatories called *datos*. The impression which the natives received when the Spanish military forces were withdrawn was, quite naturally, that sovereignty had been reconveyed to them. The Spanish garrison's action in putting them in possession of Siassi, and promising to do the same with Joló, thus restoring the two places especially coveted, was also a further encouragement of the most tangible sort. General Otis so fully realized the difficulty of dispelling this illusion that, in his instructions to General Bates, he cautioned the latter to use tact and adroitness. "A discussion of the United States' benevolent intentions, and its wish to establish friendly relations with the Sultan and his *datos* in order to carry out those intentions," he wrote, "should precede any decided attempt at correction."

And yet, almost immediately following this good advice in the letter of instructions referred to, a passage occurs which shows an anxious, conscientious man off his guard for a moment :

"The United States will accept the obligations of Spain under the agreement of 1878 in the matter of money annuities, and in proof of sincerity you will offer as a present to the Sultan and *datos* \$10,000, Mexican, with which you will be supplied before leaving for Joló—the same to be handed over to them, respectively, in amounts agreeing with the ratio of payments made to them by the Spanish Government for their declared services. From the first of September next, and thereafter, the United States will pay to them regularly the sums promised by Spain in its agreement of 1878, and in any subsequent promises of which proof can be furnished. The United States will promise, in return for concessions to be hereinafter mentioned, not to interfere with, but to *protect the Moros in the free exercise of their religion and customs, social and domestic.*"

It is easy to see how an agent less shrewd than the one selected for this mission might have misused the authority conveyed in such words, if only in using it *all*; for unquestionably the money annuities, under the old *régime*, were adapted to a different state of affairs, while the clause which I have italicized conceded more than was necessary, to say the least.

Precisely at this point we may begin to appreciate the agent's course. General Bates arrived at Joló on July 16, and sent a verbal message to the Sultan at Maybun, his capital, twelve miles distant. There was no response. Two days later he wrote, requesting the Sultan to come to Joló "very soon." On the 19th, the Sultan's oldest brother, Rajah Muda, with two others — the secretary and an adviser of His Highness — called upon the general to offer excuses and explanations. A week passed, and nothing was accomplished beyond learning through these representatives that the Sultan's principal claims were: (1) That the Americans should not be allowed to occupy any point in the Sulu Archipelago except the town of Joló; and (2) that he himself should have the exclusive privilege of collecting duties at all other ports. Quietly accepting this unreasonable disposition as a fact, and not wasting strength in argument, or damaging his cause by threats, General Bates resolved to treat, not with the Sultan alone, but with all the leading *datos*, and to play off the local jealousies of different chiefs the one against the other; knowing well that if he should succeed in winning over such a powerful feudatory as the *dato* Joakanain, who had twice fought and defeated the Sultan, the latter would be obliged to submit.

Accordingly, we find him before the end of the month making arrangements for a visit from the *dato* Mandi of Zamboanga, receiving him and his suite hospitably, and dismissing him with "a flag and present." He had a conference with Joakanain's brother, Calbi, the day after the *dato* Mandi sailed away; and on August 1 he proceeded on the gunboat *Manila* to Lugus, where the *dato* Amir Hussin came on board, and accepted a flag and a gift. Next he went to the island of Basilan, taking another *dato*, Kalun, as a companion for a part of the voyage. In brief, his affair was marching so prosperously now that the Sultan became nervous, and sent a copy of an agreement that he wished to have adopted. This being rejected, a letter from the Sultana Inchi Jamela, "a remarkable woman, who has had great influence in these islands," arrived on the 12th, and two days afterward General Bates went to the Sultan's residence at Maybun, where a satisfactory conference was held, and the terms of an agreement were proposed and accepted. Now, finally, the Sultan would go to Joló; and he and his *datos* would acknowledge there, on August 20, by their elaborate signatures affixed to a document in English and Sulu, the sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago, the right of any person to purchase land, and



the duty to suppress piracy, and to refrain from further importation of firearms and war material. The interval was employed in visiting such ex-pirates as Tantung, at Bongao, far away to the southwest, and in coming to a definite understanding (here, again, flag and present playing their part) with the redoubtable Joakanain. The appointed day brought the head of Islam, with about one hundred followers, to Joló, the Mecca of the Orient. The Sultan's followers were apparently well disposed, and were certainly well received by the troops.

Article X of the agreement signed on that day provides that any slave in the archipelago of Joló shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying the master the usual market value. Commenting upon this General Bates says:

"I found that the institution of slavery exists in a very mild form (in fact, the word 'retainer' expresses this condition better than 'slave'), the average price being about \$20 gold. I also found that the Moros were jealous of any interference with it; but it seemed proper that steps should be at once taken looking to the abolition of the institution. It seemed but fair that the owners should be remunerated, and I think that Article X of the agreement provides a speedy means of doing away with slavery. I had proposed a specific sum to be paid the owner, but agreed to the Moros' suggestion of 'the usual market value.'"

The Secretary of War, in a despatch to General Otis, dated October 27, 1899, said that the agreement was confirmed and approved by the President, subject to the action of Congress, but insisted that the Sultan should be distinctly informed that it must not be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery in the Sulu archipelago. Secretary Root also directed that inquiry should be made as to the number of persons held in slavery in the archipelago, and what arrangement for their emancipation might be practicable.

The third article of the agreement promises that "the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion; all their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion;" and in the concluding article it is written that "the United States Government will pay the following monthly salaries" — salaries ranging in amount from 250 Mexican dollars for the Sultan to fifteen for Serif Saguir.

According to the assurance which President McKinley gave to the Senate last February, these payments will be made from the revenues of the Philippine Islands, unless Congress shall otherwise direct:

"Such payments [the President added] are not for specific services, but

are a part of the consideration moving to the Sulu tribe or nation under the agreement, and they have been stipulated for, subject to the action of Congress, in conformity with the practice of this government from the earliest times in its agreements with the various Indian nations occupying and governing portions of territory subject to the sovereignty of the United States."

Now, payments of money which are described in the treaty as "salaries," and which may be fairly explained by reference to our dealings with the North American Indians, do not readily assume the guise of "tribute" in our minds, for it is scarcely necessary to say that those who are bent on finding cause for offence have employed the word "tribute" in the more injurious sense — as a stated sum of money paid in acknowledgment of submission or as the price of protection; nor could the use of the term in this connection have afforded them so much pleasure if there were not this implication of weakness and inferiority on the part of the nation which is charged with the payment of "tribute" to another state, and which is therefore in a position comparable with that sustained by a subject to his sovereign or lord.

A word that suggests an utterly impossible situation is usually condemned after a little scrutiny, for it is like vice itself (according to Pope), and "to be hated needs but to be seen." Accordingly I might be content to say that we evidently have to do with no such exceptional arrangement, no acknowledgment of submission, but with a mere subsidy or pecuniary aid, a feature that is surely familiar in both English and American history; and I might ask if good Christians think it such a hardship to allow the Mohammedan chiefs a little pocket-money pending the readjustment, their old revenues having been cut off? Curiously enough, however, all such payments of money by unbelievers to Mohammedans are by the latter so cheerfully misconstrued that, as I shall presently make clear, even General Bates's quite moderate "salaries" may be possibly accepted as "tribute" by the other party to the contract.

As for the objection that the clause in the agreement protecting the religion of the country practically intrenches polygamy, this surely is a charge which, while it has the appearance of truth at first sight, is essentially false. Not to the government, but to individuals — teachers, lay and clerical — must such problems be assigned. The agreement does not protect any religious custom whatever against the only form of attack which could be effective — instruction in the ways of civilized life, for which an opening and a footing have now been secured. In this particular matter, our Government,



as such, had no duties toward the Moros last summer except the duty of non-interference. Moreover, this single obligation was so enjoined upon it by the spirit of American institutions that its silence, if the subject of the natives' religion had been wholly ignored, would have meant not less than the words of Article III convey. As I write I recall a paragraph in the morning paper describing the election of a new chief by the Sac and Fox Indians, a tribe of about one thousand braves who live in Oklahoma. Wa-pa-ke-sek was duly installed as chief the other day in place of Nah-mat-way, and thus fell heir to the family of the deceased leader, which consisted of three squaws and six children. His own family numbered five squaws and ten children. Eight squaws for this Indian of Oklahoma, while the Holy Law allows to the best and richest of the Moros only four !

Here is a record which, on the whole, may be examined with satisfaction — with more satisfaction than a student is likely to feel when he examines the beginnings of our occupation of the Philippines in any other department, except, possibly, the constitution-making under American direction on Negros Island. But in the contentment with which he reviewed these successful negotiations, General Otis's optimism carried him too far, as it seems to me ; for, instead of insisting that strong military stations should be maintained, he advised the War Department that "the best means to insure success appears to be through the cultivation of friendly sentiments and the introduction of trade and commerce upon approved business methods."

One cannot help noticing this failure to apprehend fully the very peculiar situation. To speak of *insuring* success through the cultivation of friendly sentiments is so positively and dangerously misleading that one does not feel able to quote the sentence without adding a word of protest. Unfortunately, there is reason to fear that the garrisons in the southern islands are inadequate. We need not attach much importance to recent despatches which describe a certain restlessness at points widely separated — in Mindanao and the Tawi-Tawi group. The constant menace, the thing to consider, is a tenet of Mohammedan faith brutally and fiercely held among half-savage people. In spite of the treaty, our soldiers are enemies in their eyes, because they are not Mohammedans; the "salaries" paid by unbelievers may, indeed, be accepted as tribute, for the law forbidding the Moro to pay money or sell arms to infidels (lest he should be the weaker when the inevitable conflict breaks out again) also encourages him to take all he can get, with the design of increasing his own fighting

power while diminishing that of his enemies; nor will he be likely to learn from his law or its expounders that gratitude is due to the unbeliever in return for considerate treatment.

An outbreak will scarcely be headed by the *dato* Mandi, for example, who wears European dress, has travelled westward as far as Barcelona, and incidentally has learned to interpret the law less harshly; but after making due allowance for such exceptional persons, there remain at least twenty thousand hardy fellows who would hold it to be meritorious work to kill all of the American infidels for the actual or imputed offence of one. If we could change their religion in any particular by treaty, there would be little doubt where we should begin. As matters stand, let us realize fully and without delay that the Moro will not give up such inbred prejudice unless his personal observation of Americans disproves the old teaching and disproves it utterly. Let us realize at once that it is absurd to expect uniformly chivalrous conduct on the part of our soldiers if these southern garrisons are too weak to command respect; for weakness there will beget suspicion and nervousness, and very good men will swagger a bit — enough to provoke attack — when they are not quite sure of themselves and want to conceal the fact.

Abundant force in reserve — and in evidence, too — is not less essential than the conciliatory method so happily inaugurated. In the southern islands we may find the most curious and interesting side of our Philippine problem.

MARRION WILCOX.



## THE ATLANTIC UNION.

FOUR or five years ago I found myself one evening, at the latter end of June, in the little town of Melrose. It was at the end of what is there called the "American" fortnight. It appears that a good many American visitors, coming over in June, begin with Scotland, and take Melrose, with Abbotsford and Dryburgh, on their way to Edinburgh. The hotel, quite a small house, had been filled with them.

When I arrived, however, they were mostly gone; only one party was left. It consisted of five; namely, two men and three ladies. They were extremely pleasant, cultivated gentlefolk — all of English or Scottish descent. They were making their first, and very probably — for they were not rich — their only visit to the land of their forefathers. They came from some central part of the United States. They found the English ways strange in almost every respect. They were keenly interested in everything: the quiet little country town; the lovely ruins of Melrose and Dryburgh; Scott's house of Abbotsford; and the fair country in which these things are placed. They had not come over in any spirit of hostile criticism. They were fully disposed to see the best side of everything, but that they were prejudiced in certain directions was a fact that came out in conversation every two minutes; and that their prejudices were founded on imperfect knowledge was equally apparent.

I learned, in the course of conversation, that they were unprovided with any letters of introduction; that they did not look forward to receiving any kind of hospitality in the country; and that they did not expect to enter any English house, or to make the acquaintance of any English people. In other words, this little company, brought up to regard things social from points of view quite opposite to our own, accustomed to quite another atmosphere, whether of religion, or of politics, or of society, were about to wander round this country, finding out differences at every turn, and asking themselves, always *from their own point of view*, how the English people can possibly suffer these differences to exist. After a few weeks,

they would return with all their prejudices confirmed; for the rest of their lives they would quote what they had actually seen, or thought they had seen, looking at everything through those American spectacles of theirs. This seemed to me a forlorn, and even a hopeless, way to visit their ancestral home.

But it was a typical company, and, since talking with them, I have had many other opportunities of realizing what American travel in Great Britain too often means. In the summer, one meets American visitors at all the show places, and even in many spots that are quite out of the ordinary line of tourists. They are always apart; they are always in hotels; they sit together at their own tables; they seldom converse with English visitors, either because they are shy of opening a conversation, or because the English are shy. They see what the guide-book tells them to look for; and, whatever that may be, the guide-book is certain to take out of it all the poetry, all the veneration, and all the life. Sometimes they are "doing" England after "doing" Europe; and when they arrive, they are already sick to death of sight-seeing, and so are no longer capable of observation, or of being moved by anything. For my own part, as it is the chief pleasure of my life to go about looking at the old towns, the historical places, the cathedrals, abbeys, churches, castles, and ancient houses of this mediæval museum which, for political purposes, we call Great Britain, I have met more of these forlorn companies than most men, and I am every year strengthened in the conviction that such a mode of travel is not only forlorn, and a mere presentation of the outside shell, but is actively mischievous, because it only confirms prejudices and keeps the American *pince-nez* across the nose.

These travellers may also be met with in London. The richer kind crowd the great hotels at Charing Cross: all day long the American ladies are coming and going, driving out and returning. But alas! there are no English ladies with them. Those who are not so rich go to hotels of the humbler character, and may be met strolling down Regent Street, visiting the shows and sights of London, guide-book in hand. They may be seen in carriages driving around; they may be found at the theatres; you may look for them everywhere except at the houses of your friends. Of course, I shall be told that Americans are received freely in society; that the *grande dame* is often herself an American; and it is quite true that there are duchesses and countesses and wives of cabinet ministers of American birth. How many Americans, however, do you think, out of the



many thousands who come over here every year, carry with them letters of introduction to these ladies ? How many are invited to their receptions ? How many are privileged with the intimacy of their country houses ?

But let me return to my Melrose party. Of the two gentlemen, one was a clergyman, and the other was a lawyer. They came, as I said, from some quiet country town in a central State. What would have happened if these two gentlemen had brought with them letters introductory to the leaders of society ? What hospitality would they have received had they presented those letters ? Probably an invitation to a reception ; possibly one to a dinner party. By standing for an hour or two in a very well-dressed crowd our friends would acquire, I suppose, an intimate knowledge of English society and a firm hold of English ways. Now, English life is not confined to what is commonly called society : in England, as in the United States and the Colonies, there are really plenty of people worth knowing outside the circles which are commonly taken to represent society.

Let me not seem to be attempting a cheap sneer at these circles. They are many and various : some are well-bred and highly cultured ; some are well bred and not highly cultured ; some are ill bred and not cultured at all, yet rich and in good positions. My point is this : that there are gentlemen and gentlewomen, scholars, well bred, well mannered, who live in simple style, who belong to the professional classes — the same class as that to which my Melrose party belonged — in whose houses American visitors of the same class would learn what they can never learn by wandering about the country, or by gathering together in great hotels, or by going to the theatre, or by attending crowded receptions, viz., the English manners and the English ways — what they mean, how they differ from American ways and why, and how it is that we do not find certain institutions as intolerable as their imagination depicts.

We live, for example, under a form of government which differs from their own in many points not easily understood because it so closely resembles theirs. Thus, it is curiously difficult for an American to dissociate the idea of a sovereign from that of autocratic rule. A sovereign means to him that poor old king, George the Third, whom he has been taught to call tyrant and oppressor, when, after all, he was only half educated, obstinate, and badly advised. He does not understand that the sovereign has much less power than his own President. It seems to him part of the eternal fitness of things

—because it is part of the Constitution—that he should enjoy, every four years, what seems to us the intolerable nuisance of electing his President. Nor, again, does he understand hereditary rank. If he would go into the London clubs he would understand that a noble Lord is treated just like any other gentleman, while retaining the privileges of his rank, such as they are.

Nor can an American understand why the right of legislation should be hereditary. In a country where everything has grown and decayed and grown again and developed in this or that way, there are everywhere anachronisms and illogical institutions. If election is really the sovereign remedy for all evils, a House of Lords is an absurdity, or worse. If, however, the way it works is considered, not why it exists, we should point to the House of Lords as a body consisting of men for the most part arriving at their titles and their privilege late in life; tolerably, not enormously, rich; well educated; and trained for business of all kinds by the management of large estates, by leadership in local affairs, by service in the Army and Navy, and by successful work as lawyers and judges. We may also point to them as a body which exercises its powers as a wholesome restraining or a correcting force, refusing measures on which the opinion of the nation is in doubt, and passing with readiness those on which the voice of the people is clear, even when those measures may seem to threaten their own existence as a separate chamber.

We should also consider that the privileges of this House are exclusively confined to its members, and not to their sons, who are simple commoners, and that the Lords are continually recruited from the world of those who work. Among recent creations, for instance, are Lords Lister, Kelvin, Wolseley, Roberts, Avebury, and Kitchener. It may be objected that these are elementary considerations, and that educated Americans already understand them very well. The readers of *THE FORUM* no doubt do understand these things. But not all Americans who have a right to call themselves educated understand them, and certainly not those excellent people whom I left at Melrose.

My position, still an elementary one, is this: the only way to learn independently the manners and the mind of a foreign country is to visit it and to converse freely with the people of every class; to observe and to note the things of every day; not to apply too much logic to the action of institutions or powers—humanity cares very little for logic; to get at the native point of view; and to understand



why institutions which may seem to the traveller an intolerable burden are actually supported with content, and even defended with earnestness. Unless the traveller does his best in this way to understand a people, *cœlum, non animum, mutat*. In that case, as Emerson says, every traveller brings away from his travels just what he took there. In this country the American traveller has the great advantage of speaking its language. The only obstacle to understanding the people as well as their speech is the difficulty of getting at them, coupled with his own perception of the fact that, unless he does get at them personally, his judgments are practically valueless.

I have before me a Philadelphia paper which contains an article written by a recent American traveller in this country. He came over; he travelled about; he observed place and people as well as he could through his American spectacles. The results are so remarkable that I venture to point out some of them. They illustrate, in fact, exactly the prejudices with which the writer travelled, and his complete inability to understand the necessity of learning and comprehending—first, the facts, and, secondly, the reason, the history, and the bearing of the facts.

The writer first speaks of the land. He states that 600 men hold one-third of a country inhabited by forty millions. He spreads himself over this enormity. What are the facts? There are 400,000 landholders in the United Kingdom; the six hundred referred to by the writer of the paper before me are, I suppose, the peers, who own a fifth of the whole; but then this fifth includes all those lands which are incapable of cultivation, such as the barren moors, the wild heaths, the mountains, and the deer forests. These peers receive no more than an eleventh part of the whole income derived from the land. I do not desire to defend any system which allows so large a part of the land to fall into so few hands; but one may at least ask what limits are assigned to the acquisition of property in other countries; and one may, perhaps with English prejudice, remember that one family is, perhaps wrongly, called the landlord of New York.

Our writer had read that there was once a window tax in Great Britain. He believes that it is still in force, and he talks of the “walled up” windows of the cottages as part of the oppression of the poor. The window tax has been repealed for fifty years. During the whole of that time there has been no law to prevent opening as many windows as one pleases.

The farmer, we are told by this author, has a “certain sulky re-

spect" for the wealth of the landowner. Since most of the landowners have now lost their wealth, this respect is, one supposes, gone. But not yet. "Three or four thousand generations" (*i.e.*, 90,000 or 120,000 years) "of poverty and oppression have benumbed their brains." In those parts of the country where tenant farmers are impoverished their poverty is due to the agricultural depression which has also impoverished the landlords. As for the oppression of generations — a few hundred more or less hardly count — it would make an excellent text for a discourse at a Farmer's Ordinary on Market Day. One would like to be present and to hear their remarks.

The writer in question laments that Englishmen will not "ask the bitter question why their fortune should be so inferior to that of the owners of the princely palace." A great many persons in England, and in every other country of the world, are constantly asking themselves, and each other, this question, some of them with a good deal of acidulation. So far, however, I have not heard of any answer.

It is, of course, the Church of England which is the object of the writer's greatest scorn. He calls it a part of the landed interest. It maintains, we are informed, primogeniture and the game preserves; and the astonished country parson receives rank as a "humbler member" of the aristocracy. Poor country parson! The writer believes, you see, that this country living is always in the gift of the country 'squire; that it is always a fat and a rich living; that it always goes to the 'squire's younger son. He believes this because he has read it somewhere — no doubt in some communication to a newspaper from a person as well informed as himself. It never occurs to such a man to learn what an English country living means; that an income of two or three hundred pounds a year is considered above the average; that the house must be handed over to the successor in good order; that the flock generally contains an impoverished landowner, farmers reduced by agricultural depression, and a number of poor folk who look to the clergyman for help in everything. In many cases the living cannot be held without private means.<sup>1</sup> Livings, he tells his readers, are always bought and sold, with the very odd result that "the vicar sometimes has a drunken wife." I wonder where he picked up this funny little piece of prejudice.

<sup>1</sup> A late friend of mine, who was vicar of a town in the west of England, had about £2,000 a year of his own. He died and with great difficulty a successor was found who was enabled by private means to spend £600 a year upon the parish.



The patronage of the Church is, of course, though our friend does not know this, mainly in the hands of the bishops. Those livings which are so ordered belong to the Lord Chancellor, to the universities and colleges, to cathedrals, to city companies, and to private persons, and, except for a very small number — a survival of no more than a hundred — all presentations have to be approved by the bishop. The sale of advowsons is rare, and much against public opinion. When one is advertised the Nonconformists wax indignant, and proclaim the fact as a weapon against the Church. No one can present himself to a living; nor can a man buy one for himself; a Jew or a Catholic cannot present. In brief, the general feeling is that the bishop should present clergymen to livings; nothing will ever persuade Anglicans that a congregation should choose its own clergyman. This is done by some of the Nonconformist churches, not, we think, with the happiest results. Our theory is that a clergyman should be a scholar and a theologian; that he should be independent of his congregation; that he should be a person of piety and blameless life; and that such a person is much more likely to be found by the bishop, among the clergy of the diocese, than by a congregation composed mainly of persons who are free from the least suspicion of learning, theology, and scholarship.

My writer, clad in this cloak of prejudice, goes to Hawarden, where Gladstone lived, and where his son is vicar. He sneers at a notice hung up in the church — it is a lovely church, but he has no eyes for its loveliness — asking visitors for their prayers “for the clergy and the people.” But why should not Mr. Stephen Gladstone ask for prayers? He certainly believes in the efficacy of prayer. Then my writer sees a young clergyman crossing the churchyard, in haste for the morning service, and he actually says that his “face is evidently flushed with much meat eating and liquor drinking.” One is ashamed to quote such an amazing instance of evil thinking as a result of prejudice. I do not know who this young clergyman may be: I would, however, point out that most young clergymen of the day have become total abstainers.

He says, in another place, that the bishop is “one of the law-makers of the realm.” For my own part, seeing that the bishops are, as a rule, very good administrators, and very practical men, I should be pleased if they would attend the House of Lords more; but the affairs of the diocese are more than enough for them. It is only when an ecclesiastical debate is on the tapis that the bishops attend the House.

To complete this exposure of prejudice, I may add that the writer actually goes out of his way to call by name a most respectable man, who happens to be a peer, a "reformed rake." The commonest prejudice of the half-informed American seems to be that every member of the House of Lords is a profligate. Now, there are certainly dangers and temptations which assail young men of wealth who have nothing to do. Some of them doubtless succumb to these temptations — not because they are heirs to the peerage, but because they are rich and idle. Nor is this liability to temptation peculiar to rich and idle young men in Great Britain alone. But the eldest sons of peers, as a rule, are not rich; nor are they, as a rule, idle, but have a great deal to do. They are in the army; they are managing and farming country estates; they are carrying on the unpaid work of the county, or the country towns. The profligate heir, or the profligate peer, is, for the most part, a thing of the past. Now and then, undoubtedly, there occurs a flagrant case. One reads, for instance, of a late noble marquis who was so fortunate as to be endowed with all the gifts that make a groom, and with all the tastes of a pot-house buffoon. But it should be remembered that this ornament of the House of Lords never dared to show his face in that assembly, and that if the House of Lords contained many persons of his stamp, very short work would be made of it.

I have referred at length to this paper, because it enables me to show how England may look when visited by a person wholly ignorant of the things about which he writes. I acquit him of any intention to deceive. He writes in honest indignation, and in honest contempt. These flights of imaginary oppression and servility illustrate the length of misrepresentation to which ignorance and prejudice may lead such a writer.

The confusion of mind which cannot allow of liberty without ownership of the land is also very oddly illustrated by a pamphlet which I have just received from Canada. The writer is a farmer. From a long experience he writes, recommending Canadian farmers not to expend their capital in buying a farm. He says, in effect, that if you open a shop in a city you do not first spend your capital in buying that shop — that you rent it, and that your capital stocks it and gives you a livelihood. So he advises a similar course with a farm — rent it, and use your capital for the cultivation of the land. My Canadian friend may be quite wrong. I am no agriculturist, but the spectacle of a farm where the land belongs nominally to the



farmer, and is mortgaged up to the hilt for the stock and the cultivation of the land, is not to me so pleasant as that of a farm occupied by a tenant on easy terms, and with no fear of being turned out. And had our Philadelphia explorer gone, say, into Norfolk, he might have found the opportunity of conversing with tenant farmers, who would have shown him what they think about servility and the "sulky respect" for wealth taught them by "three or four thousand generations."

The foregoing is intended as an introduction showing the reasons why the society called the "Atlantic Union" has been founded. It is not, to begin with, a political institution. A leading American in London said to me, when he discussed the subject, "You must avoid any suspicion of politics; leave politics absolutely alone; otherwise you will fail at the very outset." We have, therefore, no political axe to grind. In whatever guise our visitor presents himself whether as Republican or Democrat, it makes no difference; the qualifications that we ask are indicated in the prospectus of the society. Its objects are to "draw together" — not to make political alliances, or anything of the kind, but simply to "draw together" — in friendliness the English-speaking peoples. Let me quote the words of the prospectus:

"It has long been a matter for concern with those who desire not only to maintain friendly relations with Colonials and Americans, but also to cultivate personal friendships with them; that so many visitors from the United States and the Colonies come over every year, stay for a time in London, travel about the country, and go away without having made the acquaintance of a single English family, and without having entered a single English home. Some of them bring letters of introduction which open certain houses to them, some are of such distinction that all doors are open to them; the greater number, however, carry no such letters, and are not known on this side of the Atlantic. They stay at hotels; they go to places of public amusement; they drive through streets and squares where every door is closed to them; they go away without any knowledge of English life except that which can be gained from the outside.

"The 'Atlantic Union' will be an attempt to meet and to overcome this reproach. It will be the object of the Union to attract, if possible, those who occupy, either in the United States or the Colonies, positions of trust and responsibility, those to whom their own people look to for leading and for guidance. The Union desires to make the English members acquainted with those who help to form public opinion in the Colonies and the States. In order that this object may be carried out, it is essential that the English members shall themselves belong to the class of those who make and lead public opinion in this country. Membership in the Union will, therefore, be offered only to such persons as can satisfy more or less this condition. It will include, therefore, statesmen, clergymen, men of science, art, and literature, journalists, artists, actors, architects, professors, lecturers, teachers, and, in a word, all professional men, together with leaders in the world of finance and commerce."

With this object in view, the promoters have endeavored to form a council roughly representative in character. The Houses of Parliament, the Church, Law, Scholarship, Science, Education, Art, Literature are represented in the council as it already appears — it must be remembered that it is by no means complete, and that at present the Union is only a few months old. For instance, the Church is represented by the Primate of Ireland, the Dean of Canterbury, and the Dean of Rochester; the House of Lords by Lords Aberdare, Coleridge, Kinnaird, and Monkswell; the House of Commons by Sir Michael Foster, Sir John Kennaway, Captain Pretymann, and Mr. Yoxall; the Law by Lords Monkswell and Coleridge, and Dr. Alexander Hill, the Master of Downing College, Cambridge; Scholarship by Abbott, Oscar Browning, and Magrath; Science by Sir Michael Foster, secretary of the Royal Society; Education by the Masters of Cheltenham, Haileybury, and Wellington; Art by the Director of the National Portrait Gallery; Literature and Journalism by Sir Martin Conway, Dr. Conan Doyle, Dr. Richard Garnett, Sir Lewis Morris, and Mr. P. W. Clayden, President of the Institute of Journalists and late editor of the "Daily News." This is a very fair list to have got together in so short a time. It does not include the home members, whose numbers are increasing and will certainly continue to increase as the association becomes better known.

The important question, however, remains, What is the Atlantic Union going to do for the American visitors? In the first place, the home members, who have pledged themselves to nothing definite, are expected to do anything that comes in their way for these visitors. But the committee of the Union will draw up every year a programme of social functions. It will include dinners of the members, say, once a month; receptions and "At Homes;" evening parties, lectures, and concerts; the personal conduct of parties to places of interest; and, with the coöperation of the various scientific, literary, and archæological societies in the country, evenings or days of interest to specialists. The committee will arrange for the introduction of visitors to members. The latter will understand that it is desirable, above all, that their friends should carry away with them true views of English life and the old country, and should learn to understand that many things which seem out of harmony with American ideas may yet be suited to the English mind.

It has been pointed out by several Americans that these services should be rendered to visitors as a right, acquired by joining the So-



ciety as paying members, and not as a gift. Of course, invitations to private houses can never be a right, but the annual programme of the Society might and should be a right. Therefore, a subscription has been fixed: membership will mean the payment of one guinea. But there are cases in which representative bodies come over in companies. The committee reserve the power of treating these cases in a separate and distinct way.

The programme for this, the first, season is necessarily small: the Union has been invited to dine at the Authors' Club and at Claridge's Hotel. Mr. Yoxall, M.P., has taken a party over the House of Commons, and Lord Monkswell another over the House of Lords. It will be understood that under this personal guidance visitors see a great deal more than is shown in the ordinary way. The Royal Geographical Society has invited the Union to one of its evenings. A reception has been offered at the Salon, and a garden party by the wife of the treasurer. Oxford and Cambridge are to be visited under the guidance of resident University professors. The cathedrals of Canterbury and Rochester are to be shown by the Deans. The principal of Cheltenham College invited a number of the members to witness the international cricket match between Haverford College, Philadelphia, and the boys of Cheltenham.

These things may seem small, but they are a beginning. We have great hopes that the Union will spread; that it will find plenty of work for its members — work that should be of a most pleasing and delightful kind; and that the Union may be regarded on the other side of the Atlantic simply as a body which invites American visitors to learn, by intercourse with our people, how we live, and why we have adopted our own way of living.

Speaking from my own experience, it has been my good fortune, on one or two occasions, to take a few American visitors to various parts of London, and to point out to them some of the historical associations which belong to the places we visited. It is not to be expected that Americans should have much knowledge of the history of London; but the interest taken in these perambulatory discourses is really remarkable, particularly when, as is the case with the "Players' Land," on the south of the river, or with Thames Street, on the north, there is nothing now to be seen but warehouses and quays. It is with the eye of the imagination that the past has to be restored. Yonder, on that site, there was once a tavern; there sat and sang Kit Marlowe and Massinger and Beaumont and the two Shakespeares —

one of the latter lies buried in the noble church hard by. The tavern overlooks the river; as you gaze, the dome of St. Paul's over the river becomes a tower; the warehouses become gabled houses with projecting fronts; the noisy river steamer becomes a state barge; fishermen cast their nets in the stream; and the poets sit on the wooden platform, above the river, each with his cup of sack before him, a cheerful company, with the tinkle of the guitar and the lusty voice of one whosings. This company — this revival — belongs to the Americans as well as ourselves; it is their heritage as well as ours. Let the Atlantic Union do something toward restoring to them their share in the memories of the past. Whittington bought and sold in Thames Street: he entertained kings in College Street. All this was long before the Declaration of Independence. Let us revive in the minds of our American visitors the things which are theirs as well as ours, although they may have forgotten them.

But, above all, the chief aim of the Union, it must be repeated again and again, is to give visitors from the United States an opportunity of observing English manners, of studying the English mind, and of learning for themselves why we intend to adhere to the order and to the customs which seem to them incompatible with freedom and the gospel of Popular Election.

WALTER BESANT.



# The Forum

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NOVEMBER, 1900.

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## WHY THE REPUBLICANS SHOULD BE ENDORSED.

“THE future is now our field; let us look to it; it opens with glorious possibilities, and invites the party of ideas to enter and possess it.”<sup>1</sup>

The battle is on. The issues of the campaign have been defined. The respective forces are being organized. The leaders have been chosen. From all parts of the country the rumble and roar of the combat are heard. All things indicate a great and decisive contest in November. The result may shape the course of public events in this country for a century to come; it may bring great material progress or severe disasters; it may increase our prestige as a world power or it may restrict the sphere of our activities.

To gain an adequate conception of the position of the Republican party in this campaign, and of its cardinal principles, it will be well to look at its record during a half century of great progress and development — a period that is rich in great achievements, and which has given us a foremost position among the powers of the world. Attention is invited to the National platforms adopted by the Republican party since its organization in 1856 — especially to the course of the Republican party in the administration of the Government; and to a careful comparison of its platforms and course of action with the platforms and record of the Democratic party. Such comparisons will show (1) the foundation of the Republican faith and the fundamental principles as developed in administrative action during

<sup>1</sup>Major Wm. McKinley at Dayton, Ohio, October 18, 1887.

that long period of time; (2) that whereas our party has stood for nearly a half century upon the great principles which gave it birth, the Democratic party has always advocated a line of policy taken from the achievements of its opposition; has pursued a course of opposition, and has regulated its platforms solely by the necessities of a given election.

By reference to its National platforms for a half century, it will be seen that the Republican party has been committed to these great principles: (1) the preservation of the Union, the abolition of slavery—an element, during its existence, of incessant discord and of danger to our country; (2) the rigid maintenance of the public credit; (3) the protection of American industry as shown in every platform since the foundation of the party; (4) the establishment and maintenance of a safe, sound, and conservative financial system; (5) the development of natural resources through judicious public improvements; (6) the rescue of oppressed peoples in the islands of the sea. Thus we observe that the party has sturdily adhered to the great principles that called it into existence and have guided its destinies; and its appeal to the people at every National election has been based upon the merits of its work, its policies, and its principles.

The Democrats, on the other hand, pitching their tents in the camps vacated by the advancing column of Republicanism, have adjusted their platforms to principles already established by the Republican party. They have pursued a shifting, evasive, and utterly inconsistent policy—a policy of expediency to meet the demands of the solid South. Their policy has been largely sectional, and when entrusted with power their work has been adjusted accordingly.

We now come to the position of the Republican party in the pending campaign. At this writing, the candidates of all parties have been nominated; the notification speeches have been delivered; the letters of acceptance have been given to the public; the issues of the campaign have been made up, and the country is now ringing with the discussion of them. The Republican party in National Convention at Philadelphia, June, 1900, in its platform made the following declaration:

“We endorse the administration of President William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American Nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation a true American patriot and upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action; always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.”



This is a strong and unqualified endorsement of President McKinley and his administration. Let us subject it to the test of practical experience — to the results attained.

A more serious and distressing situation than that which confronted the President at the very threshold of office can scarcely be imagined. The condition of the country during the four years immediately preceding his administration severely tested the patience as well as the patriotism of the people. It was a time of great distress, of stagnation in every sphere of activity. Extreme poverty and suffering overspread the land; confidence had forsaken our people; capital was lurking in secret places; industry was crippled; mills were idle; mines were closed; railroads were dormant; agriculture was prostrated; all avenues of trade and commerce were choked with the wreckage of our fallen industries; activity was paralyzed. But this was not all. From Cuba came an imploring cry for help; for quick, energetic, effective help in the name of God and humanity. And there came from Hawaii an appeal for annexation, for protection by our republic.

Firm and undismayed by this grave situation, President McKinley assumed the great burden. He at once summoned the Congress of the people to his aid in this dire emergency. Looking at the restoration of our prostrated industries, he commended to Congress the revision of our tariff laws; and he advised that the new duties be so levied as to “revive and increase manufactures.” With remarkable unanimity and promptness Congress addressed itself to this great work; and in the short period of four months, after mature and careful deliberation, on the 24th day of July, 1897, was passed and approved the Dingley Bill, perhaps the most comprehensive and equitable tariff law ever written in our statute books. This law quickly imparted a powerful energy to every branch of industry, trade, and commerce; and marvellous results quickly followed the restoration to normal conditions of healthful activity. Under the provisions of the Dingley law manufactures have revived and increased; agriculture has been relieved and greatly benefited; our foreign and domestic commerce has grown to a wonderful extent; mining and building industries have been greatly stimulated; labor has been rewarded with liberal wages and abundance of work. To-day, work is seeking the laborer, and enforced idleness is happily a past condition.

Under the operation of the Wilson Act, from September 1, 1894,

to July 24, 1897—a period of thirty-five months—there was a total deficit of \$105,180,701. This deplorable state of the revenue was largely responsible for the lack of confidence which prolonged the hard times following the panic of 1893.

Under the operation of the Dingley tariff, ample revenues have been provided. During the period of thirty-five months from July 24, 1897, to July 1, 1900, the receipts of the Government from all sources, exclusive of Pacific Railroad items, were \$1,370,534,088. Deducting from these receipts the Treasury Department's estimate of collections under the War Revenue Act, amounting to \$221,500,000, there were net ordinary receipts of \$1,149,034,088. The expenditures for the same period aggregated \$1,486,099,026, and deducting the Treasury Department's estimate of war expenditures of \$395,000,000, the net expenditures for the period stand at \$1,091,099,026; leaving for the thirty-five months' operation of the Dingley law an excess of receipts over net expenditures of \$57,935,062.

Comparing the deficit of \$108,003,243, under the Wilson law, with a surplus of \$57,935,062, under the Dingley act, with reference to the production of domestic manufacturers, we find that in the fiscal year of 1896 the imports for consumption of manufactured articles were \$328,937,328, and in the fiscal year of 1897 which elapsed prior to the enactment of the Dingley law, they were \$323,324,920. In the fiscal years 1898 and 1899 they averaged about \$240,000,000 per year; being \$227,467,249 in 1898, and \$259,801,751 in 1899. Thus, in manufactured articles the reduction in importations immediately following the enactment of the Dingley law has averaged \$75,000,000 per annum, while the amounts consumed by the home markets have greatly increased, as is shown by the large increase in the importation of raw material. The imports of raw materials for domestic industries in the three fiscal years 1895, 1896, and 1897 averaged less than \$200,000,000 annually, while in the calendar year 1899 the imports of this class amounted to \$267,493,950, an increase of nearly \$70,000,000 over the average for the three years under a low tariff, in which many of these articles, as wool, were on the free list. Looking at the great revival in our agricultural industry, we find that the exportation of farm products in the fiscal year of 1899 was \$100,000,000 greater than in the fiscal year of 1897; and in 1898 it was \$200,000,000 above that of 1897.

In the mining industries we find very gratifying results under the stimulus of the Dingley law. For 1899, our coal production exceeded



200,000,000 tons as against 179,000,000 in 1897, and 171,000,000 in 1896. The pig iron production in 1899 was 13,620,703 tons, against 9,652,680 tons in 1897, and 8,623,127 tons in 1896. In the production of both pig iron and coal, the United States now stands at the head of the producers of the world. Thus we observe that the Dingley law has proved itself the key-stone of the magnificent arch of our prosperity.

Turning to that twin agent of prosperity, the Currency law, a crowning achievement of President McKinley's administration, we observe results no less grand. That Act, if fairly and properly administered, will protect the sanctity of public and private contracts; uphold the exalted credit of the nation; insure a continuance of confidence at home and abroad; and produce uniformity, equity, and justice in the administration of fiscal affairs. It will protect the gold reserve, and remove the intermittent evil of the "endless chain"; it will expand the agencies of banking and exchange, so essential to prosperity, and give a mighty prestige to the credit of our country, second to none in the world. It will settle the disturbing question of a monetary standard, by committing this country squarely and unequivocally, by force of a clean-cut and emphatic statutory enactment, to the gold standard — the foundation of commercial fellowship with the great nations of the earth.

Now as to results. Prior to the enactment of the Currency law the call for a war loan of \$200,000,000 brought forth subscriptions in thirty-one days of almost seven times the required loan. Perhaps the most notable feature of the Currency law is that which relates to the refunding of the national debt. The five per cents of 1904, the four per cents of 1907, and the three per cents of 1908 — the principal of which aggregates \$839,146,400 — are authorized to be refunded into two per cent bonds, payable at the pleasure of the United States after thirty years from the date of their issue, and payable, principal and interest, in gold coin of the present standard value. The act contains a provision that the new two per cent bonds, to be issued in exchange for the old "threes," "fours," and "fives," shall not be issued at less than par. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to conduct refunding operations so that the old "threes," "fours," and "fives" should be received in exchange for the two per cents on a basis of two and a quarter per cent. By May 1, 1900, almost one-third of the outstanding "threes," "fours," and "fives" had been converted into two per cents of the new issue,

thus practically securing the success of the refunding plan. No other nation can boast of such an achievement as the exchange of high-rate interest bonds for bonds bearing two per cent. While British consols at two and three-quarters per cent were selling two points below par, the United States was able to float a two per cent at par.

Such facts speak volumes for the present financial strength of the United States, and for the management of our financial affairs by a Republican administration. Moreover, at the very time our Government was effecting this remarkable refunding transaction, the German Imperial three per cents, which were at one time close to par, had fallen to a figure approximating eighty-five per cent. The refunding of the old bonds for the new "twos" has made a net saving to the Government, on the bonds already refunded, of more than \$8,400,000 in annual interest charges.

Referring to the resumption of specie payment, the National platform of the Republican party in 1880 recited that after meeting the expenses of the Government and the interest on the public debt, without resorting to loans, it had

"disbursed annually more than \$30,000,000 for pensions; has paid \$880,000,000 of the public debt, and, by refunding the balance at lower rates, has reduced the annual interest-charge from nearly \$150,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. . . . All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed."

It furthermore declared:

"It [the Republican administration] has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent to the par of gold; it has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country; it has lifted the credit of the nation from a point where 6 per cent bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium."

Republican management reduced the interest-bearing debt from \$2,221,311,918 to \$585,037,100 in 1893, and the per capita interest rate from \$4.29 to 34 cents in the same year. Democratic rule increased the interest-bearing debt to \$635,000,000 in 1894, to \$716,000,000 in 1895, and to \$847,000,000 in 1896; and the per capita interest rate from 34 cents in 1893 to 48 cents in 1896, the annual interest charges having increased from \$22,894,194 in 1893 to \$34,387,265 in 1896.

Thus does Republican history repeat itself. The past and present record of the Republican party, in respect to the payment of public debts and the increase of public credit, is in sharp contrast



with the sale of bonds to the amount of \$262,000,000, under President Cleveland, to meet the expenses of the Government.

In matters relating to the currency, the attitude of the Republican party in 1896 has been fully justified by subsequent events. Since the campaign of 1896, the world's production of gold has been as follows: In 1897, \$238,812,000; in 1898, \$287,428,000; in 1899, \$315,000,000 — a total of \$841,240,000 in three years.

The gold reserve in the Treasury has been increased from an optional \$100,000,000, under the old law, to \$150,000,000 required under the Currency Reform Act; thus strengthening the wall of defence about the public credit. In 1892 the per capita circulation of money was \$24.44, but fell to \$21.10 by 1896. Under the protective tariff and the gold standard this had increased to \$26.50 on July 1, 1900 — an increase of 25 per cent of the total money in circulation, and of 64 per cent in the gold and gold certificates; the amount of the latter being on July 1, 1896, the date of Mr. Bryan's first nomination, \$497,000,000, and on July 1, 1900, \$815,474,460, while the total money in circulation on July 1, 1896, was \$1,506,434,966, and on July 1, 1900, \$2,062,425,496.

Our commerce for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, was the largest in our history — the total imports amounting to \$849,714,670; total exports, \$1,394,186,371; the total foreign trade aggregating \$2,243,901,041, as against \$1,662,331,612 for 1896, with an excess of exports over imports during the past year of \$544,471,701, as against only \$102,882,264 in 1896.

Pages of figures, compiled from trustworthy sources, could be furnished showing amazing results in the improved conditions in every branch of industry, trade, or commerce, under a Republican administration; in the decrease of business failures and in decreased liabilities, as compared with the previous administration; in the increase of bank clearances and in savings banks deposits; in the number of mortgages discharged; in railway traffic and earnings; in improvement in agricultural and horticultural industries; in improved conditions which have stimulated the production of abundant crops of all kinds and in the opening up of a ready market for them at good prices; in the increase of manufactures and in the consumption of commodities; in the expansion of every sphere of activity; in the increases of wages and in the steady employment for American workmen; and, finally, in the conditions existing in our country at this time, as compared with conditions which prevailed during the three years immedi-

ately preceding the inauguration of President McKinley. All these are the natural results of the principle of protection and of sound money embodied in the recent laws of Congress, and administered by a Republican President.

Driven from every position they ever assumed since the foundation of the Republican party, the Democrats now seek to hoodwink the American people by the false cry of imperialism, in which, as they define it, no one in this country believes. They also inveigh against trusts, the regulation of which has never been attempted except by the Republican party.

Space permits only a reference to other great achievements of the Republican administration since March 4, 1897. We point with just pride to the settlement of the Union Pacific Railroad indebtedness, by which the Government received \$124,421,670.95 out of about \$130,000,000 due it from the road; to the raising and equipping of an army of over 270,000 men; to the masterly management of the navy, and the conclusion of the war with Spain in 100 days; to the creation of an unequalled transport service; to the liberation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, and the success which has attended the efforts to place these islands under the influence of our free institutions; to the wise and generous legislation enacted for Hawaii and Puerto Rico; to the firm maintenance of our authority in the Philippines, in the face of a determined revolt, fostered and kept alive at home and abroad; to the appointment of commissions, composed of men of eminent qualifications, to investigate the condition of the Philippine Islands, and formulate a plan of autonomy for them; to the acquisition of valuable coaling stations and harbors to facilitate commerce and afford additional precautions for public safety; to the settlement of perplexing difficulties in the Samoan Islands; to the humane acts which extended the good offices of this Government to secure peace between Great Britain and the Boers, despite the rejection of the offer by the former; to the firm demands made upon Turkey for redress of wrongs to our Christian missions in Armenia.

We also point to the notable triumphs of diplomacy which secured a much desired modification of the conditions attending the construction of an isthmian canal, through the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which has removed serious obstacles to the construction and control of such a waterway; to the great achievement which has secured to us a continuance of the privilege of free and uninterrupted trade with China,



under the policy known as the "open door"; to the firm attitude assumed by our Government in respect to the insurrection in China, which served to uphold the dignity and honor of the nation, protect its citizens and material interests, yet without entangling alliances; to the strong, yet dignified and high-minded, policy which has increased the power and prestige of our Government at home and abroad, without disturbing our cordial relations with other nations. Finally, the party commends to public approval and confidence the work of Congress during the past four years, and of the Departments, all of which has been attended with beneficent results to the country at large, and has been conducive to peace and to a most generous measure of uniform and general prosperity.

The efforts of the Democratic party to drag the pension question into politics is one phase of this campaign. That the Democratic party has been the relentless enemy of the ex-Union soldier, and that it has stubbornly fought every effort to enact liberal pension laws, are facts revealed by a careful examination of the "Congressional Record" on fourteen important pension measures introduced since the Civil War, and voted on by Congress:

Republicans for the bills.....1,068	Democrats for the bills.....417
Republicans against the bills.....None	Democrats against the bills.....648

A Democrat President, during his two administrations, vetoed 524 pension bills. Presidents Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, and McKinley never refused their signature to a single pension bill. President Grant withheld his signature only five times during his administration. The last Democratic administration instituted a Board of Revision to revise the allowance of pensions under President Harrison's administration. During the two years of the existence of this Board, 8,694 pensioners were dropped from the rolls, and 23,702 pensions were reduced. A large proportion of the pensioners have been restored to the rolls, under the administration of President McKinley. The records show the action of the Republican party on all pension legislation to have been along most generous lines.

The Democrats, evading the real issues of the campaign, have raised the false cry of imperialism, of militarism, and of trusts as "paramount" issues. The position of the two parties in relation to the Philippines is succinctly stated in the following quotations:

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY TO THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE AT CANTON, JULY 11.

"The Philippines are ours, and American authority must be supreme throughout the archipelago. There will be amnesty broad and liberal, but no abatement of our rights, no abandonment of our duty. There must be no scuttle policy."

MR. BRYAN TO THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE, AT INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST 8.

"If elected, I shall convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as inaugurated, and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands; second, to give independence to the Filipinos; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their own destiny."

Here the issue is made up, as it were, on an agreed statement of fact. Both candidates agree that the Philippines are ours. President McKinley speaks out boldly and manfully, while Mr. Bryan acquiesces. The United States invaded the Philippines, in accordance with the law of nations, while they were under the jurisdiction of a country with which we were at war, and hence by authority of the Constitution of the United States. By conquest we gained possession of them; and by the treaty of Paris, which was ratified by a Republican Senate, aided by Democrat and Populist members thereof, persuaded by Mr. Bryan himself, we acquired sovereignty over them from the only power having any claim whatever to them. They are ours; and now the political question arises, "How shall we govern them?"

Article IV, Section 3, of the Constitution provides: "That Congress shall have the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States," so that the question of a form of government for our acquisitions is a prerogative of Congress, and will be a proper subject for discussion by that body when the acrimony of the campaign shall have been forgotten.

It is assumed that President McKinley has announced the policy that will be pursued by the Republicans in Congress, and that Mr. Bryan has announced the policy of the Democratic party. The question with the voter is, therefore, Which of the two presidential candidates can best be trusted with the liberties and well-being of the Filipinos?

On the one hand, President McKinley belongs to the Republican party, which came into existence as the champion of liberty, and even engaged the South in a deadly war to liberate 4,000,000 bondmen. President McKinley was born in the Republican party, and



was educated to believe that every human being, without regard to the color of his skin, was and is entitled to liberty; while on the other hand Mr. Bryan belongs to a party that was tenacious in its advocacy of the dogma that man could hold property in man; and even to this day, by the act of the Democratic party in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina, it is plainly apparent that they believe in the doctrine of "taxation without representation." By the plain provision of the constitutions of these States, thousands of taxpayers are disfranchised, and Mr. Bryan endorses this by his silence, while making an outcry against imperialism.

Our duty in regard to the maintenance of peace, order, and security of life and property, and in regard to the establishment of a stable government in the Philippines, is the same as it is in respect to Cuba and Puerto Rico. But Cuba came to us as a trust. We undertook to give liberty to the Cubans. With the Filipinos came other responsibilities no less grave. We have been compelled to deal with them according to the peculiar circumstances in the case. Rebellion in the Philippines against our rightful authority created a state of affairs different from that of Cuba and Puerto Rico, and therefore a different policy must be pursued. We were compelled to take military instead of civil possession of the islands.

Our sovereignty over the Philippines is absolute; our title to the islands is without a flaw; our supremacy is acknowledged by the world. This situation imposes upon us corresponding legal and moral obligations to govern the islands in accordance with the modes of civilized nations. We cannot cast them adrift to become a firebrand among nations or to complicate the delicate situation in the Orient. To attempt such a course might render us liable to other nations for any acts of aggression toward their citizens by the Filipinos; might embroil us in endless complications, and might subject us to the well-deserved censure and reproach of all nations of the earth. Our withdrawal from the islands would produce conditions that would shock the civilized world, and would speedily invoke the intervention of other nations upon the same principle that called forth our intervention in behalf of Cuba, to remove "intolerable conditions." We cannot withdraw from the Philippines without some understanding with other nations. A protectorate over the islands is not to be thought of for a moment. The Monroe doctrine is not globe-encircling, and in a senseless attempt to extend it to the Eastern hemisphere we should destroy it. To maintain a protectorate over the islands would be a

greater task than to govern them. We must not set up a government which is to be managed by others, but at the same time requires our land and naval forces to uphold it. We must be masters of the situation or abandon it. There is no middle ground. It is too late to debate the question of retaining these islands.

But there is another aspect of the Philippine question — the commercial advantage of the islands, as a stepping-stone to the extension of our trade in the Orient. That is a matter of prime interest to us at this time, when new avenues of employment and new spheres of activity are being eagerly sought. With the Philippines as a great entrepot for American products, the United States will be able to command the trade of the Orient as Great Britain has commanded it from Hong Kong and Singapore, and with much greater ease, not only on account of our greater facilities for producing articles desired, but also from the direct water communication which we shall have with those islands when the isthmian canal is completed. With Manila as a distributing centre, we shall be within easy reach of the countries in the Orient which contain half the population of the earth, and have a total annual commerce of more than \$2,000,000,000. The imports of these countries amount to \$1,200,000,000 annually, or an average of \$100,000,000 per month, of which this country supplies only about six per cent. These peoples want our goods; they know they can do better in trading with us than with other countries. They want American flour, provisions, and other commodities; and under favorable conditions of exchange our goods will take the place of the products of other countries.

We have increased our exports to Japan from \$5,275,501 in 1889 to \$29,087,642 in the fiscal year 1900; to China, from \$3,254,034 in 1899 to \$15,258,748 in 1900; to Hong Kong, from \$3,864,224 in 1899 to \$8,484,988 in 1900; to British Australasia, from \$21,534,847 in 1899 to \$64,913,984 in 1900; to all Asia, from \$21,534,847 in 1899 to \$64,913,984 in 1900; and to all Oceanica, from \$16,081,021 in 1899 to \$43,390,927 in 1900. Of this vast amount required by great and growing countries grouped about within easy access of the Philippines, we are now supplying but about six per cent, and it is obvious that, with Manila and other ports of the Philippines as entrepôts, we should soon be able to effect a vast increase of our trade in these rich and fruitful regions.

Our trade with the islands which have been brought into closer relations with our Government during the past few years shows a



strong and healthy increase. We exported to Puerto Rico in 1896 goods valued at \$1,955,814, and in 1900 at \$4,640,031; our exports to Cuba were \$7,296,613 in 1896, and \$26,513,613 in 1900; to the Hawaiian Islands, \$4,184,351 in 1896, and \$13,509,138 in 1900; to the Philippines, \$69,459 in 1897, and \$2,640,449 in 1900.

This opportunity to expand the sphere of our industrial and commercial activity and trade should appeal with special force to every person who is interested in the development of the manufacturing, mining, or agricultural resources of America. The right use of this opportunity will bring rich returns to every person directly or indirectly engaged in production in this country.

“ Militarism ” as a political issue in this campaign presents a ridiculous spectacle. It is the creature of a disordered imagination intended to frighten timid people. It will not be considered seriously. Every man mustered into the military or naval service during the late war, or to suppress the insurrection in the Philippines, voluntarily offered his services, and many thousands more stood ready to volunteer. There were no drafts; there was no coercion. The recruiting offices were crowded to the doors, turning away a large number of eager applicants for enlistment. The mighty, spontaneous outburst of patriotism, anxious to swell the ranks of volunteers for service in rebuking the insult to our flag in the Philippines, is the best refutation of the charge that the country is drifting toward “ militarism. ”

The war with Spain required an increase of the army from its peace basis of 27,000, and the enlistment of a large number of volunteers was authorized by Congress. But on the conclusion of peace, April 11, 1899, the army, pursuant to law, was reduced again to 27,000 men. But the exigencies in the Philippines demanded a temporary increase of the army; and to meet this imperative demand the Senate Committee on Military Affairs unanimously reported a bill to meet and provide for such emergency, and the report was supported by all the parties. Under this bill authority was conferred on the President to recruit temporarily the regular army of 65,000 men, and in addition 35,000 volunteers. The bill expressly provided that such increase of the army to 100,000 men for temporary purposes was to be made by temporary enlistments for service until July 1, 1901, only.

This bill was fully debated in the Senate, and it was emphatically declared that the main purpose of the increase was to confer

upon the President authority, and the necessary forces, to put down an armed insurrection against our sovereignty in the Philippines. Democrats and Republicans alike supported the bill and fully understood its purpose. It passed the Senate by a vote of 55 to 13, and was supported by all the leading Democrats, by Senator Teller, Senator Stewart, Senator Allen, and all the Populists except one. It was passed by the votes of three-fourths of the Senate. In the House of Representatives it was debated, its provisions were fully understood, and it was supported alike by all parties. It passed that body by a vote of 203 to 32. The law as thus enacted empowered the President in clear and unmistakable terms not only to equip an army of 100,000 men, but *directed him to employ such force to put down the insurrection in the Philippines*. The Constitution requires the President to execute the laws, and he is bound by oath to do so in the Philippines as much as he would be in the case of an insurrection in Texas. Therefore this duty was imposed upon him by a non-partisan vote, an expression of the confidence of the American people in their Chief Executive.

Under the terms of the act which authorized this temporary increase, the army will be reduced on July 1, 1901, to its original basis of less than 30,000 men. Thus, the attempt to elevate "militarism" to the position of a great political issue is absurd. That a much larger army would be necessary to establish and maintain a protectorate over the Philippines, as proposed by Mr. Bryan, cannot be doubted.

As Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions of the Republican National Convention of 1888, Major McKinley drafted the anti-trust plank of the Republican platform. As President he recommended to Congress, in December, 1899, the enactment of legislation to restrain or control trusts. A similar recommendation was sent to Congress by President Harrison in 1889.

As an evidence of the sincere purpose of the Republican party to suppress monopolies, or to remove obstacles to the broad and natural expansion of legitimate enterprises, attention is called to the fact that the only effective anti-trust legislation on our statute books now is the work of Republican statesmen. The Inter-State Commerce Act, which became a law in 1887, was framed and carried through Congress by a distinguished Republican statesman, Senator Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois. Another eminent statesman of our party, Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, was the author of the Sherman



Anti-Trust Act of 1890. Under that act the Supreme Court of the United States has dissolved two powerful railway combinations, alleged to be trusts, in the case of the United States *vs.* the Trans-Missouri Freight Association, and in the Joint Traffic case. It has also dissolved several combinations engaged in the manufacture, sale, or transportation of commodities, as in the case of the Addystone Pipe and Steel Company, and in that of the Chesapeake and Ohio Fuel Company.

But in the case of the United States *vs.* E. C. Knight, an effort by the Government to suppress the Sugar Trust, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Supreme Court held that the law contemplated only combinations of monopolies in restraint of trade and commerce between the several States or with foreign nations, and did not extend to the regulation of subjects of manufacture, commerce, business or trade, unless the same directly affected inter-State commerce; holding that such matters came under the exclusive jurisdiction of the States where such operations were conducted, in the exercise of police powers of the State. The bill filed by the Government to dissolve the Sugar Trust as an instrument employed in restraint of trade or commerce was dismissed by the Court for want of jurisdiction in the subject matter of the action—the refining of sugar by the defendants. This case was reaffirmed in the subsequent case of Hopkins *vs.* The United States. These cases settled definitely and authoritatively an important point, namely, that Congress has no power under the Constitution to regulate or control enterprises which do not amount to a restraint of, or interference with, “inter-State commerce,” as defined by that Court. Consequently, the power of Congress or of the Courts to deal with the trusts has been exhausted without attaining all the results demanded by the people; and the only method by which such relief can be afforded is by an amendment to the Constitution expressly conferring upon Congress authority to regulate or suppress such combinations.

Such is the position of the Republican party in respect to the subject of trusts, and it stands by its record.

The Courts having held the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to be inadequate, the Republican party—in pursuance of the course established by Congress in the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, following the abolition of slavery, an institution that had menaced the peace and perpetuity of the republic from its birth, and which was also protected by the Constitution—introduced in Congress a resolution

providing for an amendment to the Constitution having for its object the regulation and control of trusts. The Democrats opposed this amendment, as they did the abolition of slavery and the adoption of the thirteenth amendment. The resolution, not receiving a two-thirds vote, failed to pass, every Democrat in the House except five voting against it, while practically every Republican in the House voted for it.

In his address before the Trust Conference at Chicago, Ill., September 16, 1899, Mr. Bryan declared that Congress ought to pass a law to regulate trusts. He said: "If it is unconstitutional, and so declared by the Supreme Court, I am in favor of an amendment to the Constitution that will give to Congress power to destroy every trust in the country."

The Supreme Court has decided in the Knight case, before referred to, that the Sherman Act, which had undoubtedly exhausted the power granted to Congress by the Constitution to regulate inter-State and international commerce, is applicable only to a combination, business, or occupation, which directly affects "inter-State commerce." This virtually amounts to a decision that the Sherman Act, as applied to combinations which do not directly affect inter-State commerce, is impotent. Guided by this decision, we seek the only mode of relief left — an amendment to the Constitution.

Space in this paper has been devoted to the questions of imperialism, militarism, and trusts, not because they are in issue, but because they are being used by our opponents to hide the real issues, which are precisely the same as in 1896, namely, Protection and Sound Money *vs.* Free Trade and Free Silver. In respect to these, both parties stand precisely where they stood four years ago, and are controlled by the same motives.

President McKinley, in response to the Notification Committee, at Canton, Ohio, July 12, 1900, sounded the keynote of the campaign in these terse sentences:

"A tariff which protects American labor and industry and provides ample revenue has been written in public law. We have lower interest and higher wages, more money and fewer mortgages; the world's markets have been opened to American products, which go now where they never have gone before; we have passed from the bond-issuing to the bond-buying nation; from a nation of borrowers to a nation of lenders; from deficiencies in revenue to a surplus; from fear to confidence; from enforced idleness to profitable employment; the public faith has been upheld, and public order has been maintained; we have prosperity at home and prestige abroad."

Again he said:



"Unfortunately, the threat of 1896 has just been renewed by the allied parties without abatement or modification: The gold bill has been denounced and its repeal demanded; the menace of 16 to 1, therefore, still hangs over us with its dire consequences to credit and confidence, to business and industry."

These warning words cannot be too strongly emphasized. That the very existence of our currency and industrial systems is threatened by the Kansas City platform is most apparent. The undermining of these would effect the complete destruction of our prosperity. It would create a panic that would be followed by an era of hard times productive of greater distress among our people than that of the years from 1893 to 1897.

It is contended, however, that the panic of 1893, with the resulting calamities, was due not to the fear of free trade, but to the Sherman Silver Purchase Law. If that law, which promised in express terms to maintain the parity between gold and silver, was productive of any part of that great panic and long period of severe industrial depression, what may we not expect from laws which shall permit the free and unlimited coinage of silver, with no attempt whatever to regulate or control the parity between silver and gold, and which will virtually establish free trade?

In 1892, Governor McKinley warned the country against the dangers of free trade; and, because his warning was not heeded, serious consequences followed. He again warned the country in 1896 of the dangers of free silver, and pointed out the course by which the reign of disaster might be terminated. His advice was accepted. A protective tariff law was passed, and the gold standard was adopted. In consequence, public credit was maintained, confidence was restored, and there followed an era of unparalleled prosperity.

We repeat the warning: the integrity and honor of the nation are at stake in this election. It is not imperialism, but repudiation, which regulates the course, sharpens the cupidity, and inflames the hope of our opponents. Protection and sound money are imperilled. Shall we permit them to be undermined and destroyed? If Mr. Bryan is permitted to call an extraordinary session of Congress on the fourth day of next March, he will commend to consideration not one subject, but three: The repeal of the currency law, or the enactment of a law authorizing the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; the repeal of the Dingley tariff law; and measures looking to the sacrifice of our rights in the Philippines. The result would be disastrous to our credit. It would produce

doubt and uncertainty, disarrange values, impair vested rights, and work general havoc in all industrial and business circles. Then prosperity would be again transferred to foreign countries, and our people would again sit in sackcloth and ashes — in the valley of desolation and despair.

The Republican party is the party of progress. It has executed its great trust with distinguished fidelity and success. It has rehabilitated industries and restored prosperity through protection and sound money. The leading or paramount issues of this campaign are protection and sound money, and all other so-called issues are immaterial. Republican success is necessary to preserve these great principles and to uphold the national honor. The destruction of the cardinal principles of prosperity would be attended with great disaster to the country, would impede progress, and would deprive the people of the blessings which they have freely enjoyed since the restoration of the Republican party to power in 1897. Such is our position, and upon it we submit our case to the people, confident of success.

CHARLES DICK.



## REASONS FOR DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS.

THE Democratic party hopes for success in the election of 1900. This hope is based upon two premises: (1) the justice of its cause, and (2) the intelligent patriotism of the American electorate.

And first, of the cause. What is it? Briefly, it is the cause of the people. Since the party was born, a century and more ago, it has never in its principles and aims so completely as now realized the idea that suggested its name. Its purpose is to restore the "rule of the people" in a republic wherein the welfare of the people is the avowed object of the government, and wherein responsibility to the popular judgment is the origin of authority and the safeguard of liberty, but where confederated special interests have gradually obtained preponderant power, manipulating political machinery, directing legislation, and threatening a subtle but fundamental and dangerous change in the very structure of our institutions. The pending contest is only another phase of the world-old familiar struggle between the many and the few which has made the history of free governments in every age.

The institutions of the United States were the first to be founded upon the proposition of the political equality of men and upon the substitution of consent for force as the basis and sanction of authority. The epochal contests of our political history have been waged for the preservation or the restoration of these great characteristic principles in the practical conduct of government. Such was the memorable campaign of 1800 wherein Jefferson represented the original democratic idea against the semi-monarchic tendencies of Hamilton and his school. Such was the movement that led to the organization and success of the Republican party nearly half a century ago. The founders of that party perfectly understood the nature of the crisis, and proclaimed their object to be the return of the country to the ideas and practices of its founders. In the preamble of the platform adopted by the first Republican national convention, which met at Philadelphia in June, 1856, an appeal was made "to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are

. . . in favor . . . of restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson."

To a mere partisan of to-day there will appear to be great difficulty in reconciling this invocation of the principles of the first Democrat by the first Republicans. Yet there is no inconsistency whatever in that fact. The Republican movement was essentially a democratical reaction. The very name of the party, indeed, suggested it; for "Republican" was the word originally employed by Jefferson to designate the organization that formed about him. The Democratic party, under the influence of power and the growth of the institution of slavery, had completely reversed its position. Its leaders formed an irresponsible oligarchy. Though the professed followers of the author of the Declaration of Independence, they expressly repudiated the fundamental doctrine of that instrument, and Douglas employed in his celebrated debates with Lincoln the very class of arguments now used by many Republicans in attempting to construe universal liberty out of that great document.

Judge Douglas declared that our Fathers, in the Declaration, "were speaking of British subjects on this continent being equal to British subjects born and residing in Great Britain"; that it "was adopted for the purpose of justifying the colonies in the eyes of the civilized world in withdrawing their connection with the mother country." Precisely in the same spirit the "New York Sun," one of the strongest champions of President McKinley's imperialistic policy, not long ago said:

"The Declaration of Independence was made to suit a particular existing condition of things. The Declaration meant simply that the colonies had become tired of the British domination, deeming it oppressive, and intended to set up a government of their own by the right of revolution."

To like effect is a recent editorial statement of the "New York Tribune":

"The Declaration of Independence was a formal notice that the inhabitants of the colonies consented no longer to British rule."

The words of Lincoln in answer to Douglas are equally applicable to these modern newspaper assertions. They seem, indeed, to have been written in anticipation of the very condition that now exists in the United States. Said he, in a speech at Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857:



"The assertion 'that all men are created equal' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself—a stumbling-block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant, when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack."

It was remarkable, then, that the Democratic party, whose founder wrote the Declaration of Independence, should have been concerned in an attempt to discredit and destroy it. It is even more remarkable to-day that the Republican party, whose founder was then the defender of that ancient Democratic faith, should be now engaged in an effort to negative its authority and to repudiate its principles.

Nevertheless, it is altogether natural that such alternations in party purposes should occur. When a new political party appears, or when an old one is revived with a new impulse, its success will almost always represent the highest and noblest aspirations of the people. It is apt to be single in aim and pure in motive. But immediately the selfish forces in society, bent on dominating the Government in their own interest, begin scheming to gain ascendancy in the party as a necessary preliminary to the control of affairs. It was in this way that the old Democratic party was gradually made over into a strong pro-slavery organization; and this is the method whereby the old Republican party has by degrees become the instrument of those very forces which it originally opposed, though their form of manifestation has changed. This danger also was recognized by the marvellous insight of Lincoln. In November, 1864, he is reported to have said :

"As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed."

Party loyalty, whose tendency is to become a blind, unreasoning submission to the commands of those who succeed in getting control of the party machinery, thus investing their own schemes with the magic pass-muster of the party label, is the most potent ally of these selfish interests. The average partisan, having assisted once in a patriotic and successful movement for the salvation of the country, will thereafter continue to vote the ticket of the party that directed the movement, first insensibly ascribing to the party in the abstract all the virtues of the cause, then attributing to the individuals of its

self-perpetuating leadership the idealized qualities of the party, and finally, as an inevitable consequence, accepting every deliverance of the party convention as an absolute standard of faith and rule of conduct. It is also a distinguishing mark of this last stage of political dependence that every party except one's own must be held to be deliberately aiming at the dishonor of the Government, every member of such other party to be either a traitor or the tool of traitors, and every policy proposed by the opposition to be a veritable inspiration of the devil. Upon no other theory can be explained, for example, the success of the leaders of the Republican party in committing that organization to such complete reversals of party profession as those witnessed in the change from bimetallism to the gold standard, and from the championship of the Declaration of Independence to its repudiation.

The foregoing reference to party spirit and the ordinary method of its action will be recognized by careful observers as substantially true. Fortunately, its application, while general, is not universal. There is ever a small minority that continues to distinguish between principle and party and to give to the former a superior allegiance. The hope of the Democratic party in this campaign is largely in this minority, in the men who are Americans before they are Republicans. Let us examine some of the considerations that will be chiefly influential with this class of voters.

First, there is the money question. It is beyond doubt that, until recently at any rate, the Republican party has been a bimetallic party. Its national platforms in 1888 and 1892 were unequivocal in their support of bimetallism; and in the campaign text-book published by the Republican National Committee in that year it was said, "Nine-tenths of the American people are bimetallists." My own opinion is that this statement was true and applied to the masses of the Republican party. The merits of the question of the standards were not generally discussed before the people during the following four years, and it is absurd to suppose that the convictions of the Republican party as a whole had undergone any sweeping change on that subject.

That this fact was well known to the men who were carefully engaged in the plan to make the Republican party the agent and instrument of the gold standard is apparent from their treatment of the question in the St. Louis platform and in the 1896 campaign. That platform pronounced in favor of the international free coinage of



silver by pledging the party to "promote" it, but declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until an international agreement for free coinage could be secured.

This plank was manifestly designed to hold the votes of sincere bimetallists, while also assuring the gold men that the party was being pushed resolutely toward the single standard. To be sure, the transparency of the trick should have been evident to anybody, as indeed it was to a large number of Republicans who immediately denounced it and, because of it, left the organization. But, as the shrewd men who were responsible for it knew, it is usually necessary to furnish the voter only a very slight excuse for making peace with an uneasy political conscience. A definite declaration for the gold standard in that platform would have given the presidency to Mr. Bryan by an overwhelming popular vote and consequently by a large majority in the electoral college.

The uncandid language of the platform was paralleled by the insincerity of the campaign. The convenient ambiguity of "sound money" and "honest money" was adopted as an epitome of the financial plank; and Republican orators and newspapers in the East interpreted it as meaning the gold standard, in the Mississippi valley as "safe" bimetallism, and in the mountain States as free coinage.

In the face of this well-remembered situation of 1896 how refreshingly guileless is the following statement in the platform adopted by the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia in June: "We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard." Now the "principle" of the gold standard was distinctly repudiated by the last preceding national platform of the party. The declaration in 1896 was for the free coinage of silver by international agreement, and only as a last resort was the gold standard accepted, and even then it was to last only until the agreement could "be secured."

Is it reasonable to believe that all of the millions of Republicans that in 1896 were bimetallists and only voted their ticket because of the promise to secure bimetallism by international agreement will vote for McKinley now upon an out-and-out gold standard platform? Doubtless the great majority of them will do so; four years of partisan compliance having subdued them to the complexion of what they work in, "like the dyer's hand." But, in my opinion, many will not do so. Mr. Bryan will receive several thousand votes in the middle and western States from men who in 1896 were kept

“regular” by the promise of an international agreement. Their disposition will be strengthened also by recalling the numerous occurrences that accompanied the inception, progress, and result of Senator Wolcott’s ill-starred International Monetary Commission, indicating that the Administration was not in sympathy with its object in Europe and actually furthered its failure.

To these Republicans rebelling against the confessed surrender to the gold standard will be added a considerable number who cannot endorse the practical destruction of the greenback by the recent gold-standard and bank-currency legislation. Abraham Lincoln, in a letter to Edmund D. Taylor, of Chicago, in December, 1864, referred to the greenback as “the greatest blessing they [the people] ever had”; and, while a very strong sentiment for the paper money of the Government obtains among Republicans, there is likewise a wide and intelligent opposition on the subject which the advocates of bank money have not sufficiently taken into account.

Big and frequent conventions of bankers loudly proclaiming their devotion to the public welfare and modestly vouching for their own and sole sufficiency to deal with the money question, but universally prescribing systems that multiply and magnify the functions of the banker as a substitute for the Government in providing currency for the people, have somehow not produced a universal opinion of either their disinterestedness or their wisdom. Scepticism on this last point, moreover, is encouraged by the verdict of students of economic science, who pronounce the existing plan, and all other plans thus far recommended by bankers’ conventions in this country, to be wholly lacking in scientific principles.

Secondly, the general apprehension of the danger to our industrial system, and consequently to our social and political institutions as well, that lies in the trust monopoly will dispose many thousands of Republicans to vote against their party. In 1888 and in 1892 their national platforms had denounced the trust. In 1896 the St. Louis convention was silent on the subject. In the campaign of that year the representatives of combined capital were chiefly in evidence in the management of the Republican machinery, and the prodigious and unprecedented campaign fund at the disposition of the Republican National Committee was notoriously contributed by the trusts. When the new administration came in it was the trust-breeding State of New Jersey that furnished to the Cabinet the Attorney-General upon whom should devolve the enforcement or non-enforcement, and



the administrative interpretation, of the laws directly and indirectly affecting the trusts.

At once began a phenomenal increase in this form of capitalistic combination, so that more trusts have been organized under the McKinley administration than in the preceding one hundred and eight years of our governmental existence. At the very end of the last session of Congress the Republican leaders introduced a proposed constitutional amendment giving Congress plenary jurisdiction over the subject and depriving the States of all power to legislate upon it whenever Congress should do so.

Several circumstances appeared to justify suspicion of the good faith of this procedure. Among them were: (1) the introduction of the amendment at so late an hour in the session as almost to insure its failure, owing to the impossibility of giving proper consideration to so important a matter; (2) the obvious improbability that the amendment could ever be adopted by the votes of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, which by it would be practically shorn of authority in a field where there is great sensitiveness to the loss of it; (3) the exceedingly general and indefinite language of the amendment, opening it to a dangerous latitude of construction; and (4) the ease with which Congress, if under the control of a party dominated by the trusts, could give the latter full sway in the whole country, and this by enacting laws which, by the mere fact of their existence, would oust the State jurisdictions, while, either by purposed inefficiency in constructing the statutes or by administrative discretion respecting their enforcement, the national jurisdiction might be made a refuge instead of a scourge.

This suspicion seemed to derive some support also from the fact that the Republicans in both Houses overwhelmingly voted down a bill of Democratic origin amending existing law in certain particulars where either administrative experience, judicial suggestion, or the recommendation of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, had indicated the need of additional legislation.

Nor is there anything in more recent developments to give assurance that the Republican party can be depended on to control the trust-monopoly. Everybody knows that again, as in 1896, the vast majority of the trusts are actively supporting the Republican national ticket. The utterances of distinguished Republican leaders, including the Chairman of the National Committee and several United States senators, in sweeping general praise of modern business com-

binations and in nice discrimination between good trusts and bad trusts—added to the halting and mincing language of the trust plank in the Philadelphia platform—give no grounds for hoping that the Republican party will turn upon the beneficiaries of its policies in championship of their victims. This is no place to enter upon an argument of the trust question. It is important only to observe that the American people generally are opposed to the principle of trust organization and management, and that very many Republicans regard the subject of the regulation and control of such combinations as of almost vital consequence. I have given above the chief reasons why, as it seems to me, such persons will be more likely to vote against the Republican ticket than for it.

To those, again, who, from a philosophical point of view, are disposed to regard the monopoly issue as transcendent will be added a very large contingent of men directly injured by the accomplished facts of trust management—the relatively small business man who is being either driven from his business or forced to continue it as an agent rather than as a principal; the commercial traveller whose occupation is threatened or already gone; and the workingman who by the capricious suspension or interruption of manufactures by trust magnates has been thrown into idleness.

Thirdly, it seems very certain that the most serious disaffection from the Republican ranks is to be expected on account of the gravely important issue of imperialism. It is true that it is the prevailing Republican custom to disavow all imperialistic purpose and to insist upon calling the new and revolutionary policy on which the Administration has entered “expansion.” But earnest and intelligent men will not be deceived by this artifice. The meaning of “expansion” is perfectly clear: it signifies that process whereby a thing enlarges by growth, through extension of itself from within by inherent powers and natural development, remaining the same thing all the time, each increment of growth at once partaking of all the essential characteristics and attributes of the original entity.

This is the process, the natural and healthy process, which, until the present Administration, has governed every previous accession of territory to the United States. Every such accession, be it remembered, save Alaska alone, has occurred under a Democratic administration. Every acre of territory thus added has been received upon an equal footing, dedicated to ultimate Statehood in the Union, and assured of American citizenship for its inhabitants. This is a vital



fact in this discussion. To attempt to classify the cases of Puerto Rico and the Philippines with those of Louisiana and Florida is not only unfair, it is downright dishonest.

What is imperialism? It is the method of the empire. No better definition of it has been given than in the declaration recently adopted by the liberty congress at Indianapolis, in the following resolution written, as rumor reports, by a distinguished New England lawyer and scholar :

"The struggle of men for freedom has ever been a struggle for constitutional liberty. There is no liberty if the citizen has no rights which the Legislature may not invade; if he be taxed by a Legislature in which he is not represented ; or if he be not protected by a fundamental law against the arbitrary action of executive power. The policy of the President offers the inhabitant of Porto Rico, Hawaii<sup>1</sup> or the Philippines no prospect of American citizenship, no constitutional protection, no representation in the Congress which taxes him. This is a government of men by arbitrary power without their consent. This is imperialism."

This policy is a complete departure from our customs and traditions. Why cannot the Republican leaders frankly confess it and then argue the proposition on its merits? We have established in Puerto Rico exactly the system as that against which the men of '76 rebelled. Webster says that our fathers made the Revolution turn precisely on the point involved in the tax of three pence a pound on tea; that not the amount of the tax, but the fact of it, was the basis of complaint, the patriots refusing to acknowledge the power of Parliament to lay any imperial tax whatsoever upon the colonies so long as the latter were unrepresented in the Parliament. The fifteen per cent of the Dingley rates which we levy on imports to Puerto Rico and on her exports to us is not Republican legislation but imperial. It is exactly the same sort of government as the colonial system which our ancestors repudiated, and whose fundamental principles they condemned in the Declaration of Independence. The same system is proposed in the case of the Philippines and of all of the islands acquired from Spain. To all intents and purposes they are to be like English crown colonies. This is not a threat of imperialism; it is imperialism.

The fundamental change that this policy involves in the operation, indeed in the very nature, of our institutions must be apparent to every thoughtful person. A republic is not suited to those methods

<sup>1</sup>The drawer of the resolution seems to have overlooked the fact that in the case of Hawaii the existing law provides for a territorial representative in Congress.

which are habitual and necessary in the administration of colonies and dependencies. Its procedure is too slow, too public, too cumbersome. A radical departure from all our accepted methods will be necessary if the proposed colonialism is to be adopted. This will involve a reorganization of our administrative machinery. A distinguished Republican statesman and member of the Paris Treaty Commission, in an article in the "Anglo-Saxon Review," for June, 1899, writes as follows:

"The American Government has the new territories, and will hold and govern them. A republic such as the United States has hitherto not been well adapted to that sort of work. Congress is apt to be slow, if not also changeable; and under the Constitution the method of government for territories must be prescribed by Congress. . . . No doubt executive action, in advance of Congress, might be satisfactory; but a president is apt to wait for Congress unless driven by irresistible necessities. He can only take the initiative through some form of military government. For this the War Department is not well organized. Possibly the easiest solution for the moment would be in the organization of another Department for War and Government beyond the Seas, or the development of a measurably independent bureau for such work in the present department. Whatever is done it would be unreasonable to expect unbroken success, or exemption from a learner's mistakes and discouragements.

A similar spirit of dissatisfaction with our methods and system of administration as not adapted to the kind of operation indispensable to despotic government is strikingly manifest in an editorial which appeared on August 4 in the "Army and Navy Journal," a publication which quite faithfully reflects the class opinions of the official and military circles where admiration for the English system largely prevails. Said the "Journal":

"One million two hundred thousand dollars spent in London is the price of administrative order over a colonial rule whose total budgets aggregate \$1,724,354,896, or 50 per cent more than our total of federal, State, county, and village expenditure for every possible purpose for which taxes are levied. In contrast to the results of this system of executive administration, the fact is cited that the American Congress has spent an entire winter wrestling with the tariff, the taxation, the administration, and the personal rights of two little islands. The English executive is an imperial executive. The British parliament is an English legislature. To the same system we are coming by the decree of circumstances as inevitable as that of fate. If this be imperialism, make the most of it. So far as citizenship is concerned, the British empire is one, but beyond the limits of the United Kingdom the citizen lives under a rule essentially monarchical, and not restricted by the constitutional limitations of the parliament system."

To say that alterations and adaptations of the character thus indicated can take place without both a profound change in the spirit of our institutions and a reaction in kind upon our domestic administration is to deny history and reconstruct human nature. They involve



enormous increase in the power of the President. They lead to standing armies, burdensome debts, ever-swelling pension lists, military methods, corruption, irresponsibility, and the perpetuation of party power by influences that may defy popular discontent or even the deliberate opinion of a majority of the citizenship of the country.

The foregoing considerations respecting imperialism are wholly independent of the so-called sentimental opposition to the policy of the Administration founded on our bad faith toward our Filipino allies and the inseparableness of the Constitution and the Flag; yet this opposition is exceedingly strong and will influence a great number of votes at the coming election. The entire argument against imperialism reaches both native-born citizens, whom it inspires to preserve the traditions of the Republic, and foreign-born citizens, whom it urges to avoid the costly errors of the great military powers of Europe from which the vast majority of them came.

These three leading questions of money, trusts, and imperialism will decide by far the largest proportion of the votes cast in November; and, in my opinion, the Democratic party is certain to gain immense numbers of recruits on each of them. In addition to them, however, votes will also be influenced toward the Democratic ticket by a number of minor considerations, including the following: the attitude of the respective parties on the income tax; the feeling aroused by the British war against the Boer republics; the army contract and the Cuban administration scandals; the contrast between the vacillating and uncertain character of the Republican candidate for the Presidency and the firm consistency and unaffected courage of his great opponent.

If these expectations are in any considerable degree realized, of course Bryan and Stevenson will be the next President and Vice-President of the United States. Such, in my judgment, will be the result. Quantitative predictions are of little value, because new and probably controlling issues make largely unavailable the figures of former elections. The general drift of things is unmistakably our way, and it is "in the cards" that there may be a political landslide. I expect to see the Democratic ticket successful, and should not be surprised to see it receive two-thirds of the electoral vote.

CHARLES A. TOWNE.

## CAN THERE BE A GOOD TRUST ?

SENATOR James K. Jones, of Arkansas, has made reply to the charge that he is one of the important share-holders and projectors of a "trust." He admits that he owns stock in a company organized to develop and put into use the round-lap bale cotton-press. He explains that the capital, which is \$7,000,000, is no greater than is required for the business it proposes to do, and that the dividend on this large capitalization will come neither from cotton producers nor cotton consumers, but will be met by a part of the savings which the new process will effect. He claims that by compressing the cotton into smaller space and by preserving it from waste, a saving of from \$3 to \$4 per bale is achieved; and if this is true it is evidently possible that ample dividends may be paid on the stock of his company after conferring benefits upon the public sufficient to induce it to discard the old method and use the new.

The facts being as Senator Jones states them, it is difficult to discover any flaw in his defence. But his reasoning disposes of complaints against a great many individuals other than himself, and of hostility to a great many big corporations besides his own. It refutes some popular theories concerning the accumulation of large fortunes. It assumes that a corporation is not to be condemned because it has large capital, or because it destroys the established business and renders valueless the plants of numerous small competitors, or because it dispenses with some of the labor previously employed.

It has been said a great many times that nobody can make a million dollars honestly. The possession of such a fortune is considered by a great many people to be *prima facie* and conclusive evidence that the possessor has obtained it without earning it, without giving an equivalent for it. This theory has some light shed on it by Senator Jones's statement that the new process for baling cotton will save from \$3 to \$4 per bale. The cotton crop of the United States is about 10,000,000 bales, and it follows that the possible saving accomplished by this invention in ten years will be not less



than \$300,000,000. The inventor and all who aided him may become millionaires many times over out of wealth heretofore lost, and yet be large benefactors of society. The service of the invention will go on indefinitely, until some superior process, to which it will probably lead, will have supplanted it, creating another set of fortunes in doing so.

The Mergenthaler type-casting machine, which in the last ten years has practically done away with ordinary type-setting, furnishes another illustration of the same kind. Fortunes have been created by it, and yet the cost of printing has been so reduced that, through it and new paper-making machinery, daily newspapers, magazines, and books have been placed on every working-man's table. Perhaps the illustration will be more impressive by anticipating a step of progress not yet made. It is said that 85 per cent of the energy in coal is lost in combustion. Now if Mr. Edison or some one else could reverse the proportion so that 85 per cent could be utilized and only 15 per cent lost, what would the invention be worth to society? What ground is there for saying that fortunes made by this class of service are obtained without the giving of an equivalent?

It is a common way of stating it to say that the maker of a great fortune has rendered great services to society and therefore has been justly entitled to the unusual reward received. But that form of statement seems to imply that an estimate has been put upon his services, an award made, and a settlement effected, by authorizing him to take so much from the public. That raises a question as to whether the award was a just one, and our entire social system is attacked from that standpoint. The truth is that there has been no award and no payment out of the previous possessions of society. If of two farmers living side by side on land of equal fertility one raises 40 bushels of corn to the acre and the other 50 bushels to the acre it cannot be claimed that an artificial social organization awards and confers the extra ten bushels; for it is apparent that society never owned it, has no claim on it, and that the more successful farmer has produced it himself.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie's career in the iron business has been parallel to that of the successful farmer. There have been other people in the iron business during all of the time he has been in it. He has made the most conspicuous success; others have been nearly as successful; others moderately successful; and others yet have graded down to a long list who have failed and lost their investments. He

received no higher prices from the public than these competitors. He paid at least as high wages as they. Now to whom was Carnegie's exceptional success due? Was his success due to his employés, and was the failure of his competitors due to their employés? Is a day laborer for Mr. Carnegie to be credited with greater productive powers than a day laborer for his competitors? Or did Mr. Carnegie obtain his unusual rewards neither from his customers nor from his employés, but by the creation of wealth which but for him would not have existed? If the latter theory is correct, what he has belongs to him by a title that cannot be disputed; and no one is the worse off for his having it. This is plainly the conclusion to which Senator Jones points. His view is calculated to dissipate the jealousy of success which is natural when all business is considered as a great game in which some lose what others make. That scalping and swindling exist is, of course, true; but the purpose of legitimate industry and trade is to create wealth, to make two blades of grass grow where there has been but one.

When this is comprehended the indictment proposed by socialism against the "competitive system" falls to the ground. It is represented that competition is brutalizing strife, a state of war between hating rivals in which one is victorious and the other is destroyed. This is a repulsive and superficial view. Competition is indeed rivalry; but rivalry in what? All employment recognized as legitimate is useful and helpful to mankind; consequently, this rivalry is rivalry in usefulness, in service to the community. This is the true conception of it, a conception that dignifies and ennobles every calling in life. The effort by Senator Jones's company to bale and transport cotton fibre at a lower cost is precisely of a kind with the effort of the department stores to distribute cotton cloth and other goods to consumers at a lower cost than it was formerly done. If they accomplish their purpose they will justify their existence; and by their service to the many they will more than compensate for the injury that they of necessity do to a few.

What of the injury that they of necessity do to a few? In the case of the round-bale cotton-press, if it fulfils its prospectus there will be rendered valueless some millions of dollars' worth of square-bale presses. That amount of capital will be destroyed, but if destroyed it will be speedily replaced by the savings of the superior invention. It may or may not be replaced in the same hands. If not, it is one of the losses to which capitalists are subject, and for



which they must prepare during the period of profits. There may be less labor employed under the new process than under the old. It is well if this is so; for the community has not a man to spare for work that can be dispensed with. Every day's work saved in supplying our present necessities enables us to pay for a day's work more in supplying comforts. There is literally no limit to the demand for labor, and only the most short-sighted would continue useless work for the sake of supplying employment.

According to Senator Jones the test of a corporation's right to exist is not to be found in its size. The question he raises is, Can it pay dividends out of the economic savings which it effects? He answers for his own corporation that it can, and presumably would justify any capitalization upon which that could be done. This is something tangible. This is something definite on the "trust" question. This is no sweeping condemnation of corporations simply because they are so large as practically to forbid competition by an individual. If the most economical methods cannot be obtained by the use of \$100,000 under one management, he would get together \$1,000,000, and if that did not secure the best results he would make it \$5,000,000. In the case of the round-lap bale company they have made it \$7,000,000. If they could have made the organization more efficient by making it as big as one of the so-called steel "trusts," the logic of Senator Jones's defence compels us to believe that he would have favored doing so. Certainly they did not stop at \$7,000,000 to avoid making it monopolistic and from considerations for individual competitors. They fixed upon that figure doubtless as the one most advantageous to themselves.

Now the so-called "trusts" of this day are plain corporations like the one in which Senator Jones is interested. As a rule, they have no power or immunity from competition except such as large capital gives. Therefore, a demand for the suppression of "trusts" must be predicated upon the proposition that their size makes them dangerous, and is sufficient reason for legislating them out of existence. Mr. Bryan is a leader among those who hold this view. He ridicules the idea that there can be both good and bad "trusts." All are bad in his eyes, because their size gives them undue power. As opposed to this view we have the practical business man's view, as voiced by Senator Jones, that the capital of a corporation may be of any size required to conduct its business most advantageously, and that so long as it pays its dividends out of the economic sav-

ings effected by its superior capital no objection can properly or reasonably lie against it.

Between Mr. Bryan and Senator Jones we have clearly defined the only issue there is on the "trust" question. They ought to be invited to develop it in a symposium of their own. If not convenient to do so before the election, then after the election; for evidently the trust question will not be settled in this campaign, whatever the result. Mr. Bryan eliminates the possible economic savings to which Senator Jones gives consideration upon the theory that even though such results are achieved the advantage remains with the trust, and does not inure to the public. He goes over the country and sees idle factories, which he is informed are owned by trusts and have been closed because under one management fewer factories can turn out the required product with greater economy. He pronounces this an evil. In truth, such management of its industries is advantageous to the community as a whole, even though all the immediate savings be retained by the corporation. There is a gain of wealth to society; and, whoever may own it, that wealth becomes a productive factor in the community, and inevitably enters into competition in some line to supply the needs of the community.

The theory that there is no advantage to the public in the economic savings effected by a trust is like the theory that there is no loss to the community by the destruction of property that is covered by insurance. It is to the advantage of everybody in an enlightened and progressive society to have the efficiency of labor promoted and the available stock of wealth increased, because all that is saved immediately begins to contribute to the output. The poverty and misery of such countries as India and China are due to the low productive powers of the population, to the inefficiency of labor working without the aid of capital. It is not necessary for the peasantry of those countries to own the railways, steam engines, and labor-saving machinery that they so much need, in order to derive benefits from them. By their use the production of those countries will be greatly increased; and by the industries created, the employment given, and the inducements that must be offered to the masses to persuade them to use the new agencies, a new standard of living will be established for these peoples, as has recently occurred in Japan, and has come to pass in the United States within the last generation.

It is a mistake to say that the problem of society is no longer one of production, but one of distribution. The problem is always how



to increase production. Careful statisticians have calculated that the total production of wealth in the United States in one year, including the yield of the soil, the output of the mines, rents, and the earnings of capital, if divided equally per capita, would scarcely give more than \$2 per day for each person employed in gainful occupations. Within this limit all debate over what is a fair return for capital and what is a living wage is necessarily confined, for we cannot divide more than the total product. Happily, the limit is not immovable, but is always rising, thanks to the steady accumulation of capital, and to the constant rivalry in efforts to increase the efficiency of labor.

It is impossible to prevent the masses from sharing in the advantages of increasing wealth and in the gains of industrial progress. It is no more possible to prevent it than to prevent the waters from reaching the sea. It is determined by forces as certain as gravity. The impulse to accumulate, the instinct to compete, the desire to surpass, and the money-making motives that lead men to organize trusts are too strong for the trusts to control. Every dividend day the proprietors of each profitable trust have new capital to invest. What can they do with it? If production is equal to the market in their own field, they cannot invest there unless they can find a way to enlarge the demand; and the only way to enlarge the demand is to reduce the price. Most likely they prefer to invade some other field, and to invest their new accumulation in rivalry there. They cannot invest it without rivalry, for if they do not cut prices they must be content to divide the old volume of business, which means a reduction of profits to the old concerns. But a constantly increasing supply of capital cannot go on simply dividing the old business indefinitely. The returns all around would eventually be *nil*. Human nature is not calculated to endure that kind of a strain. Somebody will have confidence enough in his own capacity to do business to desire to be free enough to get all he can. A break is only a question of time, and when it comes a lower level of prices is permanently established.

Mr. Bryan is a thorough believer in an enlarged volume of money. He argues that the benefits of an enlarged money supply cannot be confined to the people who happen to own the mines, but will permeate society. The errors in his theory are due to confusing money with capital. His arguments are good as applied to capital, and fallacious as applied to money. Capital is the real thing which it is desirable to multiply, and which cannot be multiplied without giving benefits to all.

Let us assume for a moment that every important line of production is controlled by a combination, and that the policy is to maintain fixed prices. Capital would go on accumulating, and the new supply would have no outlet for employment. These combinations are each composed of many stockholders, with unequal interests. Is it to be supposed that all of these stockholders will be content to rest indefinitely with their original holdings and with no opportunity to change their relative positions in the business world? They will know what profits are being made. Will not the energetic and ambitious who have small holdings be dissatisfied to see the control of the business and the bulk of the earnings remain always with others? Will not dissension and disintegration within be quite as imminent and constant a danger as competition from without? Do not all the forces that impel men to money-making combine to break down such an artificial constriction of industry?

A wave of alarm that almost reached the stage of panic swept over the country about a year ago, when the fever for organizing big combinations was at its height. A general, and in some cases extraordinary, advance in prices at the time gave plausibility to the fear that these concerns would be able to make prices practically what they pleased, that the law of competition was behind the times and had gone out of operation. We know more about that now. If the advance in prices was proof of the power of the trusts what does the progressive decline, which has now been going on for nearly a year, prove?

The field most thoroughly covered in 1899 by combinations was the iron industry, and the advance in prices in that line for the first nine months of the year was phenomenal. But it was by no means unprecedented. A similar "boom" in iron goods occurred twenty years before, under similar business conditions. The files of the "Iron Age" show that at the beginning of the year 1879 number one foundry pig was quoted at \$16.50 to \$18 per ton in Philadelphia, bar iron \$1.65 per hundred, nails \$2 per keg, steel rails \$42 per ton. By July there had been an advance amounting to \$2 per ton on the pig; by the latter part of August another dollar had been added; but in the month of September came a jump of \$10 per ton. Four months later, *i.e.*, January 22, 1880, pig iron was quoted at \$41 to \$42 per ton, steel rails at \$80 to \$85, bar iron at \$3.75 per hundred, and nails \$5.25 per keg. This was before the era of trusts.

Following the panic of 1873, there had been a period of six years



of dull times, when confidence in the future seemed to be dead. Hand-to-mouth buying was the rule, all construction and repairs that could be postponed were put off, and stocks were run down to the lowest limit. Then came the inflow of money caused by the return to gold payments, January 1, 1879, and to the heavy exports of that year; and forthwith resulted a revolution in sentiment and in conditions. With hope awakened and courage regained the country was starving for goods, and manufacturers were flooded with urgent orders. When their capacity was engaged for months in advance, or with only a small margin for possible increase, famine prices appeared. Probably only a small portion of the output was sold at those figures. Buyers bid against each other for the unsold capacity, as people fight for seats in a life-boat that cannot carry all. The foregoing description covers exactly the conditions that followed the panic of 1893 and culminated in the boom of 1899. The rise of last year signified nothing as to the power of the trusts over prices. It was merely a demonstration of the effect of an excessive demand.

That there is something disquieting in the development of these great aggregations of capital is not to be denied, and that they need the restraining arm of authority in some of their practices is generally recognized. The courts, however, have already gone far enough in defining the rights of the public to show that monopolistic power is now under their control. The remarkable decision of the Illinois Supreme Court, by which the Associated Press, a mutual corporation, is directed to sell its news to any newspaper that may apply, is an illustration of the tendency of the time. With the courts taking such ground there is no necessity for hasty and destructive legislation. What is done should be done in harmony with the economic laws which are evidently forcing the centralization of industry, and with a view to promoting, and not of defeating, the legitimate result of that movement, which is an increased production and a more general distribution of the material comforts of life.

GEORGE E. ROBERTS.

## THE NEXT PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

THE numerous questions of general interest and common benefit to all the republics of America which were considered by the International American Conference, held in Washington in 1889-90, led President McKinley to suggest, in his last annual message to Congress, that it seemed expedient that the various American republics constituting the International Union should be invited, at an early date, to hold another conference. He suggested that it should be in the capital of one of the countries that had not already enjoyed that honor.

The Mexican Government took up this suggestion at once, and it has officially invited the states comprising the Union to attend a conference to convene in the capital city of Mexico, commencing October 22, 1901. The acceptance of the invitation by all the nations has been assured, and the meeting of the plenipotentiaries promises to be one of great moment. But before discussing this phase of the subject it would seem appropriate to take a retrospective glance at the steps which have led to the close and intimate relations now existing between the peoples of this hemisphere.

History accords chiefly to Henry Clay the authorship of the idea of the solidarity of the interests of all America. It was his desire to have that solidarity assume a concrete form in the Congress of Panama, in 1826, which was the first one to be held, although the idea to form close connections between the Spanish colonies in Central and South America was first advanced as early as 1821, at which time these colonies were engaged in the struggle for independence against the mother country — Spain. It was not long after the independence of these colonies had been recognized by the United States that a treaty was also negotiated between Colombia and Chile (1822), contemplating “the construction of a continental system for America.” The President of the United States accepted the invitation to the Congress of Panama, and in issuing the instructions to our delegates Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, said that the assembling of the congress



would form a new epoch in human affairs. "The fact itself," he added further, "whatever may be the issue of the conference of such a congress, can not fail to challenge the attention of the present generation of the civilized world and to command that of posterity." The United States Senate declined, however, to confirm the nomination of the delegates. The Panama Congress has been considered a failure, the minutes and protocols having a certain historical value only. While in the main true, this is not unqualifiedly the case. Its adjournment was not *sine die*, but to meet again at Tacubaya, a town near the City of Mexico. "A treaty of perpetual union" and several supplemental agreements and conventions had been concluded, all of which required the approval of the respective Governments in order to become effective. The plenipotentiaries desired to explain their work personally and defend it in their own countries; and, furthermore, the health conditions in Panama were not such as to make a protracted stay there desirable. Due notice of the change was given to all the Governments represented.

The United States sent delegates to Tacubaya, but the assembly itself never met. The reason why the assembly failed to meet was not because of any abandonment of the fundamental ideas cherished by Bolivar, and set forth in his invitation to all the Spanish American nations, but because of the failure of the Governments represented therein, especially Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru, to approve the treaty and its appendices framed at Panama. Bolivar himself was opposed to certain features of the treaty, and to the transfer of the assembly to Tacubaya; but he submitted it to the Colombian congress, and, upon approval by that body, ratified it. The plenipotentiaries at Panama fully performed the work with which they had been entrusted, and the failure of several of the Governments to ratify it constitutes the "failure" of the congress.

The invitation to the Congress of Panama was extended by Bolivar, but only to Colombia, Mexico, Central America, the United Provinces of Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Brazil. Colombia and Mexico, however, invited the United States, claiming to have conceived the idea of such a conference at or about the same time that Bolivar planned the Panama Congress for the purpose of uniting Spanish America against Spain. Bolivar convened it for military, as well as for political, purposes. With the military object the United States could have nothing to do; and when the full effects of the Monroe doctrine were felt the necessity for that object ceased. Unhappily

for the United States the administration of that day did not have the support of the country, and a golden opportunity for the establishment of close and cordial relations and the creation of commercial intercourse was lost. The following extract from "Notes upon Foreign Treaties of the United States" throws considerable light upon the situation:

"In looking back upon the Panama Congress from this length of time, it is easy to understand why the earnest and patriotic men who endeavored to crystallize an American system for this continent failed. \* \* \* One of the questions proposed for discussion in the Conference was 'The consideration of the means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave-trade,' to which proposition the committee of the United States Senate of that day replied: 'The United States have not certainly the right, and ought never to feel the inclination, to dictate to others who may differ with them upon the subject: nor do the committee see the expediency of insulting other States, with whom we are maintaining relations of perfect amity, by ascending the moral chair and proclaiming from thence mere abstract principles, of the rectitude of which each nation enjoys the perfect right of deciding for itself.'"

The same committee also alluded to the possibility that the condition of the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, still the possessions of Spain, and still slave-holding, might be made the subject of discussion and of contemplated action by the Panama Congress. They said:

"If ever the United States permit themselves to be associated with these nations in any general Congress assembled for the discussion of common plans, in any way affecting European interests, they will, by such act, not only deprive themselves of the ability they now possess of rendering useful assistance to the other American States, but also produce other effects prejudicial to their interests."

The failure of the Congress of Panama neither dampened the ardor nor crushed the spirit of Americanism, which it was the endeavor of its promoters to instill into the hearts of the inhabitants of this hemisphere. It was Mexico who next moved in the matter; and on the date of March 13, 1831, she invited the American Republics to meet in a new congress, which, however, did not eventuate. Five years later, however, in 1836, Mexico repeated her efforts, offering the following programme:

"The union and close alliance of the new States for the purpose of defence against foreign invasion, the acceptance of friendly mediation of the neutral States for the settlement of all disagreements and disputes of whatever nature which might happen to arise between the sister Republics, and the framing and promulgation of a code of public law regulating their mutual relations."

Further invitations were extended by her in 1839 and 1840. It was not until 1847, however, that the republics of Bolivia, Chile,



Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru decided to carry out the idea; and it was at the first meeting of this congress, at Lima, that the decision to invite the United States was reached. But the scope of the congress — being intended solely to unite the Spanish-speaking republics closer and more intimately with each other — could hardly have admitted of our presence there. Aside from the fact that the meeting at Lima was to deal entirely with Spanish-American interests, the United States were at the time at war with their Mexican neighbors.

The “continental treaty of 1856” was made at Santiago, Chile, by the republics of Peru, Chile, and Ecuador; and the Government of Peru was authorized to communicate with the other Governments and ask them to adhere to its stipulations. The Spanish-speaking nations of the American continent were again invited by Peru to meet in conference at Lima in 1864. This conference was opened on the 14th of November of that year. The United States were not invited. Here again it was Latin-American consolidation that was proposed. In 1880 the Government of Colombia addressed a circular note to the Governments of the other Spanish-American republics based upon Art. 3 of the projected treaty between Colombia and Chile, having for its object a meeting of plenipotentiaries of all the Spanish-American states at Panama, in September, 1881.

This meeting was for the purpose of executing with one another an international treaty or convention similar to the one executed between Colombia and Chile, and which “thus not only established the principles of international representation for the determination of any disputes which may arise between any of the co-signatory states as a part of the public law of this continent, but also provided for the practical obligation of these principles by constituting the President of the United States the permanent arbitrator under the proposed treaty.” The minister of the United States at Bogota, in adverting to this subject, said:

“The correspondence does not disclose the fact that a plenipotentiary from the United States is invited to join in the execution of the proposed treaty or convention. This is probably owing to the reason that the position assigned to the Government of the United States by the proposed treaty is to maintain and exercise a friendly and judicial impartiality in the differences which may arise between the powers of Spanish America.”

The proposed congress of 1881 was not held, war having broken out in South America at about the time fixed for the meeting. On November 29, 1881, Mr. Blaine, then Secretary of State, addressed a circular letter to the United States representatives in the states of

Central and South America soliciting their participation in a general congress to be held in the city of Washington in 1882. Mr. Blaine maintained that a growing disposition had made itself manifest by certain states of Central and South America to refer decisions affecting grave questions of international relations and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword, and that it had been on several occasions the source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country was in a large measure looked to by all the American powers as their friend and mediator. Mr. Blaine stated that it was the wish of the President that the attention of the congress should be strictly confined to one great object, and that its sole aim was to be to seek a way permanently to avert the horrors of cruel and bloody contact between countries. It was made very plain that the United States did not assume the position of counsellor, and that she would not, in any case, attempt, through means of the congress, to settle questions dividing any of the countries of America; nor was it to be the purpose of the United States to prejudge any issues.

International complications in South America here again interfered, and the congress of 1882 was not held, the invitations being withdrawn by Mr. Freylinghuysen; not before, however, numerous acceptances had been received, all couched in the most friendly terms. A potent factor in securing these acceptances was the circumstance that representation was to be accorded to all the nations of America. None was to be excluded, either because of the peculiarity of its form of government, or on account of its superiority in the possession of the elements of power. Moreover, all were to assume the same obligations upon a footing of perfect equality. This fact also, in the opinion of many, gave to the project originated by Mr. Blaine a practical importance which was lacking in earlier conferences. Again, the circumstance that the United States made no specifications and proposed no means for preventing war, but left it open for the congress itself to determine, gave such confidence that the proposition was received practically with enthusiasm. It was believed that even the calling of such a congress had not been without benefit, since the attention of the people of the United States, as well as of the republics of South America, had been directed to the importance of having a definite policy governing their international relations which should be satisfactory to all.

The South American Conference held in Montevideo, in 1888-89,



can hardly be considered as coming within the sphere of purely political conferences. It was, moreover, simply a convention of Spanish-American jurists.

The several attempts since 1880 to obtain legislative action in the United States providing for the holding of an International American Conference, while exceedingly interesting, need receive but a simple reference here. The bill authorizing such a conference was finally passed by both Houses of Congress on May 10, 1888, and was approved on the 24th of the same month. Upon this latter point some historians have unfortunately erred in stating it was announced on May 28 that the bill had become law without the President's approval. An examination of the original archives shows that President Cleveland did sign the act, thus giving it the full force of his approval, and that he did not, as implied by the above statement, hold back the instrument until the constitutional ten days had elapsed, and thus allow it to become law without his sanction. Attention is called to this inaccuracy, which was the more unfortunate as the inference to be deducted therefrom was, naturally, that President Cleveland was not in sympathy with the idea of holding the Conference. Moreover, the fact that his distinguished opponent for presidential honors, Mr. Blaine, had been the author and promoter of the scheme, during a previous and politically antagonistic administration, would lend additional weight to such inference. The official act of President Cleveland in signing the bill entirely disposes of this.

Nothing did more to add lustre to Mr. Blaine's name and fame than his aggressive Americanism. In that he was certainly above party prejudice, and no less so was Mr. Cleveland. Both of our great political parties, when in power, showed a practical sympathy for the "solidarity of the interests of all America." The invitations to the conference were extended by Mr. Bayard to the several Governments of Mexico, Central and South America, Haïti, and San Domingo. The act provided that the President of the United States should set forth that the Congress was called to consider :

(1) Measures that shall tend to preserve and promote the prosperity of the several American states; (2) measures toward the formation of an American customs union, under which the trade of the American nations with one another shall, so far as possible and profitable, be promoted; (3) the establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American states and the ports of one another; (4) the establishment of a uniform system of

customs regulations in each of the independent American states to govern the mode of importation and exportation of merchandise and port dues and charges, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices, and the subject of the sanitation of ships and quarantine; (5) the adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and laws to protect the patent rights, copyrights, and trademarks of citizens of either country in the other, and for the extradition of criminals; (6) the adoption of a common silver coin, to be issued by each Government, the same to be legal tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all of the American states; (7) an agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences, that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented; (8) and to consider such other subjects relating to the welfare of the several states represented as may be presented by any of said states which are hereby invited to participate in said conference.

Wednesday, the second day of October, 1889, was named as the day for the convening of the conference. Later the King of the Hawaiian Islands was invited to send delegates. All the countries accepted the invitation. The congress convened on the date appointed. Mr. Blaine opened the deliberations in a speech of welcome which will always remain a model discourse fitting the subject and occasion. It breathed the spirit of Americanism, and reached its climax when he said that it was "a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing that is not, in the general sense of all the delegates, timely, wise, and useful."

The delegates went enthusiastically to work upon an extensive programme, embracing every question which could possibly, either directly or indirectly, bear upon our hemispherical conditions and relations. Eighteen committees were appointed to deal with the various subjects. Mr. Blaine was chosen President; ex-Senator Henderson, President *pro tempore*; Mr. Zagarra, of Peru, first Vice-President, and Mr. Romero, of Mexico, second Vice-President. The sessions lasted intermittently until April 19, 1890.

International conferences and commissions that frame treaties revolutionize the world. This cannot, however, be said of such as are diplomatic rather than legislative. Those of the former category,



to which the International American Conference of 1890 belonged, nevertheless exert powerful influences which are not always shown in the actual and practical results obtained. Unquestionably, harmony and understanding between the nations of America was secured, and certain things were accomplished which the decade following the meeting of the conference has demonstrated to be of considerably more than sentimental value to all the nations concerned. In the first place, an International Union of American Republics was formed, with an organ in the shape of a bureau at Washington. This has existed for ten years, and its life has been prolonged for a further period of ten years.

The American Monetary Conference was held in Washington in 1891. A survey for an intercontinental railway was made, and there has been compiled a code of commercial nomenclature in the English, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, which is accepted as a standard. Upon other subjects the debate assumed a wide range; and while at times interests clashed, the patriotic intent of the several delegates was never for a moment questioned. Research and investigation were stimulated to a degree never before equalled in a similar undertaking. The forces that were put to work, and the labor enjoined to prepare statistical data for argumentative and other purposes, materially increased the general knowledge upon many subjects of deep concern to statesmanship and commerce — subjects which had to some measure been either neglected or misunderstood for the lack of a proper forum for their full and free discussion. The great question of arbitration formed a theme of eloquent debate, and an agreement was reached, which was recommended for adoption by the several Governments, of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that might exist, or hereafter exist, between them; and there was further recommended a system of arbitration for the settlement of all difficulties between the republics of America and the nations of Europe. The various committees all made reports showing careful investigation and thought, and in such cases where they were not unanimous the dissenting opinions went on record in the form of a minority report. In a word, the conference was a far step toward the integration of America along the lines wished for by Bolivar and Clay, and carried further toward perfection by the genius of Blaine and his associates.

It is not unfair to assume that the commercial gathering in Philadelphia in 1897, known as the Pan-American Commercial Congress,

was a direct result of its political predecessor in 1890. Sixteen countries were represented there either from chambers of commerce or other commercial bodies; while several republics, notably Mexico and Brazil, sent representatives appointed by their chief executives. President McKinley made an address at the opening of that congress. Again, the Pan-American Exposition, to be held in Buffalo in the summer of 1901, is but another link in the chain of events tending to add to the good feeling, mutual regard, and benefit.

After all that has gone before, the congress in the City of Mexico will convene under the most pleasant auspices. Its programme has been so mapped out as to include many of the subjects treated at the previous conference as well as such new ones as may be submitted to it. But, above all, it will be an international occasion of the first importance dedicated to intercontinental friendship, peace, and prosperity. As Mr. Mariscal, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, has aptly said, in reference to it: "Not forgetting that civilization came to us from Europe, and that the great interests of humanity are one, we must confess that in America there are special interests and closer bonds between her inhabitants, with fewer international complications to secure the welfare of her peoples."

It seems peculiarly appropriate that the threshold of the twentieth century should witness renewed activity in conserving these special interests so forcibly pointed out by the distinguished Mexican statesman.

WILLIAMS C. FOX.



## BREAD, AND BREAD-MAKING AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

WHEN asked by the editor of THE FORUM to contribute an article on some interesting feature of the great Exposition of 1900, I appreciated the difficulty of selecting any theme of which the reading public had not already heard. The architecture and paintings, the machinery and manufactured products, the fêtes and midway amusements have all been described. Those things which lie nearest the welfare and happiness of man are often the last to engage our attention, and we know less about bread to-day than we do about faience and fashions.

Nutrition is the first and fundamental need of the race, and bread is the basis of all strength and growth the world over. The term bread is not used here in its general sense, but in that restricted meaning which embraces the products of ground cereals, mixed with water and flavoring or leavening agents, and baked at a temperature which, external to the loaf, at least, is higher than that of boiling water. In our country of plenty, most of all, should be found a knowledge of bread and bread-making; but our attention as a nation has not been given to a scientific and practical study of cooking. The great evils of our time and country are not intemperance, bribery, and trusts, but the frying-pan, bicarbonate of soda, and pie. Even in our best hotels and fashionable restaurants we are not always certain of having good bread, and in other places, not excepting private houses, we are quite likely not to have it.

Bread may be made from any cereal flour, but of all the cereals wheat is particularly the bread maker. I would not go so far as Professor Crookes and insinuate that only wheat eaters are world rulers; but no one who has considered the subject can deny the supereminence in bread-making to wheat flour.

Aside from being good and bad, wheaten bread may be divided into two classes, leavened and unleavened. The unleavened loaf, or cake, is used chiefly in religious ceremonies, and in the form of

biscuits, commonly but very incorrectly known as "crackers." Where bread is to be left for some time or is to be transported to great distances the latter form is desirable, especially when the biscuits are made without the addition of those common mineral substances for which Americans seem to have a veritable passion.

Various methods of aëration have been used in the production of leavened bread, for the making of which only wheaten flour is suitable. The nitrogenous principles of wheat are composed chiefly of glutenin and gliadin, which, under the action of water, unite to form the gluten or tenacious element of dough. This waxy substance is not only highly nutritious; it is also tough and elastic. Particles of gas entangled in it are surrounded by a practically air-tight, but elastic, envelope. When these particles of gas exert a pressure on the envelope the latter expands, and the mass becomes spongy, in proportion to the number, size, and propinquity of these gas particles. Air or carbon dioxid may also be mechanically mixed with wheat dough; and when the mass is subjected to heat, as in an oven or on a stove, these gas particles expand and produce a porous and spongy loaf. But mechanical aëration can only be successfully produced under pressure, and the apparatus is costly. Moreover, mechanically aërated bread seems to lack the flavor and palatability of that produced by fermentation.

It is the function of the yeast cells, by means of certain enzymes which they secrete, to produce a fermentation of the sugar which all wheaten flour contains; and thus carbon dioxid and alcohol are produced. Since this fermentation takes place within the mass of the dough, thousands of small particles of gas and alcohol are produced. These particles of gas, and of liquid which rapidly becomes gas at a high temperature, become entangled in the gluten of the dough and, expanding, produce the leavening effects which are so valuable a quality in the bread made from wheat. On baking, the particles of gas become still more expanded, and they continue to enlarge until the heat of the oven coagulates and fixes the film of gluten so that it no longer expands. The alcohol, which is a liquid that boils below the boiling point of water, also assumes a gaseous state during the baking, and thus adds to the leavening effect.

Bread is also raised by various chemical reagents, known as yeast or baking powders. The principle of the action of all these reagents is the same. The chemical reactions which they undergo produce carbon dioxid, or carbonic acid gas, as it is commonly called.



This reaction takes place in the particles of dough, producing in some respects the same leavening effects which are found as a result of ordinary fermentation. The result of the chemical reaction of these baking powders, however, leaves in the baked bread a mineral residuum, which varies in nature and in degree in accordance with the chemicals employed.

While it is true that people who eat other cereals apparently have good health and are strong, it is also true that the wheat-eating nations, as a rule, take the lead in progress and in accomplishment. I would not go so far as to say that wheat is necessary to individual and national development and progress, but it is doubtless true that by its use, in so far as food is concerned, the best interests of evolution and development are conserved. There is very little evidence, if any, to show that the gluten, the nitrogenous element of wheat, is any more nutritious than zein, the nitrogenous element of corn, or than hordein, the nitrogenous element of barley, or than gliadin, the nitrogenous element of rye. But since by its peculiar properties it makes bread more porous, more palatable, and more attractive, it appeals in a stronger way to the finer digestive feelings. The nutritive value of wheat flour, however, depends largely upon the character of the milling, and the palatability of the loaf upon the character of the baking.

Among all the exhibits of bread and bread-making at the Paris Exposition the one which interested me most was a system of milling and baking combined. This system has a double purpose: (1) to make the flour more palatable and more nutritious than that made by the ordinary roller mill; and (2) to make it immediately before baking, so as to secure for the loaf a flour which is absolutely fresh. It is well known that all food substances when ground to a fine powder have a tendency to become oxidized. As is the case with coffee, which is best when freshly roasted and freshly ground, so it is with cereal flour, which is never so aromatic, so palatable, or so nutritious as at the moment when it is first made.

The Schweitzer system of milling and bread-making secures the two points mentioned above. In Paris a mill and an attached bakery, on a somewhat large scale, illustrated the method which is employed in supplying bread to a populous community. Another installation was a form of apparatus adapted for use on a farm or in a small community. So perfect is the milling system employed that the smallest mill, intended for use on a farm, and driven by the hand,

as a coffee mill would be run, makes flour identical in composition with that made by the largest machine. The Schweitzer system, in regard to the milling operations, is a return to the old system of millstones, with the exception that corrugated steel grinders take the place of the millstones of the olden days. These grinders are so accurately adjusted as to admit of the making of the finest flour, while avoiding actual contact of the two grinding surfaces. The simplicity of the apparatus, its cheapness, and the ease with which it can be installed commend this system particularly for domestic use and for the supply of villages and small communities. Nevertheless, it is capable of being operated on an extensive scale, as is demonstrated by the large establishment at La Villette, Paris, where more than 100,000 pounds of bread are made per day from flour not more than twenty-four hours old.

This system of milling also retains in the flour many of the nutritive elements which the roller system eliminates. The germ and many of the gluten cells, especially those situated near the outside of the grain, in the aleurone layer, become flattened on passing between the rollers, and their particles are not able to pass through the bolting cloths; hence they do not appear in the flour. For this reason the flour made by the roller process is extremely white and very smooth to the touch; its whiteness being due to the preponderance of starch, and its smoothness to the crushing of the starchy particles by the mill rollers. On the other hand, the flour produced by the Schweitzer system has a marked yellow tint and is granular, because the particles composing it have never been crushed, but have been simply separated and torn by the grinding surfaces.

The flour produced by this grinding process contains especially the phosphatic elements of nourishment, which are so abundant in wheat, particularly in the nuclein of the embryo, and which are largely eliminated by the ordinary roller process of milling. This difference in the two flours is beautifully shown by means of skiagraphy, in other words, in actinographs made by the use of the Röntgen rays. If the two kinds of flour be placed side by side on a sensitized plate and subjected to the action of the Röntgen rays, it will be seen that the flour made by the ordinary milling process produces a very faint image, while that made by the Schweitzer system produces a much darker shade. This is due to the fact that the phosphatic elements tend to retard the passage of the Röntgen rays, while the starchy elements permit them to pass with but little obstruction. Chemical analyses



show that the flour made according to the Schweitzer system has more than twice as much phosphatic material as that made by the ordinary roller process. The importance of this fact in respect of nutrition should not be lost sight of, and we must admit that nutrition, not whiteness of color, is the principal object of bread-making.

The use of the bread made according to the Schweitzer system has spread very rapidly in Paris and in other localities where it has been introduced. At first the prejudice of the consumer for the white loaf must be overcome, inasmuch as the bread made from the flour of the Schweitzer system, while not dark in color, has quite a yellowish tint, which at once distinguishes it from ordinary bread. When one eats this bread, however, it is found to be so palatable, so nutritious, and so aromatic that no other kind is desired.

The exhibit of the Schweitzer system at the Exposition also included an installation illustrating the method of supplying fresh bread to the army. This installation consisted of a complete mill on wheels, arranged as an automobile using kerosene as its motive power. There was also an exhibit in which the mills were arranged so as to be drawn by horses or mules. The oven in which the baking takes place was also on wheels. In a word, the whole system is so arranged as to be able to follow the regiment on the march, and to let the soldiers have each day fresh bread made from absolutely fresh flour. For the navy, another exhibit showed the method of setting up mills and ovens on ship board; but this, of course, was much less complicated than the method for supplying the army.

The production of wheat for bread-making, as is well known, is one of the most important agricultural industries of our country. In 1866 the area planted to wheat in the United States was 15,424,496 acres. In 1899 the area planted to wheat was 44,592,516 acres, over half as much as the area planted to Indian corn. The yield of wheat in bushels in 1866 was 151,999,906. In 1899 it was 547,303,846, being the largest crop ever produced, with the exception of that raised in 1898, when the yield per acre was phenomenal, reaching 15.3 bushels. The number of bushels exported in 1899 was 222,694,920; the quantity used for seeding in that year was 55,740,645 bushels, which was at the rate of a bushel and a peck per acre; so that in 1899 the quantity of wheat consumed in breadstuffs, in this country, is represented by 268,868,281 bushels.

This immense quantity of nutritive material had the following average composition, as determined by analyses made in the Chem-

ical Division of the Department of Agriculture. The following table also shows a comparison between the average composition of wheat and that of the other principal cereals used in bread-making :

CONSTITUENTS.	BUCK-					
	BARLEY.	WHEAT.	MAIZE.	OATS.	RYE.	WHEAT.
	GRAMS.					
Weight of 100 kernels.	4.19	3.12	38.98	2.92	2.49	3.87
	PER CENT.					
Moisture.....	10.80	12.15	10.93	10.06	10.62	10.62
Proteids.....	10.69	10.75	9.88	12.15	12.43	12.23
Ether extract.....	2.13	2.11	4.17	4.33	1.65	1.77
Crude fibre.....	4.05	10.75	1.71	12.07	2.09	2.36
Ash.....	2.44	1.89	1.36	3.46	1.92	1.82
Starch and sugars...	69.89	62.35	71.95	57.93	71.29	71.20

The above comparison of the chemical data does not reveal all the differences between the various cereals used for bread-making purposes. In a study of this kind one must consider not only the actual quantity of the chemical substances mentioned, but also the properties and digestibility of each. In so far as the digestive and physical properties are concerned, the constituents of the various cereals are practically of the same nature, with the exception of the proteids.

It is true that the form of the starch granules differs, so that by the aid of a microscope it is possible to distinguish the source of any given starch granule which may be in the field of vision. There are slight differences also in the character of the fats and oils, which are given in the table under the head of "ether extract," but the differences in quantity are greater than those in quality. The ash has essentially the same composition in all of these cereals. In the nitrogenous constituents, however, included under the general term "proteids," the greatest differences are found. Gliadin is found in large quantities in both wheat and rye; but glutenin, which in combination with gliadin, forms the gluten, exists in notable quantities only in wheat. The differences in palatability and in panification, therefore, which are so marked in the various cereals, may be ascribed almost exclusively to the physical properties of the proteid constituents.

From the statistical data given above it is seen that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, we used 268,868,281 bushels of wheat for bread-making purposes. It is true that not all of the wheat specified was used for bread-making, but so nearly all that practically the whole quantity named may be considered as entering into bread. This number of bushels represents 16,132,096,860 pounds. In proper panification the weight of the bread produced is almost identical with



that of the wheat employed, since the waste which occurs in milling, such as the bran, middlings, shorts, etc., is almost identical in weight with the quantity of added water which the finished loaf contains. We may safely say that one hundred pounds of wheat make one hundred pounds of bread. Therefore, the total quantity of wheaten bread used during the year 1899, in the United States, was 16,132,096,860 pounds. The actual cost of this bread, placed upon the table, not to speak of the profits of the bakers, is about three cents per pound; making the total value of the bread consumed in the period of twelve months in the United States \$483,962,905.80.

In view of the enormous economic importance of the bread industry, it is not unreasonable to desire to see the quality of our bread improved. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that scarcely twenty-five per cent of the enormous quantity of bread mentioned above is properly prepared or properly baked. The nutritive properties of the other seventy-five per cent are diminished, its palatability decreased, and its value lessened by improper methods of panification—not to speak of the dyspepsia and the other digestive disorders attending the use of poor bread. In the interest of health, economy, and good living, a reform of our bread-making processes is urgently demanded.

The domestic baking of bread is to be deplored. Bread-making is as much of an art as tailoring; and we have as much right to bread made by experts as we have to coats and gowns fashioned by tailors. In fact a “ready made” suit keeps you warm even if its fit is not faultless; but bread badly made has not a leg on which to stand. An earnest effort should be made to relegate domestic bread-making to the past, and to institute in every community bakeries under competent control, offering the best bread at the lowest prices.

H. W. WILEY.

## FOUR LEGS INSTEAD OF TWO.

It is a presumptuous, even dangerous, thing, for a layman to write on a professional subject. My only excuse for being guilty of this presumption is that my views are endorsed by the highest professional authority,<sup>1</sup> and because a thing so obvious has thus far seemingly escaped the serious attention of professional writers. Its discussion is so important that an amateur may be pardoned for forcing attention upon it.

The war in South Africa — the first war fought under modern conditions, with both armies equipped with the latest and most improved weapons both great and small, with all the recent devices of science at hand for the expeditious and convenient slaughtering of man — has made evident two things of the highest value from a military standpoint. Other things being equal, these are, (1) that the army of the greatest mobility will inevitably be victorious; (2) that to secure the highest degree of mobility the foot soldier must cease to exist.

It is curious to a layman to notice the sudden discovery made by military men and military writers of the destructive effects and precision of modern firearms. To judge from the expressions of many military writers since the outbreak of the war, the fact that a rifle bullet kills at a distance of a mile came as a revelation, and that field artillery is effective at four miles seems not to have been suspected. The destructiveness of the modern arm, rifle or cannon, may have been a surprise to the general public, whose knowledge of firearms is, as a rule, limited to sporting rifles; but surely it should not have been a surprise to military men, who, theoretically at least, were supposed to know the range and penetrative effects of the military

<sup>1</sup>I find the article, "Four Legs Instead of Two," very interesting, and deserving of thoughtful, serious attention by all who are interested in the rapidly changing conditions under which modern battles are being fought.

While I should qualify, in a measure, some of the generalizations, I believe the conclusions as to the importance of mobility are in the main true and borne out by recent experience. The question of time — "getting there first" — rather than the matter of numbers has increased immensely in importance of late years.

NELSON A. MILES,  
Lieutenant-General United States Army.



weapon. During the last few months columns, pages, books even, have been written of the effect of small-arm fire and its power to annihilate an opposing force, and all as if never a thought had been given to the subject. But the real lesson of the war—mobility and how to secure it—has been alluded to in the most cursory way only.

It was not until two years ago that the world was given a practical illustration of the range and effect of the modern military rifle. In our war with Spain we saw what modern small-arm fire meant. It was the lesson learned at once by our commanders—our generals as well as our company officers. Men who had served through the Civil War, when by falling back 500 yards they were outside the fire zone, learned at El Caney and San Juan and in the trenches in front of Santiago that on the modern battlefield there is no place of safety. Within the radius of action there is no security; and, owing to the small-calibre bullet's velocity, penetrative power, and flat trajectory, the reserves are in almost as much danger as the men on the firing line. The men who were striplings in 1861 and veterans in 1898 quickly learned the difference in conditions, and it was a lesson they did not forget.

Another thing was learned. Despite the accuracy of modern fire, the attention which has been paid to the training of men at the butts, and the generally prevalent belief in the American army that the American infantryman has no superior as a sharpshooter in any army, it was found that in 1898, as in 1861, it took a thousand bullets to kill a man. The destructiveness of modern rifle-fire has not been exaggerated by the writers; but the ability of the military marksman to kill his individual foe at a distance, say, of 1,000 yards has not only been grossly exaggerated, but has been made ridiculous. The truth of this assertion can be demonstrated, I believe, both mathematically and by the returns of the casualties of every engagement; but to go into that now would be foreign to the purpose I have in view.

Modern warfare partakes of the general conditions of modern life, and the dominant spirit of the age is to do what has to be done with the least possible delay and the least possible expenditure of force. In the days of the past, when an investing army could calmly sit down before a city and wait for seven years until its garrison was ready to capitulate, time was not a factor. To-day time is the greatest factor. Modern weapons give the defensive a tremendous advantage over the offensive, an advantage so great that some experts have

asserted that the attacking force must be ten times stronger than the defending to be successful. This being the case, it follows that the commander who can choose his own position and who has time to entrench himself before he is attacked can, as a rule, beat off his assailant. Because a bayonet charge is obsolete, because works cannot be carried by storm as they used to be, because the picturesque and dashing cavalry charge will no longer afford a theme for the painter or poet, it follows that the only way by which a position can be carried, unless the attacking force is in overwhelming numbers, is by a series of flanking movements; and the success of the flanking movement will depend upon the mobility of the assailant, who, while making his attack on one or both flanks in force, must make a feint in front which must have all the appearance of an attack in force.

The foot-soldier is an anachronism, as archaic as the man-at-arms with his halberd or the archer with his cloth-yard shaft. The modern foot-soldier is not only a fighting machine, he is also a beast of burden; and no man can be both with success. The American infantryman equipped for war is weighted down with rifle, bayonet, ammunition, clothing, shelter tent, water-bottle, and haversack, in all some sixty pounds in weight. It is a common belief that a soldier is so strong and hardy that he does not feel his burden; that he can march ten or fifteen miles with sixty pounds about his body and not mind it; that like the well-trained athlete, who thrives under violent exercise, he enjoys having to transport all this paraphernalia. Now, as a matter of fact, that is the one thing of all others which the soldier despises. He doesn't mind the fighting; he can put up with heat or cold; and although he may growl when his rations are short he accepts that as part of the day's work; but to turn himself into a porter, to be a coolie and the bearer of burdens, is the thing he abominates.

There is nothing more depressing to the spirits, nothing more devitalizing, nothing which makes a greater drain on a man than a march. There is nothing picturesque, nothing exhilarating, nothing to break the horrible monotony of this seemingly interminable plodding through baking dust or clogged mud or chilling snow. All the color of war has gone. There are no bands to make men forget their fatigue, no waving plumes and fluttering flags to excite the imagination, no spectators to stimulate pride, there is no scenery even. War is now a monochrome: every one dresses the same, khaki loses its semblance of color and takes on the color of the dirt or mud of the country through which the army marches, and no man sees more than



the man in front of him or the man on each side of him. Hour after hour this goes on ; rifles become heavier, ammunition-belts chafe more gallingly, haversacks and water-bottles strike in a tender spot, shoes get filled with grit which makes each step an agony. If after a long march men are thrown into action they have lost their vim and their power of resistance ; and it is only by sheer nerve that they are able to stand up to the rack. Nine times out of ten infantry are sent into action with their nerves unstrung, simply because they have been broken down by the strain which has been put upon them. To get the best results out of men they should go into action in a perfect physical condition ; but they are generally weakened by the drain made upon them.

The remedy for this, a remedy which will not only increase the actual physical strength of an army but will also give it that mobility which is all-essential, is to give each man his own means of transport, that is, to mount him. The armies of the future will be armies of mounted infantry. It must be understood that I clearly differentiate between mounted infantry and cavalry. The infantry will still be infantry, although they are mounted ; and the sole object in mounting them will be to provide them with a means of transport and will enable them to cover the ground more rapidly, and relieve them of the necessity of being their own beasts of burden. Instead of carrying sixty pounds about their persons this weight will be carried by their horses. Instead of making, say, ten miles a day with great fatigue, great bodily discomfort, great depression of spirits, they will be able to make from two to three times that distance, and at the end of a march they will be as fit as when they started. The mounted infantryman will not be a cavalryman in any sense of the word. He will be armed as he now is with a rifle ; he will be trained as he now is to fight on foot ; the infantry tactics will be the only tactics he knows ; but he will be conveyed instead of being a conveyor.

A regiment of a thousand men will march on their horses until such time as it becomes necessary to go into action. When the regiment deploys, one man in every five will be detailed to look after the horses. This is an initial loss of 20 per cent of the fighting force of the regiment, and the regiment is thereby weakened to that extent. Nominally, its effectiveness is reduced ; in practice, however, I venture the assertion that a regiment of eight hundred men which has been brought to the scene of action mounted will be more than a match for a thousand men who have marched one, two, or three days, or an equal

number of weeks. The men on horseback will have conserved their strength; the men on foot will have dissipated it. But the 20 per cent of the regiment in reserve with the horses will not be lost. There will be men wounded, useless on the firing line, but able to take care of the horses, men who can release an equal number of reservists; and this constant accession of fresh men during the progress of a battle will be valuable. Napoleon taught the value of throwing fresh troops into action, men whose strength had not been broken down by the strain of battle, and who on more than one occasion made victory possible.

So far the object of mounting infantry has been considered simply with the view of affording transport; but there is another end in view equally as important to be considered. A mobile force must be a mounted force, and mobility is the all-important thing in modern warfare. Owing to the ever-increasing range of projectiles, the theatre of action must occupy a wide area, and a "front" will extend for

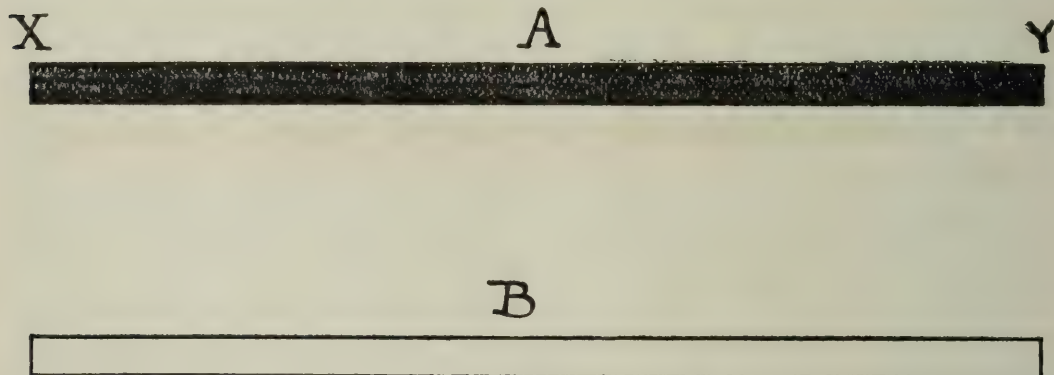


FIG. 1.

miles. In his earlier attempts to relieve Ladysmith General Buller had his troops extended twenty-five miles along the Tugela; and undoubtedly his inability to concentrate his troops at the weakest point in the enemy's lines made the attempt a failure. Had he been able to do this, had he been able to throw an overpowering force on the Boers where their defence was weak, it is a reasonable supposition that he would have been successful. But that was impossible, owing to the immobility of his army as opposed to the extreme mobility of the Boers. While Buller could move his men over the field at foot speed only, the Boers could move as fast as their horses could gallop. This power of rapid concentration increased their radius of action so enormously that their deficiency in numbers more than counter-balanced the strength of their opponents, perhaps even to the extent of five to one.

The diagram above (Fig. 1) will, I think, make this plain to



the non-military reader. A represents the entrenched defending force with a front twenty-five miles between the points X and Y. B represents the attacking force, with an equal frontal length; the distance between the two armies being five miles. If the intervening space is open ground, with no cover, no commander versed in modern tactics would dare to send his troops forward to storm A's trenches. Bloch lays down the dictum that a decisive victory can only be gained by a turning movement. B would attempt to render A's trenches untenable by gun-fire; but the striking thing about modern gun-fire is that while it makes a great deal of noise, its destructive effect against entrenched troops is not so great as to destroy their position. The newspaper reports show that during the siege of Ladysmith 12,000 shells—an average of three tons of explosives daily—were

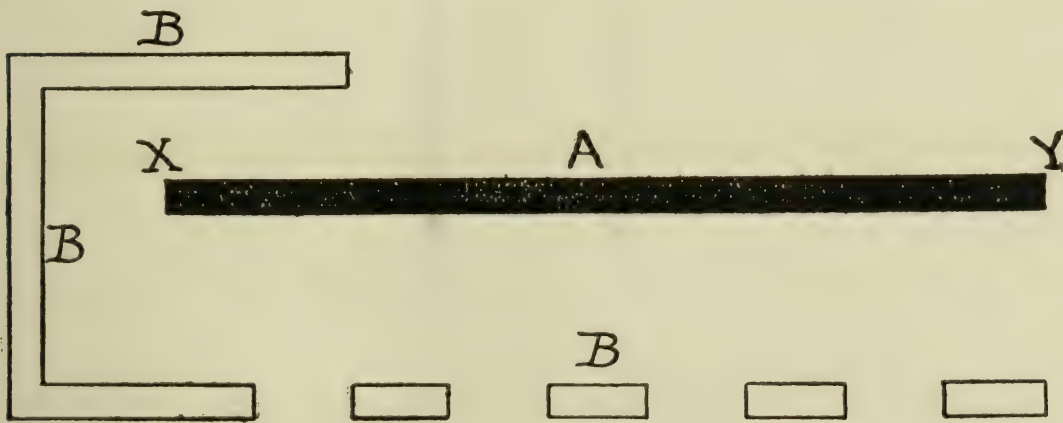


FIG. 2.

thrown into the town; yet only 35 men were killed and 188 wounded, and the damage to property was trivial. In Kimberley the bombardment was equally ineffective. Cronje, bombarded for ten days with lyddite, lost only 80 killed by shell fire. Compare this with Buller's loss of 1,100 men at the Tugela, and it will be seen that the chief reliance in the future as in the past must be on the rifle.

A frontal attack being impossible unless the assailant has an overwhelming superiority of numbers and is prepared to make great sacrifices, the only possibility of success is to make a flank movement. The flank X offering the easiest point of attack, the position would develop itself as shown in Figure 2. But a proper flanking movement, scientifically conducted, is not, as so many uninformed writers in the daily press describing operations in South Africa have assumed, the change of a body of troops from one position to another.

If B should withdraw his troops from the front of A and attempt to attack at X, A would execute a similar movement and B would find himself facing a new front (Fig. 3), assuming, of course, that A's troops were possessed of mobility equal to that of B. The only way in which B can turn A's position is by making a feint attack in front, availing himself of cover as much as possible to prevent a useless loss of life, and throwing all the troops he can spare to attack at X (Fig. 2).

The success of this movement will depend on the mobility of B's troops; and the chances are in his favor, because the defenders will

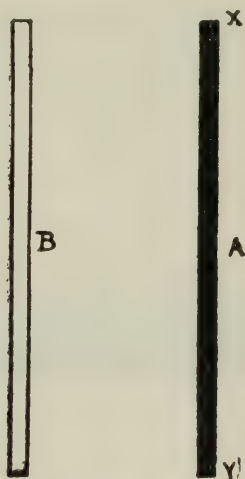


FIG. 3.

be uncertain as to the exact point of attack, and if they weaken their front, B's frontal attack from a feint develops into a real attack and A's line is in danger of being broken, while, as the point X is the weakest spot in the line of defence, B's force, if sufficiently large, can break through the flank. It will be seen from this, which is scientifically and theoretically correct and in accord with the best writers on modern tactics, that the success of the movement depends upon the speed with which it is accomplished. It would be practically impossible for B to out-manceuvre his opponent with infantry only; with mounted infantry he could do it.

Tactics will be one of the prime factors on land as it is now on the sea. The substitution of steam for sails gives to the commander whose vessel can make an extra knot over that of his opponent, batteries of both being equal, the advantage of position, of electing whether to fire or to compel his adversary to open fire — everything, in fact, that is gained from mobility. The days of Nelson and Paul Jones, when guns were fired through the enemy's ports, when ships



lay alongside one another and grappled in deadly embrace, and pike and cutlass were the last resort of brave men, are gone with the bayonet charge and the square. The value of speed and manoeuvring qualities on the sea has been recognized since the ironclad superseded wooden walls, but the essential importance of similar qualities on land is only now at this late day coming to be recognized.

It took the English four months to learn the lesson of mobility and to comprehend that men on foot were no match against men on horseback. When the lesson was learned the tide of defeat was turned into victory. Gen. French's flying column of mounted men marched ninety miles under a tropical sun in a little over four days, fought two minor engagements, forced Cronje hastily to retire from Kimberley and later surrender, and so weakened Joubert in front of Ladysmith that Buller was able to raise the siege. The success of the movement was due entirely to the rapidity with which it was executed and the way in which the enemy was surprised, and only a mobile force could have accomplished this. A slow-moving, immobile force of infantry, necessarily taking longer to traverse an exterior line of communication than was taken by the Boers on interior lines, might have crushed the enemy by sheer weight of numbers, but it would have been a more costly operation.

The value of mounted infantry against an extremely mobile force was discovered by General Miles more than a score of years ago. In his Indian campaigns, when he commanded the Fifth Infantry, General Miles mounted one battalion under command of Captain Snyder; and those mounted infantry were the terror of the redskins. Native ponies were used which had the speed and endurance of the horses of the hostiles; our men rode as light and were able to stand as much fatigue as the enemy, and the consequence was that the one thing which the Indians feared and dreaded — the one thing against which their cunning availed nothing, which disarranged their calculations — was this battalion of mounted men, which covered ground with such amazing rapidity that it could be at one point in the morning and at another point forty miles distant that same night. It was the first time the white man had shown a mobility equal to that of his foe, and it demoralized the latter as thoroughly as Cronje was demoralized when Methuen's inert troops gave way to French's flying column of rushing, dashing, mounted men, when the genius of Roberts and Kitchener created a mobile force possessed of greater power of mobility than that of their enemy.

Thus far I have dealt only with the mobility of the unit, the regiment, but it is evident that the whole system of the movement of armies operating in an enemy's territory must be changed to give the column that degree of mobility and flexibility so necessary under the new conditions of warfare. An army corps, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, transport wagons and ammunition columns, ambulances and workshops, is a huge, unwieldy mass stretching for miles. It is scientifically wrong because it combines units of different speeds, the rate of progression, of course, being determined by the slowest and not the fastest unit. The whole column is liable to break down at any moment because of the well-established principle in mechanics that no chain is stronger than its weakest link. The weakest link in every army is its transport, and as the army must depend on its transport, since every army lives on its belly, no army operating in unfriendly territory dares to push far ahead of its supplies. Buller in his advance to the Tugela, according to a newspaper report, had a transport train five miles in length. Had the Boers possessed force enough they might have cut into the train a dozen times, causing Buller serious annoyance, if not rendering his position untenable.

It has seemed to the writer that instead of an army corps advancing as a conglomerated whole it should be divided, wherever possible, into compact divisions, each complete in itself, the various divisions advancing on parallel lines and keeping in touch with one another on their flanks. This, of course, will not be possible in all cases, but it will be frequently practicable, and the advantages over the present formation are many. With the infantry mounted, the three arms of the service, infantry, cavalry, and artillery — and of course all artillery will be horse artillery in the future — will be able to maintain a uniform rate of speed, able at any time, in case of an unexpected attack on one of the divisions, to reinforce it and to make the succor doubly strong by engaging the enemy on the flank. The present wagons used by the transport service of all armies are too cumbersome, in keeping with the slow movements of infantry, but out of place if expected to keep pace with mounted men. A few heavy wagons would still have to be retained for the transportation of divisional hospitals and other purposes; but the real work of the transport should be done by light but strongly built carts, as mobile as every other part of the scientifically constituted army. With a transport system organized on this basis, it would be rare indeed that



men would not be properly and promptly rationed, or that there would be any danger of a scarcity of ammunition at a critical moment.

The use of mounted infantry will reduce the cavalry arm. As cavalry charges are now obsolete, the only use for cavalry will be as the eyes and ears of an army, to reconnoitre and do reconnaissance duty. But such duties can be more properly performed by scouts trained for that purpose. There will be attached to every division a corps of what may be termed "military detectives," men peculiarly adapted by training and natural qualifications to spy out the enemy, and whose functions will be to obtain information, not to fight. The purely military duties of cavalry will be performed by the mounted infantry. Bloch holds that with infantry on foot after a battle the victors are not in a position to pursue, and that the retreating force can fall back on new positions a few miles to the rear and entrench themselves. But with the infantry mounted the enemy could be so vigorously pursued that they would be demoralized and unable to entrench themselves, and an engagement would have decisive results.

General Roberts to some extent adapted himself to the new conditions. General Joubert divided his army into small commandos, and the British commanders were compelled to send their troops against the Boers held in reserve who had not been fatigued by fighting. General Roberts, in a measure, turned his divisions into commandos, each with its own transport and artillery, each effectively mobile. With a flying column of mounted men capable of cutting into the enemy and throwing it into confusion, he had a force able to out-manceuvre and out-pace the Boers. Thus, the advantage of mobility, which since the outbreak of the war had been with the Dutch, was suddenly transferred, and the possession of superior mobility led to the first decisive British success — the defeat of Cronje.

The advantages of mobility are, I think, so apparent that they need not be further discussed; but undoubtedly military objections will be raised, and I imagine the objections will be (1) the added cost of armies by mounting their infantry; (2) the impossibility of horses operating in broken and mountainous country like northern Natal; (3) the difficulties of the transportation of horses to the scene of operations, especially if the horses have to be transported over sea; (4) the increase of the length of the column caused by the room taken up by the horses; (5) the multiplication of carts and of the drivers by using two light carts instead of one large wagon.

My answer to these objections is that cost must not be consid-

ered. War is a costly luxury at any time, and a nation indulging in that luxury must expect to pay for it. Broadly speaking, where a man can go so can a horse. When a battle is fought above the clouds possibly there will be no footing for horses; but in those rare instances the infantry will be dismounted sooner than they would be if the action were on level ground. It is to be remembered, however, that the horses are simply the transport; and if the troops have been carried five or fifty miles instead of having marched that distance, they have to that extent conserved their energy and are in better condition to fight. The difficulties of transport need not be considered. Transport is simply a question of money. If a nation has not the money to pay for transports or is unable to secure them it must not go to war. Admitting that the length of the column will be increased by the mounted troops the mobility will more than offset this. Two light carts, it is true, will occupy more linear space than one large wagon; but the distance travelled in a given period by the two carts will be so infinitely greater than that travelled by the large wagon, the two light carts will be so incomparably easier to handle, and the results will in all respects be so much superior to those of the present system, that the longer train of light carts will be as satisfactory as the heavy lumbering wagons now in use are unsatisfactory.

A. MAURICE LOW.



## THE UNITED STATES AND THE AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION COMPARED.

DID any one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States of America ever picture to himself what the glories of the great republic would become? Did any one of them imagine that a century from then there would be in the republic about seventy millions of people possessing the material, moral, and intellectual advantages that the citizens of the States now possess? In the wildest flights of the most imaginative, was Spain ever seen at the feet of the States, and were Cuba and the Philippines ever seen annexed? Beyond all, did Hamilton, Madison, Jay, or any of the Federalists think that Great Britain would ever grant to great colonies in Asia a constitution framed on the American model, or that a British Parliament would ever be seen taking part freely and with enthusiasm in setting up a great federation in Southern Asia?

Who is fit to be a prophet? Who of the sons of men can lift the veil that shrouds the future from us? Do we now realize

“ The vast republics that may grow,  
The federations and the powers,  
Titanic forces taking birth  
In divers seasons, divers climes ” ?

Thoughts like these must arise in our minds if we consider what is happening in Australia. There are many parallelisms and many contrasts between the United States of America and the coming United States of Asia. May I be permitted to say that Americans do not yet recognize the greatness of our southern Asiatic colonies? Several able, educated, and intelligent Americans who have visited New Zealand have not been able to realize the present greatness or the future possibilities of Australasia. And if these travelled Americans have not appreciated our possibilities, what shall be said of the mass of American citizens? Let me quote some figures that may be of interest to our kin beyond the Pacific.

The United States is a big country, but in mere bigness we need not shrink from a comparison. Leaving out Alaska and the Phil-

ippines, it is said that there are 3,025,600 square miles of territory under the Stars and Stripes. The colonies named in the Australasian Commonwealth Bill have 3,077,374 square miles — a greater area. When the United States became a nation there was an estimated white population of 3,500,000. The census of 1790 gave 3,929,214, with 757,206 of these colored. In Australia there will be at the close of this year about 4,750,000 whites. Australia has also greatly developed in agriculture and mining. She has about 100,000,000 sheep, 12,000,000 cattle, 2,000,000 horses, and 1,000,000 pigs; and her present mineral production per annum is equal to about £19,500,000. The governmental expenditure is about £32,000,000, or, say, \$153,600,000, a year. There are 14,500 miles of railway which have been constructed at the cost of about \$657,600,000, and all these railways are owned by the state governments. Yet, only the fringe of the continent of Australia has been settled, and that sparsely. As to its future development, who can predict? May it not in a hundred years have a population of fifty millions?

How is this vast territory to be governed? It remains part of the Empire of Great Britain, but it will be seen that there have been bestowed on its people the most ample powers of governing themselves. The kingly power in Australia is less than the President's power in the United States. Practically, the kingly power is a mere name. It has no actuality. This will be seen if the provisions of the constitution of the Commonwealth and of the different states or colonies are considered.

The Commonwealth Act provides for the following colonies being states: New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, Tasmania, Victoria, Western Australia, and South Australia—in fact, all Australasia. All the colonies but New Zealand have given their adhesion to the federation. New Zealand is separated from Australia by 1,200 miles of the Tasman sea, and politically it is not at present in touch with its continental neighbors.

The first contrast between the United States of Australia and the United States of America is the want of power in the Executive under the Commonwealth Act. Practically, the Parliament of the Commonwealth in its limited legislative sphere is supreme. It is true there is a veto power in the Governor-General; but there is what is called in England and her Colonies “responsible government,” and the Governor-General must act, even in vetoing a bill, as he is advised by the ministers. If the Queen's prerogative or Imperial inter-



ests are affected, then he will reserve the bill for the pleasure of the Queen. His ministers or advisers are practically the select committee of the House of Representatives. Although the Senate will have a vetoing power in legislation, that power will be of a very limited character.

To show the rarity of a veto being exercised by an executive I may state that since New Zealand has had responsible government (1854) no bill passed by Parliament has been vetoed by the Governor. Other Colonies have the same record, so the veto power is practically obsolete. A few bills reserved for the pleasure of the Queen because they were deemed to affect Imperial interests, such as divorce and bills providing for succession to property, have at times been vetoed, and their passing has been thus delayed for a brief time. But it is now a rare thing for the Imperial Government to interfere with the decisions of a Colonial Parliament. The kingly power of the President of the United States is very much in evidence. And this has been recognized by Americans. See, for example, "The Abolition of the Presidency," by Henry C. Lockwood, and the opinions of Americans cited by him.

In the United States Constitution there are three coördinate powers — the President or Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary. Under the Commonwealth, on the other hand, there are practically two powers, the Legislature and the Supreme Federal Court; but the Legislature looms the larger in the Act. The first contrast may be taken between the powers of the Legislature in the two Federations.

In the United States Constitution, Section 8 of Article I, coupled with Article X of the amendments, may be said to define the relative legislative powers of the Congress of the Federal Parliament and that of the State Legislatures. The words of Section 8 are more general than in the Australian Commonwealth Act: the very enumeration of subjects in the Commonwealth Act limits the powers of the Legislature. To bring the contrast before my readers I shall enumerate them. Section 8 reads:

The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;
5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;
6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;
7. To establish post-offices and post-roads ;
8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;
9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;
10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations ;
11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;
12. To raise and support armies ; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;
13. To provide and maintain a navy ;
14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;
15. To provide for the calling forth of the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;
16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States ; reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;
17. To exercise legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States ; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased, by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same may be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings ; and
18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof.

The Commonwealth Act gives power to the Parliament to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to (1) trade and commerce with other countries and among the states ; (2) taxation, but so as not to discriminate between states or parts of states ; (3) bounties on the production or export of goods, but so that such bounties be uniform throughout the Commonwealth ; (4) borrowing money on the public credit of the Commonwealth ; (5) postal, telegraphic, telephone, and other like services ; (6) the naval and military defence of the Commonwealth and of the several states, and the control of the forces to execute and maintain the laws of the Commonwealth ; (7) lighthouses, lightships, beacons, and buoys ; (8) astronomical and meteorological observations ; (9) quarantine ; (10) fisheries in Australian waters beyond the territorial limits ; (11) census and statistics ; (12) currency, coinage, and legal tender ; (13) banking, other than state banking ; also state banking



extending beyond the limits of the state concerned, the incorporation of banks and the issue of paper money; (14) insurance other than state insurance; also state insurance extending beyond the limits of the state concerned; (15) weights and measures; (16) bills of exchange and promissory notes; (17) bankruptcy and insolvency; (18) copyrights, patents of inventions, and designs and trade marks; (19) naturalization and aliens; (20) foreign corporations, and trading or financial corporations formed within the limits of the Commonwealth; (21) marriage; (22) divorce and matrimonial causes, and, in relation thereto, parental rights, and the custody and guardianship of infants; (23) invalid and old age pensions; (24) the service and execution throughout the Commonwealth of the civil and criminal process and the judgments of the courts of the state; (25) the recognition throughout the Commonwealth of the laws, the public acts and records, and the judicial proceedings of the states; (26) the people of any race other than the aboriginal race in any state for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws; (27) immigration and emigration; (28) the influx of criminals; (29) external affairs; (30) the relations of the Commonwealth with the islands of the Pacific; (31) the acquisition of property on just terms from any state or person for any purpose in respect of which the Parliament has power to make laws; (32) the control of railways with respect to transport for the naval and military purposes of the Commonwealth; (33) the acquisition, with the consent of a state, of any railway of the state on terms arranged between the Commonwealth and the state; (34) railway construction and extension in any state with the consent of that state; (35) conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of disputes (industrial) extending beyond the limits of any one state; (36) matters in respect of which this Constitution makes provision until the Parliament otherwise provides; (37) matters referred to the Parliament of the Commonwealth by the Parliament or Parliaments of any state or states, but so that the law shall extend only to states by whose Parliaments the matter is referred or which afterwards adopt the law; (38) the exercise within the Commonwealth, at the request or with the concurrence of all the states directly concerned, of any power which, at the establishment of this Constitution, can be exercised only by the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by the Federal Council of Australia; (39) matters incidental to the execution of any power vested by this Constitution in the Parliament or in either house

thereof, or in the government of the Commonwealth, or in the Federal Judicature, or in any department or officer of the Commonwealth; (40) the seat of government, and all places acquired by the Commonwealth for public purposes; (41) matters relating to any department of the public service the control of which is by the Constitution transferred to the Executive Government of the Commonwealth; (42) other matters declared by this Constitution to be within the exclusive power of Parliament.

It is not necessary to discuss the meaning of Article X, or perhaps I may say Articles IX and X, of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, for they must, I take it, be read together. They are:

“ARTICLE IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

“ARTICLE X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

Pomeroy says of them (“Constitutional Law”):

“The former recognizes the people as the one source of all power, as they could not retain what they were not before possessed of; the latter speaks of some powers which had not been conferred by the people on its general Government, as allotted to the State. The former points out the giver; the latter, the recipients.”

The great contrast then is this: The Constitution of the Australasian Federation does not attempt to touch the rights of the states save and except where expressly mentioned. The present complete powers of administration and legislation vested in the states are left untouched except regarding the subjects I have mentioned. The waste lands of the Commonwealth are left as state property: in America the lands belong to the Federal Government. The remarks I have quoted from Pomeroy are inapplicable to the Australasian Federation. The Commonwealth Act has attempted to have a real Federation, not a Unitary Government.

So far as the Judiciary is concerned the Commonwealth Act provides:

“The judicial powers of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Federal Supreme Court, to be called the High Court of Australia, and in such other Federal Courts as the Parliament creates, and in such other Courts as it invests with Federal jurisdiction. The High Court shall consist of a Chief Justice, and so many other Justices not less than two as the Parliament prescribes.

“It has an appellate jurisdiction to hear appeals from (a) any justice or justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the High Court; (b) any



other Federal Court or Courts exercising Federal jurisdiction, or from the Supreme Court of any State, or of any other Court of any State from which at the establishment of the Commonwealth an appeal lies to the Queen in Council ; (c) from the Inter-State Commission."

Article III of the United States Constitution provides :

"SECTION 2. (a) The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls ; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; to controversies between two or more States ; between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

" (b) In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

It will be seen from a perusal of these different provisions that the High Court of Australia has if anything even more ample powers than the Supreme Court of the United States, for it is the Court of Appeal from all Supreme Courts in the states.

The bicameral system of legislature is the system of both Federations. In Australia there are six senators from each State ; in the United States there are two. The mode of choice of senators is different. In the United States they are chosen by the legislatures of the States ; in Australia they are chosen directly by the people of the state. Both are chosen for six years.

The Houses of Representatives in both nations are chosen directly by the people of the states. The number in Australia is to be as nearly as possible double the number of senators, and the proportion to each state is fixed by the population — " shall be in proportion to the respective number of their people." If there is a remainder in a state greater than one-half of the quota an extra member is given. No state, however, is to have less than five members of the House of Representatives. In America the basis is population, though the mode of arriving at the quota is more complicated. (See Sec. 2, Art 1.) The Australasian Senate chooses its own President, the Vice-President of America is the President of the Senate.

The Senate has an initiative, so far as legislation is concerned, in all matters save laws appropriating revenue or moneys or imposing taxation, and the Senate cannot amend bills dealing with such subjects. These provisions are similar to those respecting other senates

or second chambers in the colonies, and the result will be the same. The House of Representatives will be the dominant chamber, and the Senate will become a mere revising chamber. Nearly all the members of the ministry will belong to the House, not to the Senate, and the powers which are possessed by the Senate of the United States will be absent.

In event of a conflict between the two chambers as to any proposed legislation there is the following provision :

“ If the House of Representatives passes any proposed law, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree, and if after an interval of three months the House of Representatives, in the same or the next session, again passes the proposed law with or without any amendments which have been made, suggested, or agreed to by the Senate, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree, the Governor-General may dissolve the Senate and the House of Representatives simultaneously. But such dissolution shall not take place within six months before the date of expiration of the House of Representatives by effluxion of time.

“ If after such dissolution the House of Representatives again passes the proposed law with or without any amendments which have been made, suggested, or agreed to by the Senate, and the Senate rejects or fails to pass it, or passes it with amendments to which the House of Representatives will not agree the Governor-General may convene a joint sitting of the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives.

“ The members present at the joint sitting may deliberate and shall vote together upon the proposed law as last proposed by the House of Representatives, and upon amendments, if any, which have been made therein by one House and not agreed to by the other, and any such amendments which are affirmed by an absolute majority of the total number of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be taken to have been carried, and if the proposed law, with the amendments, if any, so carried is affirmed by an absolute majority of the total number of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives, it shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of the Parliament, and shall be presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent.”

The mode of amending the Constitution is worthy of notice, for that, as Pomeroy points out, is the test of sovereignty. The Australasian mode is as follows :

“ This Constitution shall not be altered except in the following manner : The proposed law for the alteration thereof must be passed by an absolute majority of each House of the Parliament, and not less than two nor more than six months after its passage through both Houses the proposed law shall be submitted in each State to the electors qualified to vote for the election of members of the House of Representatives.

But if either House passes any such proposed law by an absolute majority, and the other House rejects or fails to pass it or passes it with any amendment to which the first-mentioned House will not agree, and if after an interval of three months the first mentioned House in the same or the next session again passes the proposed law by an absolute majority with or without any amendment which has been made or agreed to by the other House, and such other House rejects or fails to pass it or passes it with any amend-



ment to which the first-mentioned House will not agree, the Governor-General may submit the proposed law as last proposed by the first-mentioned House, to the electors in each State qualified to vote for the election of the House of Representatives.

"When a proposed law is submitted to the electors the vote shall be taken in such manner as the Parliament prescribes. But until the qualification of electors of members of the House of Representatives becomes uniform throughout the Commonwealth, only one-half the electors voting for and against the proposed law shall be counted in any State in which adult suffrage prevails.

"And if in a majority of the States a majority of the electors voting approve the proposed law, and if a majority of all the electors voting also approve the proposed law, it shall be presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent.

"No alteration diminishing the proportionate representation of any State in either House of Parliament or the minimum number of representatives of a State in the House of Representatives, or increasing, diminishing, or otherwise altering the limits of the State, or in any manner affecting the provisions of the Constitution in relation thereto, shall become law unless the majority of the electors voting in that State approve the proposed law."

Article V of the American Constitution is as follows :

"1. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution ; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

In order to deal with trade and commerce between states and with laws regarding trade and commerce there is to be an Inter-State Commission. Its members are to be appointed for seven years by the Governor-General, and are not to be removable from office save on an address to both Houses passed in one session. This Commission will no doubt be required during the first few years of the Commonwealth's history. The railways belong to the states, and with differing customs duties for the first two years, there may be some friction in inter-state trade and commerce. But when the Commonwealth becomes accustomed to its work, a Minister of Commerce will no doubt be able to perform the duties cast upon the Inter-State Commission.

From these parallels and contrasts it will be seen how the framework of the Constitution of the United States has helped the Australasian statesmen who drafted the Commonwealth Act. And on the first of January next the Australasian Commonwealth will be duly

proclaimed and a new nation will have been born. Already the Governor-General has been chosen, and preparations are now being made to hold the elections and to have everything ready for the new government.

A careful analysis of the two constitutions will show that the Australasian is the more democratic. The people will be more in touch with their Parliament, and the Parliament will feel the power of public opinion more. Whether that will or will not conduce to the stability and progress of the new nation remains to be seen. With education diffused, with a reading people, and with no great race question such as has affected and must yet affect the American Republic, the hopes of democrats as to the future of the Commonwealth are high. If it fails, then democracy must be said to be unsuited to a people who are mainly of British descent. The foreign element is exceedingly small. The total number of foreign born, that is, citizens of countries other than British, in New Zealand — which may be said to be typical of the other Colonies — is two and a half per cent. From 1849 to 1899 only 7,199 foreigners were naturalized in New South Wales, and of these 3,563 were Germans.

The Commonwealth has practically all the powers of self-government possessed by the United States. The main links with the mother country are (1) the appointment of the Governor-General by the Queen, and (2) in some limited cases the right of appeal to the Privy Council of Great Britain from the decision of the Federal Supreme Court of the Commonwealth.

Who can predict the future of the new nation? Its people have an intense and passionate love of the mother land, as the Boer war has demonstrated. They were not colonists, that is, men born in Great Britain, who have been the majority in the contingents sent from Australasia to South Africa. The large majority of them have never seen Europe. They are the sons of colonists. Many of them are of the second generation. The fathers and mothers of many have never even seen the land of their ancestors. And yet the feeling of proud affection for Britain is as intense and lasting amongst them as if she were their mother land.

That the Commonwealth is destined to have a great influence on the British Empire cannot be denied. Already there is an Australasian squadron and a small navy. Defence will soon be perfected; and, if the views of Australasia are considered before a foreign war is waged by Great Britain, perhaps the founding of the Commonwealth



will make for peace. And this is surely what all humanitarians desire to see. For the United States of America there is the warmest feeling of friendship. And though cut and dried political alliances may not be feasible, if there could be some informal arrangement amongst people speaking the English tongue the dream of the poet might at last be realized :

“There shall come a time when brotherhood shows stronger  
Than the narrow bounds which now distract the world ;  
When the cannons roar and trumpets blare no longer  
And the ironclad rusts, and battle-flags are furled ;  
When the bars of creed and speech and race which sever  
Shall be fused in one humanity forever.”

ROBERT STOUT.

## THE REVIVAL AND REACTION IN IRON.

THE iron and steel industry of America has, within the space of a year and a half, witnessed two movements, each unexpected, sensational, and far-reaching in consequences. The first was the great upward swing of prices in 1899; the second, the headlong plunge downward in 1900. The oldest and wisest in the trade did not anticipate the "boom," nor believe in it until it was well under way, and the most conservative were taken by surprise at the suddenness and extent of the reaction. The facts developed and the lessons taught by this remarkable episode invite study. The story, stated with the utmost briefness, is as follows:

A revival in the demand for all iron and steel products commenced in December, 1898, and continued without interruption during the whole of 1899. Hesitating and fitful at the start, it gained strength as the year advanced, until by midsummer there came a scramble for material, and a relighting of fires long dead, and activity and excitement reigned everywhere. Prices started upward in January, but the rise was not rapid until the mills and furnaces had loaded themselves with contracts at figures which, judged by past standards, seemed profitable. Then, as buyers found it difficult to procure needed material, and bid against each other excitedly, the advance went by leaps and bounds, until by December there was scarcely a line which had not had a rise of 100 per cent, and in some specialties it was much greater. Bessemer pig started at \$9.85 per ton in "the valleys" and went to \$24. Steel billets rose from \$15 to \$35; rails from \$17 to \$35; bars from \$18 to \$40 and \$45; nails and barbed wire trebled in value. Structural steel, plates, and all forms used in construction more than doubled.

There was no abatement to the demand until December. Then it stopped short. It was as if it had been scheduled to last a year and the time was out. For the next eight months new orders scarcely reached a fifth of the tonnage of the corresponding months of the year before, and in some lines not a tenth. It seemed as if the country had glutted



its appetite for iron and steel products, and would never consume any more. Furnaces and mills, however, were filled with contracts, deliveries on which ran for months ahead, so that the effect of suspended demand was not seriously felt until midsummer of the current year. As a matter of fact the first half of 1900 was for many iron and steel companies the most prosperous of any like period in their history.

The fall of prices started with the cessation of demand at the close of 1899, but it was so gradual as scarcely to attract attention during the first quarter. It was the general belief that the lull would soon be followed by another buying movement which would prevent any material decline. There was much to support this view, for the business of the country was prosperous in the extreme. Railroads were burdened with traffic and could not increase their equipment fast enough to handle it. Financial conditions were settled, and the effect of the new monetary legislation was already being felt. Plans for development were heard of on all sides, and speculation, though sharply checked, as compared with the industrial reorganization period of a year before, was still active. The theory was quite generally held that a period of quiet was wholesome, as it would enable producers to catch up on overdue orders and reduce the industry to a more normal and healthy state. The "reserve demand" that was being built up was the subject of frequent comment.

The real fall in steel and iron commenced in early summer, when the mills and furnaces began to run out of work and needed new orders. For a time some effort was made by concerted action to sustain prices or restrict output, but it came to nothing. Pig iron and billets began to break. Then followed different forms of finished material. But no ordinary concessions tempted the thoroughly bewildered buyers. It was not until the memorable break in bars at Chicago in early August, carrying prices down to a level below that from which they started in December, 1898, that the deadlock was broken and heavy orders were placed. Pig iron, structural steel, plates, sheets, and other forms followed in rapid succession, until, in most cases, the decline swept past the cost line, and instead of with profits makers were dealing with the problem of how to get out even. At this writing it is too soon to judge whether the "reserve demand" will now come out in sufficient volume to produce the expected reaction and again supply the furnaces and mills with adequate tonnage at satisfactory prices. The strong indications are that — barring a certain accident possible in November — it will.

The above sketch of this memorable swing and return of the pendulum in a great industry is too brief to have value as a historical record, but it will serve as an introduction to some facts and conclusions which are very much easier to deal with in the light of fresh history than in the abstract.

The imagination can with difficulty grasp the scope and significance of a rise of 100 per cent in a manufacture which represents a billion and a half dollars in capital, and from first to last gives employment to well nigh a million of men. If the turn upward led to an enormous extension of plant; to reorganization and strengthening of companies; to increase in wages and cost of transportation; to renewed commercial life and activity touching every artery of trade, what shall be said of the equally rapid decline, compelling eventually backward steps through the whole chain? A night of revelry is a joyful thing, but alas! the headache in the morning!

The strain upon commercial honor in standing to contracts involving great losses is not the least feature of this return swing, and it may be said, to the honor of the American iron trade, that in the main it has been borne well. During the twelve months of advancing prices, furnaces and mills stood to their low-priced engagements without flinching. The large producers employed a considerable part of their capacity throughout the year on contracts that showed little or no profit; for the rapidly advancing cost early in the year swallowed up the margin which seemed so satisfactory when the orders were booked. The great rail mills, for example, were occupied till near the end of the year on contracts with the railroads at \$18 to \$20 a ton, when the pig iron to make them was worth over \$20. A curious and familiar incident of this situation was the selling of worn-out scrap rails, taken up by the railroads, at several dollars per ton above the figure paid for the new rails to replace them. Blast furnaces, in like manner, delivered hundreds of thousands of tons of pig iron at \$8, \$10, and \$12 a ton, according to location, when the market price was double, and when actual cost was far above the price realized.

Under these circumstances, it was but natural that on the down turn the efforts of buyers to escape from burdensome contracts should be resisted with something more than ordinary emphasis. Many contracts were broken on the declining market through inability of furnaces and mills to comply strictly with contract specifications, the legal opportunity to cancel being quickly seized. On the rise, however, buyers of material very naturally stood ready to take and pay



for deliveries as offered, and were careful to avoid any cause of cancellation. It is estimated that less than 1 per cent of low-priced orders were cancelled by sellers on the rise, while 10 to 15 per cent were cancelled by buyers on the decline. When it is remembered that the percentage of the 1899 business placed at or near the top of the market was scarcely appreciable, certainly not 10 per cent, and that the great bulk of the output of the year was paid for at prices far below the average, the very important fact emerges that the consumers of the United States got their iron in 1899 at not over a quarter or a third above the normal prices. Now, if the legacy of high-priced tonnage for 1900 be estimated at 25 per cent of the productive capacity, and if 10 per cent of this was marked off for one or another technicality, it will appear that after all the real consuming interests of the country have not been seriously hurt by the fluctuations.

Wisdom is easy after the fact. A year ago the question was freely asked, "Will it last?" The answer to that went deep into factors that were untried under recent economic conditions. The doubtful view prevailed during the early stages of the "boom," the hopeful view about the middle, and the confident one at the last. The human mind works that way. In times of depression it is hard to believe that the good times will soon return, and in times of exaltation it is equally difficult to look for an early change toward the bad. The revival in 1899 was unquestionably due. Since statistics of production and consumption of iron began to be kept, in 1840, the remarkable record of doubling production every ten years has held good. The growth has been jerky, but an average rate of 10 per cent per annum has been maintained. In the depressed years of each decade, when production barely held its own, the theory of doubling every ten years was often abandoned as no longer applicable to conditions. But almost invariably the decade wound up with a rush of activity that carried the productive limits forward at a bound and made good the accelerating ratio. Thus:

	GROSS TONS.		GROSS TONS.
1859.....	750,559	1860.....	821,223
1869.....	1,711,285	1870.....	1,665,178
1879.....	2,741,852	1880.....	3,835,191
1889.....	7,603,638	1890.....	9,202,703
1899.....	13,620,000	1900 (first half)....	7,642,569

Now, when it was seen that in 1898 we made and used scarcely more iron than in 1890, there was one presumptive argument for re-

vival. It was known that the people of this great country, during the lean years following the panic of 1893, had been practising rigid economy at the same time that they were adding enormously to the national wealth by the products of farms and mines. The old stoves, harvesting machines, wire fences, bridges, railroad equipment, etc., had been made to do until an era of replenishment could not be longer delayed. When it started it fed on itself and expanded, according to well-known laws. The people of the great West especially had paid their debts after three successive years of good crops, and their purchasing power was enormous. Cities had to be practically rebuilt. The railroad plant of the country had almost to be created anew on modern lines of heavy rolling stock, road-bed, and bridges. The water-works systems of cities, large and small, always underbuilt at the start, demanded extensions and enlargement. The electrical era, with its vast diversification of industry calling for ever-increasing quantities of iron, steel, and copper, seemed to be just beginning. The results of the Spanish war called for the development by this country of important island territory — Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii. China, Africa, India, indeed every part of the world showed signs of a reawakening on industrial lines, and experience in late years has shown that every step of such progress heads directly toward the iron and steel supply of the United States.

Why, therefore, should not the revival last? Perhaps the right answer is that it has lasted and will last; that the quick and severe reaction of the present year is the surest guarantee of enlarged consumption and lasting demand the world over. However that may be, the lesson clearly taught by the experience of this year is that while advancing prices may stimulate apparent consumption to a high degree, the excess of speculative or anticipated demand over real consumption becomes a powerful weapon against the market the moment sentiment turns, and that the ability of people everywhere to get along without a great staple which they think is too high in price is beyond all belief.

It is the writer's conviction that the American iron and steel industry, instead of having reached its climax, is on the eve of a greater development than anything the world has seen. In support of this belief it can be said that the industry is absolutely impregnable, so far as the rest of the world is concerned. The trials of the lean years following the panic forced economies of manufacture and modernizing of plant to a point that excited the wonder and admira-



tion of rivals of other nations. Our raw resources of ore and coal are much more abundant and are much more cheaply mined and transported than those possessed by other countries. Our labor is better, on the whole, while managing ability, that most vital factor in industrial supremacy, is admittedly superior to that of our only rivals. The result is that we can lay down our pig iron or steel billets, as well as our machinery and finished forms of iron, in Great Britain or Germany at a less cost than that at which those countries can produce them, although we pay the highest known scale of wages.

So far from there being any denial of these facts by the producers and the press of those countries, there has been of late an almost frantic expression by them of warning and alarm. We have read of days of panic on the Berlin Bourse, and of a heavy decline in German and British iron and mining shares on account of the threatened invasion of cheap American iron. So sensitive are makers on the other side that interested operators have been able time and again sharply to depress prices in England and Germany simply by a bearish cablegram from America. In Great Britain it has suddenly become the fashion of the press, led by such authorities as the "London Times" and the "Statist," to express the almost hopeless views of the future of English iron, steel, and coal as against the aggressions of their vigorous western rival. These alarmist views are in noticeable contrast with the calm confidence in their impregnable position until recently displayed by British manufacturers.

The industry with us has scarcely had time to adjust itself to the new conditions that confront it, now that the violent fluctuations of the past year are over. There are signs of confusion and bewilderment. Problems have been raised which it will take time to work out. First of all is the readjustment of costs. As the market soared upward in 1899, wages, transportation, royalties, raw materials, and every factor entering into cost followed after. The net advance in wages of coal and ore miners and of furnace labor was not less than 30 per cent. In some cases it was 40 to 50 percent. Inasmuch as, in the last analysis, nearly the entire cost of iron is wages, it can be seen at once that the entire industry is on a different footing from what it was before the revival began. How rapidly can the upward steps in labor be retraced? Coal miners' wages, on which is based the cost of coke, are fixed by agreement in most districts until April, 1901. The cost of mining ore may be reduced to some extent here and there, but no substantial cut can be made while labor is generally well employed

throughout the country. Furnace labor is usually about an eighth of the cost of pig iron. A reduction of 10 per cent in that is only  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent of the whole cost.

Railroad freights rose in about the same proportion as labor. Already great pressure has been brought upon eastern and southern systems to reduce rates, but with little success. Reductions will be made here and there, to equalize conditions as between producing districts, but there is no probability of an early return to the old rates, which yielded the railroads little, if any, remuneration for the use of expensive equipment. After labor and transportation about all that is left of cost are royalties — the amount allowed for the ore and coal in the ground. Strange as it may appear, millions of tons of iron were made in this country from 1893 to 1899 from ores and fuel that did not pay the owners a farthing. In the South it was quite customary for companies owning their mines to take no account of the value of iron ore and coal in the ground. The cost of pig iron was simply the outlay in mining, transportation, and smelting the materials. In the Lake Superior region mines that up to 1892 yielded the owner 40 and 50 cents a ton royalties produced for years but 10, 15, and 20 cents. The folly of thus exhausting the rich treasures of the earth without adequate compensation was seen clearly when the great revival of demand emphasized the fact that high-grade ores and good coking coal are not of unlimited supply even in this marvellous country. A recent estimate by a high authority is that the entire available supply of Bessemer ores in the Lake Superior region does not exceed 200,000,000 tons. In 20 years, at the present rate, the high grade ores will be gone.

From this review of the new conditions surrounding cost, it may be seen that those who look for iron and steel to revert to the prices that amazed the world in the years following the panic will be disappointed. The whole labor structure must come down first, and that need not be looked for except as the result of another period of depression following a financial revulsion. Costs will be slowly reduced as the result of close management and improved methods; but it is doubtful if this generation will again deal with six-dollar pig iron at Birmingham, based on 80 cents a day labor, or with Connellsville coke selling at 90 cents at the mines.

A problem of intense interest at the moment is the export trade. We are in the midst of a contest for supremacy with those who have hitherto been the giants in the industry. Are we to have the easy



walkover in the markets of the world that frightened English and German writers are predicting? Let us glance at the marvellous record of our progress since the uses of adversity taught us how to make the cheapest iron and steel, thereby opening the doors to the markets of the world. In 1890 we exported of iron and steel \$27,000,134, and imported \$44,540,413. We could not then supply our own wants. In 1895 our exports had risen to \$35,071,563, and imports had declined to \$25,772,136. We had turned the corner, and thenceforward the balance in our favor between what we brought in and shipped out increased rapidly, thus:

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	BALANCE IN OUR FAVOR.
1896.....	\$19,462,561	\$48,670,218	\$29,207,657
1897.....	13,835,950	62,737,250	48,901,300
1898.....	12,474,572	82,771,550	70,296,978
1899.....	15,800,579	105,689,007	89,888,428

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, the exports of iron and steel were \$121,858,344. For the remaining six months of the current calendar year the movement is likely to be greater than ever, extending to nearly every form of product, so that it is not improbable that 1900 will show a total of \$140,000,000. Exports of all kinds for the last fiscal year were \$1,370,476,158, so that iron and steel form nearly a tenth of the whole. This comprises about 30 per cent of our exports of manufactures. No such growth in foreign trade was ever before exhibited by an industrial nation. Germany, our most energetic and progressive rival, increased her exports from \$811,000,000 in 1890 to \$950,000,000 in 1899; Great Britain from \$1,317,000,000 to \$1,320,000,000; and the United States from \$858,000,000 to \$1,252,000,000. Manufactures formed 15 per cent of our total exports in 1875, 20 per cent in 1885, 23 per cent in 1895, and 31.50 per cent in 1900. In five years our trade with Cuba has quadrupled, has doubled with Porto Rico, has trebled with Hawaii, and with the Philippines has increased about sixteen-fold.

That there is nothing ephemeral in this use of American metals abroad is shown by the growing popularity of our goods in every country we enter, not excepting our leading rivals, England and Germany. Chicago harvesting machines are now to be seen in almost every important grain-raising district in Europe. Cincinnati machine tools fill the leading shops of Great Britain and the Continent. Philadelphia locomotives are conspicuous on the railways of England,

France, and other countries. Indeed, the exhibit by the State Railways of France of an American locomotive at the Exposition was the cause of a stormy outburst in the Chamber of Deputies, in June last. Elizabethport sewing machines literally girdle the globe. English and German mills are now rolling Pittsburg billets and puddling Birmingham (Alabama) pig iron. The average daily shipment of pig iron from Birmingham to English and Continental ports at this writing is in excess of 1,000 tons, and would be greater if freight room were available. It should be frankly admitted that good times in Europe and Great Britain in recent years have favored this movement, and that when industrial reaction comes again there our conquests will be less easy. It is not impossible that we may be largely shut out of Germany and England proper; but the great world beyond — which those industrious nations have been supplying — will afford us a constantly growing and profitable trade.

At the moment, the British, and to some extent the German, blast furnaces and steel works are embarrassed by scarcity and high cost of coal. These facts, and the growing demands of trades unionism, are the serious dangers that threaten English manufacturers. While it is not reasonable to expect that bituminous coal will long continue to sell at \$5 to \$7 per ton at English consuming centres, there is, nevertheless, the best of English authority for the statement that the days of cheap coal are forever past. This opens a prospect for extensive exports of American coal to the countries hitherto supplied by England; and it has a most direct bearing on the ability of Great Britain in the future to hold against American ironmakers the field which has hitherto been admittedly her own.

The possibilities of the future of the iron and steel industry of America sometimes engage the imagination of our technical writers. If we base our calculations upon the ratio of growth of the past, we quickly run into figures that stagger the mind. Nearly half a century ago, before America had reached the half-million-ton mark in production, Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, in an address before the American Geographical Society, predicted that the world would make 28,000,000 tons pig iron in 1895, and 48,000,000 tons in 1915. On this basis the output for 1899 should have been 35,000,000 tons, but it actually reached 40,000,000 tons, and the consumption, gauged by depletion of stocks, was nearly a million tons more. In 1890 Mr. Edward Atkinson estimated the world's pig iron output for 1900 at 40,000,000 tons. Both he and Mr. Hewitt merely used the rule of



doubling output every twenty years. If the same law is to hold in the future, the world will require 80,000,000 tons in 1920; and if America maintains her rate of progress, relatively speaking, she will supply much more than half of it. That would mean trebling in the next two decades our already vast plant of furnaces, steel works, rolling mills, and iron foundries, as well as the product of our ore and coal mines.

The most optimistic believer in American destiny and progress can scarcely bring himself to these figures. But we must not be too hasty in rejecting them. Mr. Hewitt has been quoted recently as saying that the world is practically rebuilt three times in a century. We are now demolishing in New York the first iron fire-proof buildings erected here thirty-five years ago, replacing them with modern structures. We have scarcely commenced to use steel in ordinary house construction, Germany being far in advance of us in this particular. Every day new uses of iron and steel are found, and construction of every character is yearly growing heavier. One concern now takes from the Carnegie Company a thousand tons a day of steel plates to use in pressed steel cars—an industry unknown until two years ago. The cry in every part of the world is for more ships to transport the rapidly growing commerce. No one doubts that the United States, in spite of its poor record of ship-building, since the war, is destined to fill a great rôle in the building of the merchant marine. Those who have watched the progress of construction of new ship yards at Camden, New London, and elsewhere, as well as the extension of existing plants at Philadelphia, Newport News, and San Francisco, are aware that the Clyde and Belfast builders are soon to have rivals in the full sense of the term. A great ship in these days might almost be said to contain nothing but steel and iron. The preparations for war by most of the nations of the earth are on an ever-increasing scale, and the great mass of the materials required in the manufacture of ordnance and small arms comes from our steel works and foundries.

In a recent address Mr. Edward Atkinson, full of the spirit of expansion, again dealt with the future of the iron and steel industry. He stated that the extension of railroad lines in this country in the next fifteen years would carry the mileage from 200,000 to 300,000 miles; and President John K. Cowen, of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, declares this to be conservative, if the construction of electric lines be included. The era of bridge building has just begun. An authority

on this subject stated recently that the requirements of the South alone for bridge building material would enormously increase in the near future. Scarcely a railroad bridge south of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers is strong enough to-day to support a train of the new 100-ton cars with the massive locomotive required to pull them. The Southern people have been content until now to ford their streams when travelling in the country; but, in the past year or two, with steadily increasing wealth, a demand has sprung up for improved roads, and for bridges to correspond.

A hundred other illustrations might be cited of the tendency of the consumption of iron and steel to grow, not at the normal rate of population and general manufactures, but in an accelerating ratio. The progress of modern civilization seems to be peculiarly linked with iron. After eight months of reaction from an over-rapid development in this industry, it is comforting to reflect that the advance of civilization as represented by the iron industry is not likely to be interrupted in the early years of the new century.

ARCHER BROWN.



## THE ENGLISH INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT.

THAT branch of the War Office known officially as “ the military intelligence of the commander in chief’s department ” was called into existence some forty odd years ago. The experience of the Crimean war had proved its paramount necessity. England entered upon that campaign in complete ignorance of the theatre of war, of its topography, resources, population. There was nothing on record and there were no means of obtaining information at the eleventh hour. One or two enterprising travellers who had penetrated the Crimea were sought out and questioned ; and the British admiral in the Black Sea was instructed to send despatch vessels to explore the coasts and spy out the land. Darkness prevailed, and the allied armies disembarked on a *terra incognita*, for the French military authorities were no better informed than our own.

At the end of the war it was resolved to change all that. Such is the attitude of the British public at the end of every war, for every serious and protracted conflict throws up into strong relief the inconsistencies and shortcomings of our military system. We are at this moment promised much searching inquiry from which many drastic, far-reaching reforms are confidently anticipated. It must be left to the next generation to decide how far promise is to be borne out by performance ; but it is certain that no improvements which may be shortly introduced will so justly claim approval as the now long established Intelligence Department. The latter has been much criticised during the last year. It has been blamed for not discharging functions that were wrongly attributed to it, and charged with neglect and supineness in matters on which it was seen that it had been fully on the alert. However, it has amply vindicated the wisdom of its creation, and this despite the often meagre means at hand and the difficulties imposed by narrow-minded superior administration. What the Intelligence Department has done shall now be set forth briefly ; and what it may yet accomplish if its uses should be more liberally appreciated and encouraged shall also be foreshadowed.

The beginnings of the branch were small and unpretending. It grew out of a department known as the "Topographical and Statistical," which had been created in 1855 and enlarged in 1857, in deference to the recommendations of a committee presided over by Lord Panmure. There was no room for it then under the War Office roof, nor has there been since, although the roofs have been extended so as to embrace half one side of Pall Mall. It was constantly boarded out, finding its first home in Spring Gardens, near Charing Cross, and just opposite the back door of the Admiralty Buildings. When the consistent and strenuous efforts of its officers resulted in an ever increasing accumulation of papers and a great store of maps, it moved into more spacious quarters at Adair House, next door to the Junior Carlton Club. It might have remained there had not the club enlarged its premises. The Department was accordingly expropriated and took up its residence in Queen Anne's Gate. Changes in its constitution, increasing its scope of usefulness, had already been decided upon in 1871, and two years later the Intelligence Branch was called into existence and added to the Topographical. Two years more and the Intelligence became the more worthy and swallowed up its elder, and the new name has been used now for five and twenty years.

The house at 18 Queen Anne's Gate, although of very respectable dimensions, is fast becoming too small, and the Department has already annexed another house in Carteret Street. There will probably be no further change until the final move into the new War Office, the long-wanted edifice which is to be built at last, this side of the Greek kalends, we may hope, upon the site in Whitehall. Every room in Queen Anne's Gate is appropriated and fully occupied. Many members of the staff sit together, and all available space is crammed with tables and presses, despatch boxes and official boxes. It is not easy to gain admittance to the office or even past the waiting room at the threshold. A lynx-eyed Cerberus looks at the visitor suspiciously and demands his card. Notice boards intimate how strictly the place is guarded. One recites the Act, with all its penalties, against divulging official secrets; another informs gentlemen of the press who come "wanting to know" that they must apply at headquarters — the War Office in Pall Mall — as the Intelligence has nothing to tell outsiders. Yet, whosoever brings proper credentials is welcomed, and is permitted to know something of its methods, its staff, and its ways of working.



As constituted to-day the branch is presided over by a director, who is counted one of the assistants of the military head of the army, the commander-in-chief. The present director is Major-General Sir John Ardagh, an officer of the Royal Engineers, a man of great mental gifts and very varied experience. To clear insight he adds a well-matured judgment. He has known cities and many men, and his memory is remarkable. The last quality was surprisingly shown when he rejoined the department as chief after he had served it in a lesser post five and twenty years before. Again and again when questions have been submitted to him which he had dealt with previously, he has been able to put his finger upon the very points at issue and recount pretty accurately the opinions and decisions given thereon. He has gained his experience in many countries and in many wars; he was specially employed in Turkey after the last Russian war; he was long in Egypt during successive campaigns, and was for a time chief intelligence officer on the Suakim side; he has been on the headquarters staff, and was private secretary to Lord Lansdowne when Viceroy of India. He is much esteemed as a thoughtful writer on the more abstruse military questions; and all who have had access to his official minutes and memoranda speak of them as marvels as to concise, well-balanced, extensive information.

As the personal qualities of a chief have naturally great influence upon the subordinate staff and the business done, the heads of the Intelligence have always been very carefully chosen. Among the best were Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Patrick McDougall, Sir Henry Brackenbury, Sir Edward Chapman, Colonel Cameron, and Colonel Robert Home. The last named, whose mental gifts were of the highest order, and who would certainly have earned the highest distinction had he lived, was greatly consulted and trusted by Lord Beaconsfield at a time when European politics were much troubled and the maintenance of British interests was thought to depend upon extension of territory. Colonel Home was the Premier's chief adviser in regard to the occupation of Cyprus, and was constantly at the Foreign Office, playing a rôle then comparatively new for a member of the Intelligence Staff, but since adopted much more largely.

Next to the director is his principal lieutenant, with the title and status of an assistant adjutant-general at headquarters. The present holder of this post, Sir William Everett, is an institution in the Intelligence office; and, from his long stay there, extending now over eleven years, he has become its centre and pivot. It is no small

matter at a time like the present, when almost the whole of the staff is "acting" or "temporary," all the permanently appointed officers being for the moment on duty at the front, that a man who, by long practice, is intimately acquainted with every detail and holds all the threads of business in his head and hands should be constantly present at Queen Anne's Gate.

Sir William Everett is simply invaluable, not only to his chief, but to the whole hierarchy of Government, civil and military. An accomplished draughtsman, his eye is ever on the map department; and his advice as that of an old professor of military drawing and topography is highly appreciated by the officers and curator. Again, he has spent much time abroad, in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. He was employed first on the Turkish Boundary Commission, and then, when consul at Erzeroum, was on the Asiatic Boundary Commission, after which he was for five years consul in Kurdistan. Other qualities of his lie less upon the surface, among them minute, painstaking patience, a keen love of accurate and precise statement, and a shrewd insight into character. Nothing goes astray under his management, no mistakes are made, no wrong figures are given out, and no imperfect information is supplied by the department. The state indeed owes it to him that the most likely men are picked up from among the many available; for Sir William Everett knows all about everybody, and can lay his hand at a moment's notice on exactly the right officer for any particular job. His registers and records contain the fullest details as to qualifications, temperaments, habits, and accomplishments. In this way the Intelligence is always excellently served. In its inner organization the most capable and suitable men are appropriated to the various branches. When special demands arise special acquisitions are sought out, and the personnel of the department is supplemented, as it can be almost indefinitely, from outside.

A brief account of the subdivisions in which the office is organized is necessary for a clear comprehension of the duties discharged. First stands the director of military intelligence, who is responsible for everything. He is charged with the preparation of all information dealing with the military defence of the empire; he considers all schemes of defence strategically; he superintends and controls the collection of all facts dealing with the military geography, the military and national resources, and the armed strength of all foreign countries and likewise of all British colonies and possessions; he compiles and corrects all maps of the United Kingdom from the data



supplied to him; he corresponds direct with all state departments upon military questions, and generally, but in a more private, semi-official manner, upon any other questions that may arise. The details of work are grouped in seven sections. Section A is ruled, like the rest, by two superior officers, and it deals with all information appertaining to France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and the Central and South American states. Section B takes the British colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence, Polynesia, Cyprus, South African Republic, Orange Free State, and adjoining native states and imperial defence. Section C, Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, and the United States. Section D, Russia, India, Burma, Siam, China, Central Asia, Japan, Afghanistan, Persia, and Maskat and Sokotra. Section E, Austria-Hungary, Ottoman Empire, Roumania, Greece, Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Egypt, those portions of Africa still under independent native rule, Somaliland, and Congo Free State.

After these first five sections comes the sixth, or Section F, which takes cognizance of the maps of all countries, the United Kingdom alone excepted. It is controlled by two superior staff officers, both of the Royal Engineers, assisted by a curator and a staff of clerks, lithographic draftsmen and printers. Its principal business is the preparation of maps from data supplied to it; and it corrects, improves, prints, and issues all the maps used by the army, which are also on sale to the public. As some misconception has arisen as to the duties and responsibility of the Intelligence with regard to maps, it is well to emphasize the fact that there is no obligation on the department to make surveys. It deals mainly with those provided by others. The outcry raised against it for the alleged imperfect and incomplete maps of Natal was altogether unjustifiable. The obligation to map its own territory rested primarily on Natal, a self-governing colony. It was a costly service, embracing the survey of at least the northern part, which is as rugged and mountainous as Scotland, and the local authorities shrank from the expenditure. Having regard to the possibilities of war with the Transvaal, a very likely danger ahead, it was surely incumbent upon the imperial Government to undertake the triangulation and survey of a country that might become at no remote date a theatre of war. Nevertheless, what the supreme authority neglected the Intelligence attempted with its own officers out of its own limited means.

For some time previous to the rupture great efforts were made to

lay down the principal physical features of North Natal; but very unfortunately the district of the upper and middle Tugela could not be touched before the war broke out, and this as we know became the scene of most serious conflict. The mapping of other parts of South Africa, and even of areas within the frontier of the two Dutch Republics, was also undertaken; and it may be claimed for the Intelligence that as the war proceeded its topographical publications became of exceeding value. The map room of the department has greatly developed since its inception. It contains quite 60,000 maps, covering all countries of the world, and is kept constantly up-to-date by its careful collation and collection of new facts from explorers, geographers, and the observations of officers despatched on purpose to gather them at first hand. It is to the credit of the department that, where a few years back it depended greatly on the Royal Geographical Society, with which it has always been in close touch, to-day the Society comes seeking advice and information from the Intelligence. The map section has ever been much indebted to its curator, Mr. A. Knox — a brother of the Under Secretary of State — whose painstaking, intelligent labors have extended over a long term of years.

Section L, the seventh and last, constitutes a most valuable subdivision, for it is the library, as its distinctive initial implies. It is presided over by an officer, Captain Cromie, deeply versed in booklore and keenly devoted to his work. The Intelligence Library is really that of the War Office, and Captain Cromie is the War Office librarian. But it was felt that the proper place for all professional works was at the Intelligence, and there they will remain until the new War Office is erected, when the library will be once more concentrated at headquarters. There has never been any stint as to the purchase of new works. It is sufficient for those in the department to make the suggestion and the book is added to the library, whatever the language or place of publication. Again, the literature of the office is much increased by the work undertaken within. For years past the Intelligence has been active in the compilation of military books of reference and in chronicling campaigns. A list of its publications is long and covers much ground: handbooks of drill and regulation, of artillery and engineering; details concerning the armed strengths of all foreign powers, and the reconnaissance of little-known countries; the translation of the great German official history of the Franco-German war; the account of our Soudan operations antecedent to the recovery of Khartoum — these are among



the useful and instructive volumes produced by the Intelligence. No doubt, later on it will be entrusted with the history of the Boer war, which, if properly handled, should prove a monumental work. The war has been full of pregnant and surprising lessons: the story of its progress from inception to finish, based upon ample and undoubted facts, may be expected to vindicate, possibly to pull down, some reputations. It will be an onerous and responsible task, but there is no reason to suppose that it will not be both wisely and effectively performed.

The methods by which our Intelligence Department gathers together its stores of recorded information are varied in character. Some are open, some secret and unavowed. The regular reports of our military attachés at foreign courts supply much. These officers, whose qualifications necessarily include acquaintance of the language of the country in which they are serving, are in constant touch with the section of the Intelligence to which that country is appropriated. It is their duty to watch all military events, to attend manœuvres, to observe changes in armament, equipment, and in administration generally. They gain their knowledge in the first place by keeping open their eyes and ears, by studying the press, the military periodicals, and the annual war budget, and above all, by associating with foreign officers on terms of intimacy. There is, as a rule, no reluctance to help the military attaché. Foreign nations know the importance of reciprocity. They keep attachés in London who are always eager to learn. These are, as a rule, courteously treated, made free of the military clubs, are welcome guests at military messes, are invited to be present at professional functions, manœuvres, experiments, and trials with new weapons. Some attachés, both our own and our neighbors', have become *personæ gratae* in the countries with which they have been connected often for years. Two French officers were very popular with us, the Baron de Grancey and Count Pontavice de Heussey. Many English officers won golden opinions abroad. General Swaine, who was long at Berlin, was much esteemed by all from Kaiser to junker; so was Colonel Grierson, who has just accompanied Count Waldersee to China. General Slade, for many years military attaché at Rome, was admitted to close friendship by the ill-fated King Umberto; and American officers who served in Cuba learned greatly to like Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, who shared their hardships and is now military attaché in Washington.

The task of obtaining knowledge has no doubt been greatly helped

in this way; but a zealous officer has been known to go sometimes beyond the official channels and deal, *sub rosa*, with the secret agents that are often pressing in their offers of purveying exclusive news. There is more than one Esterhazy abroad ready to sell information true or false; and it is a well known fact that at the time Dreyfus became involved in the web which led to his expulsion from the French army, the very same matter which he was supposed to have purveyed was hawked about the Intelligence Offices of Europe. It was offered at Berlin and brought to our own people in Queen Anne's Gate. The risk is great in tampering with these unavowable sources of supply. Some years ago a military attaché at a certain Imperial Court got into trouble by listening to the specious proposal of one of these creatures. He was suddenly informed by his own Chancellery that his passports were ready, and that he had better make his way out of the country with all possible despatch, as his ambassador would have no power to protect him from arrest. Nevertheless, a good deal of confidential, not to say secret, information reaches our Intelligence Department by degrees, bit by bit, a small scrap at a time, so that all the items can be pieced together by an expert hand. There may be some matters still shrouded in mystery, a new form of explosive, or a new weapon, such as the French quick-firing field gun, which may long escape unravelling, but the desired information will come sooner or later.

How closely the changes in foreign armies are watched may be seen in the reports compiled at the Intelligence, which are issued more or less confidentially, but are yet within reach. The report for 1897, for instance, dealt at length with the efforts of the chief European powers to increase and develop their military resources. It showed how Germany had made an important change in her infantry organization by converting the 173 half battalions created in 1893 into 86 new battalions; it showed how France, probably in answer to this, had added fourth battalions to 145 infantry regiments. It said that the organization of the Turkestan infantry was occupying the Russian War Office, whose attention was chiefly concentrated on Central Asia and the Far East, not very successfully, if we may judge from recent disclosures in Manchuria. It pointed out that Turkey had carried out extensive mobilizations, and had completed an important strategic railway in Macedonia. Extracts of this kind prove how unceasing are the labors of the department, how profitable the results obtained.



The uses of the Intelligence were very sharply questioned in the early phases of the Boer war, when the warlike strength of the Dutch republics broke upon England with painful surprise. It was declared that we were altogether in the dark as to the Boer armaments, the numbers of the *personnel*, the constitution and extent of the *materiel*. As a matter of fact, within the knowledge of the present writer, the fullest, the most accurate, information was on hand on all these points. This has now been abundantly proved by the documentary evidence since seized at Bloemfontein and Pretoria. The figures produced by the Intelligence Department before the war have since been exactly verified. The numbers that could be put into the field, the details of artillery, the character and calibre of the guns, the amount of ammunition, large and small, were rightly stated. Now, however, the Intelligence Department is willing to admit that it credited the Boers with just one more Creusot gun than they possessed, and over-estimated the stores of Mauser cartridges, which were enormous, but not quite so large as reported. What was scarcely realized was the skill with which they would be used and the extraordinary advantages that the new weapons and means would confer upon the defensive in a supremely difficult country.

Taken in this sense, the much criticised remark of Lord Wolseley, that the Boers had developed unexpected powers of resistance, is perfectly reconcilable with ample knowledge of their strength. The Intelligence had been moved to search out the truth quite early in the day. After the collapse of the Bloemfontein conference the matter was taken up seriously. All available facts were collected and tabulated, and fresh ones were sought out by a number of officers despatched on purpose to South Africa. What was accomplished in the way of map making has already been told. Some officers penetrated to Bloemfontein and Pretoria, and travelled all over the Boer country. The result of these investigations was embodied in a small handbook issued confidentially to generals and staff at the outbreak of the war and entitled "Notes on the Dutch Republics."

The Intelligence does not greatly concern itself with facts and figures relative to the British army. As has been shown, its business is with those of other countries. But the defence of the empire, theoretically considered, comes within its functions; and it is brought, therefore, into close relations with the mobilization branch of the War Office, that which deals with the organizations of our landward forces to resist attack. Every possible defensive scheme has been worked

out and lies within easy reference in the pigeon holes of the Intelligence. The proper methods of meeting a hostile descent on any part of our coasts have been formulated; the best positions have been surveyed, all necessary information has been recorded on the sketch maps; the ranges for artillery have been measured, the roads and approaches have been examined, and the capacity of each position for holding troops has been tested. It may be taken as certain that the newest proposal, that of using cyclists in strength to retard an enemy's advance, as recommended by General Maurice, R. A., has already taken its place on the shelves.

Enough has been adduced perhaps to prove that the Intelligence Department has rendered very valuable services to the state. Yet it cannot be denied that its sphere of usefulness might be extended. It is much handicapped by limited means, both as regards money and men. The work cast upon it is often costly, or it should cost much if adequately executed; yet the funds at the disposal of the office are meagre. It can command no more than a beggarly allowance for travelling expenses, which is eked out to the utmost, and made to cover the expenses of small special expeditions of inquiry — of officers sent out on a particular mission. But the Intelligence has no share or part in the secret service money allotted by Parliament to be spent without account rendered. A portion of this grant, which is held exclusively by the Prime Minister and used as he thinks fit, may now and again be allowed by him to the Intelligence for the execution of some particular service; but that department should be in a position to draw upon funds of its own. Men also cost money to the extent of extra allowances or the payment of substitutes, and there should be no stint in the supply of staff or the retention of officers of proved value to the department. Judicious development is, in short, what the Intelligence most needs — an increase of means and a larger authority. We may hope that its claim, both from past services and those yet to be rendered, may entitle it to full consideration, if ever the military institutions of the nation are revised and reformed.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.



## THE TAMING OF THE DRAGON.

FOR the horrible conditions now obtaining in China the primary responsibility rests with the Government, not with the Chinese people as distinguished from their rulers. Several years' residence at the capital of Shantung province has brought the writer into contact with all classes of the Chinese. He has many personal friends who speak to him of their country's affairs with entire freedom. The causes of the present situation are many and complicated, but the grand cause, without which the present crisis would have been impossible, is the insincerity and duplicity of the Chinese Government in its relations with foreigners. To substantiate this opinion and to suggest a new line of punishment for the offender are the purposes of this paper.

Says Dr. Martin: " 'A treaty extorted by an enemy under your walls is a brand of infamy,' was a maxim of the Chinese feudal age. Often," he continues, "have I heard it cited with the addition, 'How much more a treaty signed within the walls!' meaning that China would repudiate the engagements entered into if ever she found herself able to do so." Most of the treaties negotiated with China by other powers have been, from the Chinese side, unavoidable concessions to superior physical force. Unfortunately, China's course has been the reverse of Japan's. To borrow the figure of an eminent writer: Japan is as a ship which in time of stress weighs anchor, spreads her sails, and makes boldly for the open sea; while China, thinking, though her anchors are dragging, to outride the storm, has drifted ever nearer the lee shore upon which this last great billow of opposition to foreigners is even now casting her — a hopeless wreck. Foreign intercourse was forced upon both. It has made Japan a great modern power, while China is as the clam in the Japanese fable, which hoped to escape the drag-net by closing its shell, but found itself, when it again looked out, opposite a sign reading: "This clam for sale; two cents."

Speaking of the practical failure of Lord Elgin's first visit to China, an English writer says:

"The experience of the past should have taught the English that paper concessions mean nothing in the Celestial Empire, and that the only hope of making them respected is through the medium of a diplomatic agent accredited to the Court, who can, when occasion arises, jog the Imperial memory by timely reminders as to the disagreeable consequences of pledge-breaking."

This displays in a sentence the method of Chinese intercourse with foreigners. Whenever possible the Chinese have neglected the force-extorted treaties, and have made them the law of the land only when compelled to do so by the foreign ministers. The effect upon the people of this essential duplicity on the part of the Government has been to foster and strengthen the anti-foreign spirit, which a straightforward, honest acceptance of the treaties would have largely, if not entirely, dissipated. The unvarying attitude of the Chinese Government toward foreigners, and the course by which it has kept alive and developed the anti-foreign feeling, may be seen from the following cases. The writer purposely confines his attention to events of the past thirty years. During this period a more frank and open policy might have been expected. A consideration of events prior to 1870 would but strengthen the case.

In 1870 there occurred what has been known since as the "Tien-Tsin massacre." Twenty-one foreigners — sisters, priests, a French consul, and two Russians — besides many Chinese Christians were murdered. The steps by which this result was obtained were very distinct. The populace was aroused by placards and posters accusing foreigners of gross immorality and crime. The attention of local officials was called to these, and to the imminent danger threatening the foreign community. On June 18, three days before the massacre, M. Fontanier, French consul, made representations to Chung Hou, Superintendent of Trade and principal official in Tien-Tsin, regarding the danger of violence. No reply was given, nor were any precautions taken. The day before the massacre the "Chi Hsien," or district magistrate, called upon the French consul, and stated that unless permission should be given for a thorough examination of the sisters' establishment it would be difficult to foretell the result. On the day of the massacre, while the crowd was making hostile demonstrations, the French consul went again to Chung Hou, and could even then obtain no assistance. Mr. Gorst says:

"Subsequent investigations proved that the outrage was arranged and carried out by organized bodies, which must have acted with the connivance of the local authorities. Members of the fire brigades—which . . . are under the orders of the Merchants' guilds—took a prominent part in the



massacre. They were aided by bands of desperadoes, known as the 'Hunsing tse', and by soldiers and Yamen followers, who were led to the attack by a Titu, or major-general."

In regard to the action of the Chinese Government after the massacre, the same author says :

"In spite of foreign protest the implicated mandarins were permitted to remain in office for three weeks after the outrage; and the common people, seeing no punishment inflicted on them, were naturally led to suppose that the act had been approved by the authorities at Peking. At last, after protracted negotiations, the Chinese Government consented to mete out justice to the guilty parties. Sixteen murderers were executed, afterward receiving a state funeral, while their families were handsomely provided for by the Government; an Imperial edict was issued in which the massacre was strongly condemned; and finally two principal mandarins were degraded from their posts, being ostensibly banished to Manchuria, but in reality permitted to return to their own homes. The major-general, who was the principal offender, was allowed to go scot-free."

I have quoted so at length because the compiler is by no means prejudiced in favor of missionaries, and has indicated very clearly the animus of the Chinese Government.

In February, 1875, Mr. Margary, who was a fully accredited officer of the British Legation at Peking, and who was, moreover, travelling under especial permission and protection of the Tsung Li Yamen, or Foreign Office, was brutally and treacherously murdered in Yunnan. He had gone to meet a commercial exploration party coming from India through Burmah. A joint British-Chinese commission was appointed to investigate the outrage. The complicity of the officials was held, by the British, to have been clearly established. Of the work of the commission Mr. Boulger says :

"The result was unexpectedly disappointing. The mandarins supported one another. The responsibility was laid upon several minor officials, and on the border tribes or savages. Several of the latter were seized and their lives were offered as an atonement for an offence they had not committed."

Such heads are cheap in China. If the governor of a Chinese province had no criminals already condemned to death whose execution could be made to satisfy the demands of the foreign government, he would have little trouble in finding men who, "to secure the worldly prosperity of their families, would undergo painful torture and public execution in order to shield official falseness and infamy."

After further unsuccessful efforts at settlement the British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, withdrew from Peking, and the Chinese were finally convinced of the serious purpose of the British Government by the naval demonstration which followed. More than eighteen months after the murder Li Hung Chang was appointed to

negotiate a final settlement with the British minister. Even then, and after it had been arranged that the meeting should take place in Chefoo, serious efforts were made by the Chinese to have Sir Thomas Wade come to Tien-Tsin, the seat of the Viceroy, in order that the "face" of the latter might be saved, and that the Chinese might be able to claim that they were receiving a suppliant barbarian envoy and not be obliged to admit that they themselves were submitting to the British demands. The course of the Chinese officials in Yunnan seems not without excuse, when it is understood that after the signing of the Peking Convention (October 24, 1860) secret instructions were issued to the provincial governments to disregard the terms of the treaty, a clause of which provided that the Chinese authorities should at all times afford fullest protection to the persons and property of British subjects.

In 1891 there was a series of anti-foreign riots in the Yang Tse Valley. Outbreaks occurred at twelve or more places. At Wusueh two Englishmen — a missionary and a customs officer — were murdered. These riots were occasioned by the circulation of pamphlets, some of them illustrated, in which most outrageous charges of immorality and barbarity were made against the Christian missionaries. One of these tracts, entitled "The Devils are Dead," contains a pretended communication from the foreign ministers to the Chinese Foreign Office, in which the immorality charged is admitted. The ministers are made to say that they enclose sixty-four different illustrations representing various tortures of the body; that they do not pretend to such high morality as the Chinese; that if these pictures are true, then it must be that missionaries, for the sake of gain, use bewitching medicine, and practise mutilation; that if missionaries are seized and put to death for these things they will not inquire into the matter too closely. The tract represents the Tsung Li Yamen as saying that, since the missionaries teach such abominable doctrines and practise such horrible crimes, they have communicated with the barbarian ministers to the effect that they must insist on the missionaries keeping the peace, and thereby order that when missionaries are found doing these things they shall be dealt with according to law — *i. e.*, put to death. Literature of this character was circulated without hindrance. Its author and instigator was Chou Han, a retired official living in Hunan. Evidence of his work was presented to the Government at Peking, but he escaped as "a harmless lunatic," and the only official degraded on account of these riots was the magis-



trate, who was himself severely injured while trying to save the two foreigners murdered at Wusueh.

The hostile attitude of the provincial authorities and minor officials toward foreigners has been fostered and perpetuated by the position of the Government upon the so-called "audience question." In European or American capitals the question of ceremonial in receiving a foreign minister is of very minor importance. In China it has been a source of continued strife between the Tsung Li Yamen and the representatives of foreign courts. The source of the trouble lies in the fiction of universal sovereignty arrogated to himself by "the Son of Heaven." Up to the year 1860 the Chinese Emperor had never admitted, with perhaps one exception, the existence of other than tributary states outside his empire. In 1859, while the war which was brought to an end by the Peking Convention was still in progress, Mr. Ward, the American minister, retired from Peking without having exchanged ratifications of the American treaty, because the "kotou," or a ceremony of the same nature, was demanded as a condition of audience with the Emperor. The "kotou," he was given to understand, had a religious as well as a political significance. One official said: "If we do not kneel before the Emperor we do not show him any respect. It is that or nothing, and it is the same reverence which we pay the gods." This ceremony consists of kneeling three times, and at each prostration striking the head three times upon the ground. Chinese officials must perform this obeisance when presented to the Emperor and remain upon their knees while in his presence. Envoys from tributary states were received thus.

In 1860, by the Peking Convention, the Chinese Government recognized in theory the equality and independence of other nations. That this was not sincere was first shown when the representatives of the Western nations were put off on the ground of the "inconvenience" attending an Imperial reception while there were female regents. It was shown a second time in 1873, when the "kotou" was again demanded as a condition of presentation. It was only after long discussion that the Chinese ministers yielded, and three low bows were substituted. The reception was held, and it seemed that Western nations had been recognized, but the Chinese had yielded in appearance only. It is true the "kotou" was omitted; but the fact remains that the ministers were given audience in buildings outside the palace, the use of which was for the reception of tributary envoys.

Tung Che died in 1875. His successor was another infant, and the female regency was continued. Kuang Hsu received the foreign representatives in March, 1891. No trouble was made regarding the "kotou," but the reception was held in the Tsi Kung Ke, or Hall of Tributary Nations.

The mode in which the Chinese Government has received foreign ambassadors has always, to the Chinese, carried the implication that they represented tributary states. That this outrageous condition of affairs has been allowed to continue is one of the mysterious blunders of diplomacy. Other methods have been used to preserve this fiction. Speaking of the reception of foreign ambassadors by Tung Che, in 1873, Mr. Gorst, after referring to the fact that the audience was given in a building set apart for the reception of envoys from tributary states, says:

"The effect of the whole affair was further marred by the dissemination through the provinces of a Chinese travesty of the interview, in which the British Minister was pictured as being so overcome with fear in the presence of the 'August Lofty One,' that he fell down, on being addressed by the Emperor, speechless and trembling."

The reception of the German Prince Henry, in 1898, was thought by some to have settled this vexed "audience question;" but it must be remembered that the Emperor Kuang Hsu, who received him, was shortly afterward virtually deposed, almost every vestige of his reform being swept away. The belief was common that he narrowly escaped with his life. It was said that Prince Henry had bewitched the Emperor by giving him foreign tea to drink. The Dowager of Hsien Feng, the woman whose forty years of rule has brought China so low among the nations, hates foreigners and all who favor them.

Illustrating the preservation of this ancient idea of the Chinese Emperor's universal suzerainty, it may be said that, during the Japanese war, officials and literary people, even in conversation with American missionaries, spoke constantly of the "rebellion" of the "Japanese barbarians." The country was flooded with cartoons, showing the victorious Chinese soldiers in the act of taking vengeance on the vanquished "rebels." It will be remembered that in no engagement of importance were the Chinese victorious; but it remains a fact that, excepting in the immediate vicinity of the battle, the recurring defeats were reported as glorious victories; and when the end came it was reported that the "insurgents were quieted." The capacity of the Chinese officials to "make believe" is unlimited.



Within the past year Chinese history has again doubled on its own tracks. The Chinese regular troops which attempted to destroy our minister and citizens in Peking, and used so effectively Government guns and ammunition against the allies, were not in rebellion against the Empress Dowager. The attitude of the officials at the beginning of the outbreak, now nearly a year ago, was directly opposed to the maintenance of order. There is not the slightest doubt that the governor of Shangtung had under his command forces ample for the suppression of the initial rioting. He refused to recognize the gravity of the situation. When he could no longer resist the pressure brought to bear through the United States consuls, Messrs. Ragsdale and Fowler, and the French minister, he sent troops into the affected district. The officers must have misunderstood their orders, for they vigorously attacked the Boxers and routed them. One hundred or more of the "invulnerables" were left dead upon the field of conflict. Had this been followed up, it is probable that there would have been no subsequent outrages. But the governor reprimanded the officers on the ground that they had needlessly slain innocent citizens.

From this time on the governor's troops studiously avoided the Boxers. It was commonly asserted by the Chinese that no ammunition was issued to the soldiers, in order to remove possibility of conflict. The Boxers claimed the sympathy of the Government, and encampments were organized and drilled in the capital city itself. Rev. Arthur Smith, D.D., writing in the "Missionary Review of the World," says that the Manchu governor of Shangtung fostered the Boxers by his removing all officials who actively operated against them, and by his release of those who were captured, with the exception of three, who, after long delay, were beheaded. It became known later that this governor had sent a secret memorial to the throne, saying that the Boxer movement was too strong to be put down, and should rather be utilized to drive out foreigners. Soon after this the governor of Shangtung was removed; but he was merely ordered to Peking, where, instead of being impeached and degraded, as he had deserved, he was loaded with honors and recommended to the throne, by another favorite of the empress, as an exceptionally trustworthy official. He retained office during such time as was required for the Boxers barbarously to murder one English missionary, Mr. Brooks, and ten or more Catholic Christians, besides stealing and destroying property valued at many hundred thousand taels, and leaving several thousand people homeless and destitute.

On the appointment as governor of Shangtung of the "phenomenally able and energetic" general, Yuan Shih K'ai, the permanent suppression of the outbreak was expected; but he had scarcely taken over the seals of office and set himself to his work, before he began to have orders from Peking not to be too rash, or too impetuous, not to confound harmless militia with rebels, and the like. Dr. Smith continues:

"As a rule, the Government has wisely forbidden militia organizations except under strict surveillance. The relaxation of its restrictions must have a settled purpose; . . . there are still (probably in March) bold threats that in the spring there will be a forward movement, when the Boxers will advance upon Tien-Tsin, coöperating with the foreign-hating General Tung Fu Hsiang and drive all foreigners into the sea. The Government studiously refrains from doing the only thing that would put an end to the rising at once—arrest the main leaders and hold them to a strict responsibility."

To this testimony regarding the attitude of the officials at the opening of the outbreak might be added that contained in the letters now arriving from the region of Peking, which indicates that a similar official supineness preceded the northern outbreak.

The case of the foreigner in China is not primarily against the people, but against the Government. From the beginning the governing classes — the officials and literati — have fostered the anti-foreign prejudices of the people; and at frequently recurring periods they have played upon the ignorance and superstition of the masses, instigating the riots in which so many foreigners have lost their lives and so much property has been destroyed. Dr. Martin, after fifty years' intercourse with the Chinese, asserts that if the people were unwilling to have missionaries live among them, we should have to count many more than twenty riots during this quarter of a century. That they are not incensed at the introduction of foreign goods is manifest from the vastly increased sale of foreign merchandise. The Chinese people are easily controlled by their officials when the latter act in good faith and in accordance with law and custom. Had the Chinese Government entered freely and heartily upon the obligations assumed when the treaties were signed, anti-foreign outrages would have been so few as to form a very unimportant element in diplomatic affairs.

Primarily, the so-called "Missionary Question" is occasioned neither by the rashness or unreasonableness of the missionaries, nor by the unrestrainable antipathy of the people, but by the insincerity and duplicity of the Chinese Government. Sporadic instances of rashness



on the part of missionaries may, perhaps, occur, and some of the Chinese people are bitterly anti-foreign; but if the Imperial edicts regarding Christianity and foreigners had been "the spontaneous expression of the Imperial will," the irreconcilables of both classes would have been in a hopeless minority. The Chinese Government has fostered and developed the anti-foreign feeling both by its manner of punishing offences against foreign citizens and by its method of intercourse with the representatives of sovereign sister states. It is the chief criminal, and the one upon whom punishment can and should be visited.

The purpose of punishment should be to make it either morally or physically impossible for the criminal to continue his wrong course. Vengeance, in the sense of retaliation, is equally barbarous whether sought by a Chinese mob or by the German Emperor. The Chinese are keenly alive to moral distinctions. To render the repetition of anti-foreign outrages physically impossible, it would be necessary to divide China into very small sections, and, having taken the governing power from the Chinese, to maintain very considerable forces of foreign troops. This course would tend to the ultimate advantage of neither Chinese nor foreigners. The Manchus and the Chinese have remained separate peoples through these more than two hundred and sixty years of Manchu rule, and the Chinese are still distinctly conscious that they are governed by foreigners. How much more difficult would it be to secure the mental and moral sympathy without which profitable and peaceful European rule in China would be well-nigh, if not quite, impossible!

To punish the Chinese Government, to make it the administrator of its own punishment, and to render by moral means the repetition of outrages against foreigners increasingly impossible — this should be the policy of the powers in the settlement which must end the present disturbance. The mind of the Chinese nation will never be changed by physical force. William of Germany, having planted his banner on the walls of Peking, may raze them and destroy the whole city, and, granting no quarter, may slay his tens of thousands. But in so doing he will but intensify the anti-foreign bitterness. In the elimination of this spirit lies the only hope for satisfactory intercourse. This hatred of foreigners in China, as in other lands, is chiefly due to ignorance. The Government at Peking has fostered and perpetuated it by insincerity in its dealings with foreign nations. A settlement of the claims growing out of this war ending with the

payment of indemnities and the granting of additional commercial rights to foreigners will leave the root of the difficulty untouched, and but comparatively short time will be required to produce a fresh crop of outrages. To the above must be added reforms in the Government, besides privileges and opportunities granted not alone to foreigners but to the Chinese people as well.

Although in form a pure despotism, the Government of China is exceedingly sensitive to public opinion. Reforms, the benefit of which will be felt by the people, must be demanded of the Government and guaranteed to the people by the foreign powers. The American people, acting through their Government at Washington, can make such demands and extend such privileges to the people of China. We alone, of the great powers, have seized no territory belonging to China. Our reputation for good faith among the Chinese is high. The treatment of Minister Wu by the Government at Washington will have a good effect. Reforms which will have to be forced upon the mandarin will be welcomed by the people. At the same time there are men of experience and character in the mandarinates who would rejoice to see the changes and who could lead in their execution. K'ang Yu Wei and other reformers who escaped the destroying sword of the Empress Dowager can be called on to assist the Emperor. Such a programme will be more easily carried out, because it will appear to be simply a continuation of the plans of the Emperor which his aunt, the Dowager, so ruthlessly checkmated. If the usurping Dowager be made to keep her hands off, and Kuang Hsu be given the power which properly belongs to him as Emperor, there is no reason to doubt that the proposed reform programme can be made effective.

This is not the place to suggest a detailed scheme of reform, but it may be said briefly that among the things most seriously needed are: (1) the abolition of the "kotou," which would lead to a freer intercourse between the Emperor and his officials, and would result in placing the Emperor in position to judge and act independently; (2) the sifting from the mandarinates of vast numbers of supernumeraries, who exist only for the purpose of drawing their salaries and of acting as drags to retard progress; (3) the payment to all officials of salaries sufficient for the conduct of the affairs committed to them, thus removing the present virtual necessity of levying unjust and irregular taxes or "squeezes"; (4) the reform of the Internal Revenue System, by the honest administration of which the Government



might greatly increase its income; (5) the extension of the postal system; (6) a free press; (7) the establishment of a modernized system of education, open to poor as well as to rich; (8) the opening of the country to freer trade with foreigners; (9) navigation by steam vessels of all suitable waters, etc., etc.

Before any such programme can be suggested to the Chinese two important steps must be taken by the powers. The first of these is to dispose permanently of the Empress Dowager and her anti-reform advisers. She is the arch-enemy of all foreigners as well as of progress and reform. If she is left in Peking, and if the men through whom she effected the "coup" of 1898 and instigated this present outrage are allowed their liberty and are retained in office, no hope of honest reform can be entertained. The second step is to reëstablish Kuang Hsu, and to guarantee the integrity of his empire, and, moreover, the world-wide discussion of the partition of China must cease. If these things are done, there is every ground to expect a peaceful revolution in China, which will be of the greatest advantage to the whole world. Only as such internal changes are wrought will the anti-foreign spirit of the Chinese be dissipated and permanent peace be secured.

LLEWELLYN JAMES DAVIES.

## YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY IN MOROCCO.

By the western gate of the Mediterranean, where the narrowed sea has so often tempted invaders, the decrepit Moorish empire has become itself a bait for those who once feared it. The Moors, whose ancestors conquered Spain, the greater part of Portugal, and even provinces of southern France, anxiously scan the horizon to discover who would conquer them if rivals allowed it. While the provincial and fanatic maintain that no power exists on earth like that of their lord the Sultan, 'Abd el 'Aziz — “may God lengthen his days and send him victorious” — and construe the presents of Nazarene ambassadors as fear-wrung tribute, their rulers are better informed, and it is dread of Europe that keeps Morocco closed and benighted. The good faith of no adviser is believed in, and a hidden motive is sought for whenever reforms are urged. If the development of mines or agriculture, the improvement of harbors or means of communication, be recommended by the representative of one power, there is always another to show why that particular concession should not be granted, why danger, not advantage, lurks in progress in that direction.

So Morocco remains untouched, save where a fringe of Europeans on the coast purvey the luxuries from other lands that Moorish tastes demand, and in exchange take produce that would otherwise be hardly worth the raising. Even here the foreign influence is purely superficial, failing to affect the lives of the bulk of the people; and the towns in which Europeans reside are so few in number that whatever influence they do possess is limited in area. Moreover, Morocco has never known foreign dominion, not even that of the Turks, who have left their impress on the neighboring Algeria and Tunisia. None but the Arabs have succeeded in obtaining a foothold among its Berbers, and they, restricted to its plains, have long become part of the nation. Thus Morocco, of all the North African kingdoms, has always maintained its independence, and, in spite of the changes around, continues to live its own picturesque life.

Picturesque it certainly is, with its flowing costumes and primi-



tive homes, both of which vary in style from district to district, but all of which seem as they must have been for thousands of years. Without security for life or property the mountaineers go armed. They dwell in fortresses or walled-in villages, and are in constant war with each other. On the plains, except in the vicinity of towns, the country people group their huts around the fortress of their governor, within which they can shelter themselves and their possessions, in time of war. No other permanent erection is to be seen on the plains, unless it be some wayside shrine which has outlived the ruin fallen on the settlement to which it once belonged, and is respected by the conquerors as holy ground. Here and there gaunt ruins rise, vast crumbling walls of concrete which have once been fortresses, lending an air of desolation to the scene, but offering no attraction to historian or antiquary. No one knows even their names, and they contain no monuments. If ever more solid remains are encountered they are invariably set down as the work of the Romans.

Yet Morocco has a history, an interesting history, indeed, one linked with ours in many curious ways, as is recorded in scores of little-known volumes. It has a literature amazingly voluminous, in view of the slight interest of Europe therein at present; but there were days when the relations were much closer, if less cordial — the days of the Crusades and the Barbary pirates, the days of European tribute to the Moors, and the days of Christian slavery in Morocco. Constantly appearing brochures in many tongues then made Europe acquainted with the horrors of that dreadful land. But these only served to augment the fear in which its people were held, and to deter the victimized nations from taking action which would quickly have put an end to it all and demonstrated the inherent weakness of the Moorish empire.

Welshmen and other Celts of Great Britain may recall with interest the curious fact that Suetonius Paulinus in successive years proceeded against the Berbers of Morocco, and also against the Brigantes of Britain, those other savages who, by their independent spirit, gave the Romans so much trouble. Then there comes the somewhat dubious account of John Lackland's appeal to his contemporary of Morocco for assistance against the Pope and the barons, with his offer to embrace Islam in return, so scornfully rejected by the sceptical Ameer. Sympathy is stirred by the martyrdom of Englishmen and Irishmen, Franciscan missionaries to the Moors, and side by side with them the foreign mercenaries in the native service, Englishmen among them, who would

fight for any one for pay and plunder, even though their masters held their countrymen in thrall. And thrall it was, as of Israel in Egypt, when our sailors were chained to galley seats beneath the lash of a Moor, or when they toiled in broiling sun erecting the grim palace walls of concrete which still stand as witnesses of those fell days. Bought and sold in the market like cattle, Europeans were more despised than negroes, who at least had the good sense to acknowledge Mohammed as their prophet and to accept their lot without attempting to escape.

Dark days were those for the honor of Europe when the Moors inspired terror from the Balearics to the Scilly Isles, and when their rovers swept the seas with such effect that all the powers of Christendom were fain to pay them tribute. Large sums of money went, too, in ransoms, collected at church doors and by the sale of indulgences, conveyed by the hands of intrepid friars, noble men who risked all to relieve those slaves who had maintained their faith and had scorned to accept a measure of freedom as the reward of apostasy. Thousands of English and other European slaves were liberated through the assistance of friendly letters from royal hands, as when the proud Queen Bess addressed Ahmad II, surnamed "the Golden," as "Our Brother after the Law of Crown and Sceptre," or when Queen Anne exchanged compliments with the bloodthirsty Ismá'il, who ventured to ask for the hand of a daughter of Louis XIV.

In the midst of it all, when that wonderful man with a household exceeding Solomon's and several hundred children had reigned forty-three of his fifty-five years, the Portuguese, in 1662, transferred their possession of Tangier to England. For twenty-two years the "castle in the streights' mouth," as General Monk has described it, was the scene of as disastrous an attempt at colonization as we have ever known: misunderstanding of the circumstances and mismanagement throughout; oppression, speculation, and terror within as well as without; a constant warfare with incompetent or corrupt officials within, and with besieging Moors without, till at last the place was given up in disgust, and the expensive mole and fortifications destroyed lest others might seize what we could not hold.

Such events could only lower the prestige of Europeans, if, indeed, they possessed any in the eyes of the Moors, and the slaves up country received worse treatment than ever. Even the ambassadors and consuls of friendly powers were treated with indignities almost beyond belief. Some were imprisoned on the slightest of pretexts, all had



to appear before the monarch in the most abject manner, and many were constrained to bribe the favorite wives of the Ameers to secure their requests. It is still the custom for the state reception to take place in an open courtyard, the ambassador standing bare-headed before the mounted Sultan, under his imperial parasol!

Yet the improvement which has taken place in the position of foreigners in Morocco during the past hundred years is amazing in the light of all they have suffered there, so amazing that it requires an effort to realize that this is still the same country, under the same native rule. While piracy continued to flourish nothing could be done, but when it was exterminated the situation commenced to improve; and to the young Government of the United States belongs the honor of dealing the first decisive blow. Colonies which had with true British pluck refused to tolerate the imposition of unfair demands by their home government were not likely to submit to the payment of tribute to a decrepit African state, whatever the powers of the Old World might do; so when the time came to enter into relations with the Moors as an independent nation, it could only be upon the basis of equality, and from the first the Americans obtained respect in Morocco. As late as 1790 the brutal Sultan El Yazeed, who emulated Ismá'ail the Bloodthirsty, did not hesitate to declare war on all Christendom save England, agreeing to terms of peace only on the basis of tribute. Coöperation between the powers was not then thought of, and one by one they struck their bargains.

But the New England Republic, flushed by a successful war of independence, and with no interests at stake in Morocco, could afford to snap its fingers single-handed in the face of the Sultan. In 1803, when on his way to Tripoli to demand redress for cutting down the flagstaff of his nation there, United States Commodore Preble captured the Moorish frigate *Meshboa*, with an American vessel in tow, and at once shaped his course for Tangier. A treaty of friendship had been concluded in 1787 by a United States ambassador, Barclay. It was to last fifty years, which it did, for Preble obtained redress and the liberation of all American prizes. These prizes had been captured in accordance with one of the usual declarations of war, made in 1802; but Preble's prompt action showed the Moors that the friendship of such a nation was to be preferred to its enmity, since the latter did not take the usual convenient form of paying to be let alone.

It is greatly to be regretted that such an excellent precedent was

not maintained, for it would have made the United States arbiters of the fate of the empire, if not its trusted allies. No European power can raise a finger in Morocco without also raising jealousy and opposition from its rivals; but the position and policy of "Uncle Sam" has till recently placed him beyond suspicion of designs upon this country, and he might have had a free hand in its regeneration. His only attempt to encroach upon its territories was the request made in 1836 for a coaling station on the Straits of Gibraltar, which was of course refused. His fifty-year treaty was then renewed by Leir, but from that time his changing office-bearers seem to have lost all interest in the country. For many years the United States was ably represented by the late Colonel F. A. Mathews, who maintained the prestige of his people rather by experienced tact than by threats; but when political wire-pullers succeeded in obtaining the post for a party nominee, the Stars and Stripes were dragged in the mire, and the Moors learned to despise the "Great Country."

Notwithstanding all the complaints that reached the State Department at Washington, no redress could be obtained, and only official white-washing resulted. At last Morocco reeked with charges and allegations against the United States consul; and the Moorish Government, unable to put up with him any longer, telegraphed to President Harrison, in 1889, demanding his recall. It is true that this request was at once acceded to, and the recall made by wire next morning; but the Moorish Government received no other answer than a visit from the consul at Gibraltar, who was sent to arrange for a temporary substitute. Nor was any notice taken of its formal letter of complaint and explanation, of which the telegram was an epitome, penned by the writer. Such behavior on the part of the officials of the State Department was a grave political error, as the least they could have done for their national honor would have been to order a public trial, that the accused might have been cleared or punished, and the credit of the nation saved.

A curious attempt at bluff was made by the consul in question when the Moors began to disregard his threats and to formulate their own complaints against him. The commissioner for foreign affairs in Tangier, Sid Haj Mohammed Torres, through whom passed all negotiations with the outside world except when a special mission went up to court, refused attention to certain claims made by the United States consul, on the ground that they were manifestly unjust. The consul thereupon threatened that if his demands were not attended



to by a given date he would summon two vessels of war ; and he later fixed the date on or about which they were to arrive and, if need be, bombard the town. This sounded formidable till it was pointed out that the local English paper had mentioned some weeks previously that two American training ships had sailed for the Old World, and that about the date mentioned they would be due at Tangier.

A new complexion was thus put on the matter, and the consul was promptly informed that he would no longer be permitted to extend the protection of the American flag to any one who could pay his price for the privilege, or to have Moorish subjects arrested and thrown into jail without trial—a courtesy quite commonly shown to foreign representatives in this happy-go-lucky land—and that if he continued to sell customs passes, intended to cover only his own personal effects and provisions, for the smuggling in of contraband goods, that privilege would be withdrawn from him and the cases in question searched. Consequently, when the next case of arms was taken from the bonded stores under his order, the customs administrators refused to pass it unopened. The consul, having been notified, arrived on the scene with the Stars and Stripes, supported by a posse, with whose help he declared his intention to seize the case. But the lieutenant-governor—now the governor of Fez—was there before him with the police, and the rash American had to content himself with wrapping the case in the flag and protesting against the insult. It was at this point that Moorish patience gave out, and that afternoon his recall was demanded by wire.

Conduct of this character has been woefully common in Morocco, where the wholesale corruption among the native officials seems to have contaminated some of the cleverest foreigners sent among them ; the facilities for profitable abuses proving too great a temptation, especially when the salaries were ridiculously inadequate, as in the case of the American representatives, or where the tenure of office was as uncertain. But the introduction of the press has cast a light on these dark places, and the abuses committed by foreigners have in consequence diminished. Those chargeable to natives will continue so long as Mohammedanism holds sway ; for, with all its commendable features, and they are many, a religion in which bad deeds may be counterbalanced by good ones can never lead to general happiness. It is too essentially selfish, and leaves its votaries free to commit what evil they will, with a clear conscience.

Such a system has free play in Morocco, where it is untrammelled

by Christian ideas and by institutions based on Christian ethics. Everything here is the outcome of native character, modelled by the influence of Islám. Every man for himself is the principle; and, in consequence, every man's hand against his neighbor, if not against his brother, save where it is better policy to live as friends and allies. No man hesitates to tell a lie when it suits his purpose, and nothing strikes a Moor more forcibly than when he finds a foreigner to be a man of his word; but it is due to him to say that his inherent sense of what is right enables him to appreciate that quality when found. Among themselves the people of Morocco do not look for it, although they commonly preface any lie more astounding than usual by the exclamation, "May God curse the liar!" Consequently, a man's words are weighed by what his hearers know or think they know of his intentions. To people brought up in an atmosphere of truth, where truth is spoken for truth's sake, this may well appear incomprehensible.

No surprise will therefore be felt that in Morocco each official preys upon the one beneath, and on all others within his reach, till the poor, oppressed, and helpless villager lives in terror of them all, not daring to display signs of prosperity for fear of tempting plunder. Merit is not the key to positions of trust and authority, and few such are sufficiently paid to render them attractive to honest men. The holders are expected in most cases to make a living out of the pickings, and are allowed an unquestioned run of office till they are presumed to have amassed sufficient to make it worth while to treat them as they have treated others, when they are called to account and relentlessly "squeezed." The only means of staving off the fatal day is by frequent presents to those above them, wrung from those below. A large proportion of Moorish officials end their days in disgrace, if not in dungeons, and some meet their end by being invited to corrosive sublimate tea, a favorite beverage in Morocco—for others. Yet there is always a demand for office, and large prices are paid for posts affording opportunities for plunder.

The Moorish financial system is of a piece with this method. When the budget is made out, each tribe or district is assessed at the utmost it is believed capable of yielding, and the candidate for its governorship who undertakes to get most out of it probably has the task allotted to him. His first duty is to repeat on a small scale the operation of the Government, informing himself minutely as to the resources under his jurisdiction, and assessing the subdivisions so as to bring in enough for himself and to provide against contingencies,



in addition to the sum for which he is responsible. The local sheïkhs, or head-men, similarly apportion their demands among the individuals entrusted to their tender mercy. The richer a man is the less proportion he will be made to pay, for he can make it so agreeable — or disagreeable — for those entrusted with a little brief authority. It is the struggling poor who have to pay or go to prison, even if to pay they have to sell their means of subsistence.

Three courses lie before this final victim — to obtain the protection of some influential name, native or foreign, to buy a “friend at court,” or to enter Nazarene service. But native friends are uncertain and hard to find, and, above all, they may be alienated by a higher bid from a rival or from a rapacious official. Such affairs are of common occurrence, and harrowing tales might be told of homes broken up in this way, of tortures inflicted, and of lives spent in dungeons because display has been indulged in, and because an independent position has been assumed under cover of a protection that has failed. But what can one expect with such a standard of honor?

Foreigners, on the other hand, seldom betray their protégés, although to their shame be it mentioned that some in high places have done so, wherefore their protection is in greater demand, besides which it is more effectual, as coming from outside, while no Moor, however well placed, is absolutely secure in his own position. In contrast with the state of things a century ago there is nothing in Morocco more striking than the change which has come over the treatment of foreigners in this country. The slave and the trader have passed into oblivion; and their place has been taken by tourists and merchants who demand and obtain their rights with a high hand, supported by the appearance of gunboats in Moorish waters, brooking no denial. True it is that Moorish diplomacy drags out negotiations to desperation, and promises without the slightest intent to fulfil, and that it is almost impossible to secure attention to small complaints or the collection of debts till there is an accumulation sufficient to justify threats; but in the long run everything is settled up in some form, in spite of procrastination. Consequently, foreigners enjoy in Morocco all the security of their own lands, and, being exclusively under the jurisdiction of their own officials, all the justice of their own laws. They do not even find in Morocco that immunity from justice which some ignorant writers of fiction have supposed; for unless a foreigner abandons his own nationality and creed, and buries himself in the interior under a native name, he cannot escape

the writs of foreign courts. In any case the Moorish authorities will arrest him on demand, and hand him over to his consul, to be dealt with according to law.

The colony of refugees which has been pictured by imaginative raconteurs is therefore non-existent. Instead, there are growing colonies of business men, officials, missionaries, and a few retired residents, quite above the average of such colonies in the Levant, for instance. They may travel freely and safely wherever the Sultan's absolute authority extends; and the only parts forbidden are those which Moors themselves dare not penetrate unguarded, among the semi-independent Berbers of the hills. Not only are the lives and property of foreigners much safer than those of natives, but the same protection is extended by treaty to natives in their employ, and in a measure to all natives in whose hands their interests lie. Thus it is that the down-trodden natives desire and are willing to pay for protection in proportion to their means; and it is this power of dispensing protection which, though often abused, does more than anything else to raise the prestige of the foreigner, and in turn to protect him.

Bigoted and fanatical the Moors may show themselves at times, but they are willing enough to be friends with those who show themselves friendly. And, notwithstanding the way in which the strong oppress the weak, as a nation they are by no means treacherous or cruel; on the contrary, the average Moor is genial and hospitable, does not forget a kindness, and is a man whom one can respect. Yet it is strange how soon a little power, and the need for satisfying the demands of his superiors, will corrupt the mildest of them; and the worst are to be found among those families who have inherited office. The best officials are those chosen from among retired merchants whose palms no longer itch, and who, by intercourse with Europeans, have had their ideas of life broadened. But the growth of the foreign colonies in the ports, especially in Tangier, where there are several thousands of poor Spaniards, has not proved beneficial to the natives, who are fast learning from them to add drunkenness to other vices. Even tourists sometimes indulge in the disreputable practice of imparting the vice to their servants and guides. Elsewhere the Moors are in this respect a temperate race, obeying the Koranic injunction against gambling and strong drink far more faithfully than do many of their co-religionists farther east.

Among themselves the Moors may quarrel and oppress one another; the more powerful tribes may refuse to submit to unjust taxa-



tion, and may rise against the Government; but if anything could unite the disjointed elements and reconcile them to their lot it would be a European invasion, which they would resist to a man, however ineffectually. Morocco is no ripe fruit about to fall into anyone's mouth, nor is it a "sick man" of the west in need of an heir. Nothing that goes on here, or is likely to transpire, can be made a reason for foreign designs upon its integrity, however well it may afford an excuse to any who have made up their minds to annex it. The fate of Morocco hangs on the fate of Europe: so long as the balance of power remains as it is, its rulers need have no fear; but let that balance be upset, let the hands of England and Germany be tied and those of France be free, and without a doubt France will complete the work she has begun, for which she has been preparing for years, that she may add Morocco to Algeria, and take another step toward a North African empire.

Since her defeat at American hands, Spain, which used to loom so large across this narrow strait, has dropped out of the count, and no other nation has really cherished designs running counter to those of France. Great Britain cares only for the preservation of a free highway to the East; and were France willing to come to terms regarding the shore of the strait she would doubtless have a free hand elsewhere. Her unjustifiable annexation of the oases of Tuat and Figig, this spring, that she might have a highway to Timbuctoo, is only the beginning of the end, and would doubtless have proceeded further if the Transvaal war had not ended in Britain's favor. As it is, she is content to wait till another deal shall afford another opening. These oases being merely tributary provinces, at a great distance from the centre, the Moorish empire has suffered no serious loss, and its Government will take no further action, wisely recognizing the hopelessness of its position. Serious indignation has most naturally been roused among the people of Morocco, especially in the south, where attempts have been made to stir up a jihad against the invaders, but in vain, and the colors of the map may as well be changed now as at any time later.

This has been a momentous year for Morocco, and it is little short of marvellous that the storm has not broken at last. Since the death of the late Sultan, in 1894, the administration has been controlled in the name of Mulai 'Abd el 'Aziz, a minor, by a Regent who was formerly Lord High Chamberlain or "Curtain" of the Shareefian throne, and it was becoming a serious question whether he would

ever be willing to abandon such power when his master should attain his majority. For this there is no fixed age, as with us; but as the young Sultan reaches the age of twenty this year, it was felt to be high time that he should assume control, and cease to be an unknown quantity behind a Regent. The rule of that Regent, too, was severe; and though he had succeeded in quelling all opposition to the young Sultan, it had been at the cost of much devastation and bloodshed, hard to forgive. Besides this, the wazeers whom Mulai el Hasan had left in office were all thrown in prison on one charge or another, and their property confiscated, so that in case of trouble elements of discord were not lacking.

But the Regent was old, and enfeebled by illness; so when, in the spring, his end came, instead of his resignation, few were astonished. What they were not quite prepared for, however, was the clearing of the board within a week or two by the removal of two brothers and a cousin, whom he had promoted to be respectively Commander-in-Chief, Chamberlain, and Master of the Ceremonies — all of them, it is declared, by influenza. Another brother had died but a short while before; and the Commissioner sent to Tangier to arrange matters with the French was found dead in his room — from asphyxia caused by burning charcoal. Thus was the Cabinet dissolved, and the only remaining member has since resigned. What will be the policy of the new driver with his new team it is impossible to foresee; but the former ministers are being liberated, and justice is promised throughout. The Moors hope great things of their Sultan, now that he has come forward; and if only a tithe of what they expect is realized they will be most fortunate. The questions now are, Will he lean to native or to foreign advisers? and if to the latter, To which of them may he look for disinterested advice?

BUDGETT MEAKIN.



## CHAUCER.

THE twenty-fifth day of October of this year was the five-hundredth anniversary of the death of that "well of English undefiled," "rose of rhetores all," and "God of shepherds," Geoffrey Chaucer. So, at this semi-millennial, notwithstanding the dangers one incurs in venturing upon such beaten ground, it seems peculiarly fitting again to

"Call up him that left half-told  
The story of Cambuscan bold."

Chaucer is the earliest English poet who, without the careful preparatory study of historic conditions and bygone phases of language, can be fairly appreciated by the lay reader of to-day. The form of Chaucer does not rise in the mind of such a reader like some ghostly Sordello,

"Compassed murkily about  
By ravage of six, long, sad, hundred years."

Many people nowadays still think him not only a very great author, but a very good fellow as well. This is a rare sort of literary distinction in any age, and especially was it so in Chaucer's time.

The literary ideals of Chaucer's contemporaries find, perhaps, their most typical expression in the first part of the "Romance of the Rose." The art of this was unreal and thin-blooded, badly vitiated by the mediæval, scholastic vice of abstraction from life. Its chief tendency was to lifeless allegory, and its composition has the strange, stiff constraint, with only a little of the old-world charm, of the groups on a faded tapestry. In England Layamon, Langland, and the unknown author of "Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight" had given some touch of life to their writings; but it remained for Chaucer to depict vivid human passion, to portray real men and women, and to make his art not only display his learning and ingenuity, but actually to express himself. So we come to know him, to admire him, and, with Sidney, to wonder how he could see so clearly in that misty age.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to dwell long upon the obvious and familiar excellencies of Chaucer's poetry, in diction, versification, and character drawing. His English is fresh and bright from the mint of popular speech, untarnished by the dust of schools, and with its imaginative, picturesque quality still unworn by common use; yet, to change the figure, it has something of the sonorous resonance, the mellow, canorous flow which can only come to a language which has passed the first stages of its development. His versification, built up as it is upon the old English stavic system native to our speech, with the assimilation of French line movements, Italian stanzaic harmonies, and mediæval Latin rhymes, has the ease, variety, and melody of the most impeccable poetic art. The content of his work has charms equally engaging. The vernal freshness of his page, the sunlit, morning air of it; the sly, kindly humor, capable of the broadest or of the most delicate effects, apparent to the most casual reader, yet so subtle and exquisite that new turns of delight continually open before you as you read and re-read; the incomparable gift of readable narrative; the rare power of grasping the essentials of character and of vivifying them in verse — all these attractions are well known to his readers. These are the traits which have given Chaucer his increasing fame through half a thousand years. It is largely because of these traits that many Chaucerians have almost a personal sympathy in Dunbar's lament:

"He [death] hes done peteouslie devour  
The noble Chaucer of makaris flour  
The Monk of Bery, and Gower, all three  
*Timor mortis conturbat me.*"

The good wine of the "Canterbury Tales," in particular, needs no critical bush. They contain all types of the literature of their age; the Theophrastian character sketch, the romance of chivalry, the *fabliau*, the beast-story, the Italian legend, the homily, the traveller's tale of magic, and the Breton *lai*. In each the essentials of the form are carefully observed; yet so vivid and human is the treatment that we bring to each an interest as keen as that which we take in the most exacting contemporary fiction. We must agree with Blake, that "as Newton numbered the stars and as Linnæus numbered the plants so Chaucer numbered the classes of men." Indeed, with the exception of certain types born of the period of which Blake himself was a prophet, we shall have far to seek for an Englishman whose *genus* and *species* cannot be found in the "Canterbury Tales."



But one suspects that in popular judgment the prime attractions of the "Tales" are the mellow humor which they share with Fielding and the forcible realism which they share with Hogarth. As usual, of course, the popular judgment is, in the main, correct; but to emphasize this phase too exclusively is to overlook the half of Chaucer's work altogether, and to neglect in all of it some of the most significant and poetical elements in Chaucer's character as a man and as an artist. It is with these more fugitive and gracious charms that the present quest is chiefly concerned.

If we contemplate the familiar Chaucer portrait preserved by the piety of Hoccleve, we shall see many things beside elfish roguishness. It has, to be sure, its streak of Puck; it is sensuous and slyly meditative; but perhaps the dominant traits of feature are those of the kindly, humane scholar. There are lines of hard study about the eyes, which, as we know from Chaucer's own confession, were often dazed from long poring over some favorite volume. We feel instinctively that there was in Chaucer, as in Lamb, an attractive union of a temper genial, fanciful, and gay, with the habits of the insatiable bookworm. However, it takes but little study of his work to conclude further that he was no such desultory, bee-like reader as Lamb.

If Chaucer was not, like Virgil, Dante, or Milton, one of the great poet-scholars of the world, it was chiefly because he was of a little more lively and gregarious mood than they. His bookishness was, as we know, corrected and prevented from being mere ineffective pedantry by his travels and fighting, his diplomatic labors, and his many-sided activity as a man of affairs; but it is easily possible to insist too much upon this practical aspect of Chaucer's character. He was efficient in these many directions because, like Lowell, he was a man of great and adaptable mental power; his genius was dynamic rather than potential; but still, after all, his point of view was always that of the retrospective scholar and artist:

" For out of olde felde as men seith  
Cometh al this newe corn fro yere to yere,  
And out of olde bokes in good feith  
Cometh al this newe science that men lere."

In his work as a conscious artist Chaucer has a similar point of view — that of academic or cultivated as opposed to primitive literature. Through the spectacles of books he sees the past life of the world as an organic whole. He re-works the literature of the past and puts it out clearly stamped, *Geoffrey Chaucer me fecit*. Hence,

some Continental critics once made haste to accuse him of plagiarism on the score of his borrowings from Ovid, Statius, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Jean le Meung, De Guilleville, and the many others upon whom he drew. To make such a charge in the spirit of blame is to abdicate all pretensions to the historic sense. In Chaucer's time literary conveyance, justified by ancient tradition, was not a crime, but a virtue. The literary past was regarded as a store-house of "jewels five words long," an arsenal of literary ammunition, to which he that could make the best use had the best right. We may say of our old poet as Brown-ing said of Tennyson: "Accuse Chaucer of plagiarism! We would as soon think of accusing the Rothschilds of picking pockets, or Cræsus, who lived before pockets were."

This sixth, retrospective sense of Chaucer's finds expression throughout his work. We see, for example, his various gleanings from the close study of the Neoplatonists, Boethius, and Maerobius. All of Chaucer's characters, even to the Wife of Bath and Dan Chaunticleer himself, talk copious philosophy; they reason of necessity and freedom, and other high, supra-lunary matters, quite in the vein of Boethius. In all his later work we can see how Chaucer's toiling at the ornate Latinity of Boethius helped his own precision of diction and variety of syntax. But Chaucer's debt to mediæval and pagan antiquity is greatest in the realm of imaginative literature. It was of right that he bade his "Troilus and Cressida," his "litel book,"

"Subgit be to alle poesye  
And kis the steppes wher-as thou seest pace  
Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace."

This leads us directly to what from the present point of view is the very core of Chaucer's historic significance, the set of facts which throws the most broadcast light upon his poetical character, namely, his relation to early, pre-Renaissance humanism.

Here again we shall be helped by the portrait. The face, if we inspect it closely, is that of a Euphues; not the fanciful, precious, word-dallying Euphues of Lyly, but he of Plato, whose study of *music*, in the Platonic sense of all the liberal arts of life and learning, has made him sound in science, humane in temper, graceful and copious in speech, indeed a Euphues—a *fair nature*. It is this urbane cast of Chaucer's countenance which makes it the opposite of the hell-worn face of Dante, so essentially mediæval in all its lineaments. It is by this physical contrast, which may be drawn out at



length in the study of Chaucer's work, that we know him, like Abelard, Boccaccio, and Petrarch, to have been one of those precursors of the Renaissance whose work looks before and after, and is so pregnant with significance.

English humanism emerges in Chaucer's new sense of the solidarity of life, and in his new attitude toward classic antiquity. The first count has been already touched upon and may be referred to again; we may, therefore, set it aside for the present, and concern ourselves with the second. In his first period of poetic activity Chaucer was a mediæval in all essential traits. His translation of the first part of "The Romance of the Rose" is made with full sympathy, and in the "A. B. C." and "The Boke of the Duchesse Blaunche," he has quite the fantastic unreality of his French models. But after his diplomatic missions to Italy, in 1373 and in 1378, a momentous change appears in his work. He has now, in all probability, met Petrarch, that "worthy clerk," face to face; he has read Dante and Boccaccio; and now already he begins to show traces of the new learning, as yet, of course, not the new Greek learning, but a new knowledge of, and a new attitude toward, the world of Roman letters. He tells over, with very real appreciation, the classic stories of "Troilus and Cressida" and "Palamon and Arcyte," which Boccaccio had used in his "Teseide" and in his "Filostrato." And, what is most significant, Chaucer handles these themes with some notion of classic form. Unlike the huge mediæval stories these poems have a beginning, a middle, and an end: without inquiring too curiously one can analyze them into those several parts plotted by Aristotle as the essentials of narrative and dramatic form.

About this time, too, Chaucer begins to show a new and more realizing delight in the great Roman writers. Ovid, who had borne "a charmed life in the monasteries of the middle ages," he had long known, admired, and imitated; but now he begins to give evidence of a new fondness for those more characteristic Romans, beloved of the Renaissance — Cicero and Virgil. What a pity he never knew Horace! In the "Parlement of Foules" he makes most delightful use of that charming Ciceronian fragment, preserved to the middle ages by Macrobius, the "Somnium Scipionis." In the "Legend of Good Women" he tells the story of the fourth "Æneid" very effectively, although with a strange insensibility to the ideal elements in the character of Æneas. Nevertheless the tone of all the many references to Virgil in the latter half of Chaucer's work makes it clear

that to him the great Roman poet is beginning to lose some of that fabulous character of *magister* and prodigious enchanter which he had borne in the dark ages, and is coming to appear, as he appeared to the men of the Renaissance, a great humanist and a consummate artist.

Everywhere in Chaucer's later work we come upon passages which suggest trains of sentiment common to Roman classicism and to the Renaissance, but almost unknown in the times between. There is the idealist's dream of the "Former Age," celebrated by Virgil and Tasso; there is the elaborate picture of the various dreams of men, essentially unmediæval in its humane psychology:

"The wery hunter slepinge in his bed,  
To wode ayein his minde goth anoon;  
The juge dremeth how his plees ben sped,  
The carter dremeth how his cartes goon;  
The riche, of gold, the knight fight with his foon  
The seke met he drinketh of the toone  
The lover met he hath his lady wonne."

But nowhere perhaps is Chaucer's changing attitude toward the world of classic art shown more clearly than in his several pictures of Venus. Chaucer's Venus is neither the Uranian Venus of classic sculpture, nor the pantheistic Venus of Lucretius' great poem, and far less is she the fierce Teutonic goddess of the mediæval Venusburg. She is far more gracious than the Venus of the Tannhauser legend. In short, she has become almost the well-known Venus of the palmy days of Renaissance art.

This view of Chaucer's relation to the Renaissance and to classic literature and art must not be pushed too far. There was still much of the wondering naïveté of the middle ages in his feeling toward the Latin classics, in place of the more fraternal admiration of the leaders of the revival of learning proper. But we may realize how great was the light which Chaucer received from the oncoming Renaissance by considering more in detail certain points in the form and in the substance of his work.

If we would feel how far away in metrical form Chaucer is from most of his contemporaries, we have but to read some lines of the helter-skelter metre of the romances, Langland's strong but unrestful alliterative lines, or "Moral Gower's" interminable see-saw of rhyme, and then to turn to the smooth, melodious harmonies of Chaucer's "rime-royal." In taking over Boccaccio's octave stanza, Chaucer, with the quick instinct of the true metrical artist, dropped a line — the fifth of the stanza — thus clinching his stanza by a couplet near the middle,



and transferring the attention from the jingle at the end. One is inclined to agree with old Gascoigne that of all English stanzas — the Spenserian was unknown to him — the “rime-royal” is the fittest for grave discourse. No stanza could be better fitted to carry the color and splendor of imagery which distinguished that “aureate style” so admired in Chaucer by his poetic henchmen — Hoccleve, Lydgate, and Dunbar. It is startling to find coming from the slyly naive poet of the “Canterbury Tales” bursts of sensuous or solemn harmony and gorgeous description to which we can find no counterpart until the days of Elizabeth. This careful polish of varied versification and this flowery luxuriance of imagery look forward toward the art of Tasso and Spenser.

In the content of Chaucer’s work the day-rim of the dawning Renaissance can be as clearly seen, nowhere better than in his handling of the ideals of chivalry and of its feeling toward women. In the characters of the worthy knight and his son, the gracefully amorous squire, Chaucer has compressed the essence of the somewhat sophisticated and showy chivalry of his time; but, notwithstanding his keen admiration for the characteristic chivalric virtues, “Trouthe, honour, fredom, and curteisye,” there is one respect in which he diverges widely from the old way. He nowhere expresses the characteristic attitude toward women; he nowhere treats her as a superior being, half mighty queen and half diaphanous saint, whose imperious commands, however arbitrary and fanciful, must be obeyed at whatever cost. In “Palamon and Arcyte” he does, indeed, so manipulate his sources as to emphasize the somewhat Dantesque love of Palamon at the expense of the more human passion of Arcyte, and Palamon is made to win Emily in the end. This, however, is an exception, not the rule; his poems contain no Orianas, no Ladies of Tripoli, no Dulcinea del Tobosos.

Chaucer’s notion of womankind seems to have been the fruit of his own life, as any man’s is likely to be. This kind of interpretation, always dangerous, is especially risky in the present instance, because of the dubious state of the Chaucer canon, and the scant knowledge we have of his early life; but certain suggestive points may be reasonably noted. The supposed passion of his youth, which found such fanciful elaboration in his early poems, must still have been real enough to account for the tenderness with which he tells the stories of the womanly virtues of Constance and Griselda. Both of these stories were written many years before they finally

found place in the "Canterbury Tales." Griselda, in particular, over-patient as she is under the cruel caprices of the uncontrolled will of her husband, the Duke — fanciful as Hawthorne's Wakefield in his tests of her constancy — is, nevertheless, very far from being an over-wrought allegory of patience. She was allegorized later, in the French morality-play which bears her name; but in Chaucer, although the story was a stock subject handed down to him by Petrarch, her character is treated as that of a real woman, and with very intimate sympathy.

One fancies that the warm affection which the poet shows toward her womanly charms was not altogether inspired by Mrs. Philippa Chaucer, whom one more than half suspects of being a shrew, and of furnishing some hints for the character of that *école de maris*, the Wife of Bath. One is also constrained to think that the strange, deep melancholy with which Chaucer treats the passionate and tragic story of Troilus and Cressida, like Shakespeare's unwonted bitterness in handling the same theme, suggests that the choice of this poetic subject and the tone taken in the telling were the outflow of some Marah-spring in the poet's own life.

Chaucer's occasional humorous cynicism toward women must be largely referred to the literary tradition which, in common with the French *fabliaux*, he inherited from the misogynistic Jean le Meung, the chief exponent of that revolutionary *esprit Gaullois* which revolted early from the abstract standards of chivalry. Although the literary influence of Le Meung counts for much — how much, German scholarship has lately shown — there is very evident personal feeling in the humorously cynical advice to Bukton against marriage, and an undeniable ring of sincerity when Chaucer, Dr. Donne-like, rejoices over his new-found, comfortable portliness:

"Sin I fro love escaped am so fat  
I never think to ben in his prisoun lene."

But whatever may have been the course of his life in these matters, his final attitude toward woman is precisely that union of affection and reverence, both grounded in understanding, which has made England a nation of homes, and has given our common language that word but little known in Continental speech. Even the Wife of Bath, if we take her prologue and tale together, is a union of grotesque reality and lofty ideality as significant as "Don Quixote." Her story of the young knight, who so trusted the mind and heart



of the ugly old woman forced upon him as a bride that she became young and beautiful in his arms, has an inwardness as profound as the second part of "Faust"—if one may guess at the meaning of that.

Chaucer clearly intended the "Legend of Good Women" to be the crowning work of his life, like Browning's "The Ring and the Book," a glorification of true womanhood. It is most to be regretted that, like so many of his poems, it was never finished. As he advanced in it the monotony of the theme seems to have wearied him: he began to take it less seriously, and his humorous bent could no longer be suppressed. But in the prologue, while still working on the higher plane, he gave us one of the most strictly poetical passages in all his works: the hymn to Alcestis, her identification in some mystic way with the daisy, and the account of his own poetic worship of the flower-like woman, the perfect type of wifely devotion.

Closely connected with Chaucer's ideas of womankind, and equally significant of his vital connection with the spiritual movements of his time, is the strain of profound human pity which runs in all his poetry. He does not possess the brooding, Virgilian sense of the *lacrimæ rerum*, neither does he, like Shakespeare, become incarnate pity and throw the anguish and heart-break of a life into a single poignant line; but he does show a ready and deep sympathy for the woes of his characters, like that of the kindest of friends.

In the "A. B. C.," his earliest poem, Chaucer's only additions to his French original are a stanza of praise to the Virgin for the pity and ruth she has for mortal miseries and another stanza of prayer to her. Throughout his work *pitous* is the commonest of words, often used with the most suggestive effect, as in that "pitous joye" when friends long-parted meet. Add to this the quaintness of the language, which affects us like the tragic prattling of a child, or a sorrowful tale in dialect, and the "Pees litel sone, I wol do thee non harm" of Constance is as truly pathetic as the story of Ugolino in Dante. But it is not such dark and terrible tragedy as that; it has rather the mellow pathos of more humane art.

The true lover of Chaucer must always rebel at the appreciation which tends to neglect the more serious aspects of his character and genius. He would not dwell upon the pious moralizing of the "Tale of Melibœus" and of the "Parson's Sermon;" he would deprecate the "Retractation" most heartily; but he would also wish to keep clearly in mind the earnest and serious forces of Chaucer's personality; and he likes to remember that in a dark age his poet could write,

perhaps his last poem, in a strain of buoyant optimism as tonic as  
 "The Epilogue to Asolando :

"Forth, pilgrim, forth ! Forth beste out of thy stal !  
 Know thy countree, look up, thank God of al ;  
 Hold the hye way, and let thy gost the lede ;  
 And trouthe shal deliver, hit is no drede."

But it is equally uncritical to overlook the more genial and urbane aspects of his work. All in all he is the most human of our poets, always excepting Shakespeare. If his art is less profound and universal, it is perfect in its kind, and sufficiently varied in extent. The poet who could produce, in a line or in a couplet, such widely different effects as

"Ful longe were his legges and ful lene  
 Y-lyk a staf, ther was no calf y-sene,"  
 "Up-roos the sone, and up-roos Emilye,"  
 "The smyler with the knyf under his cloke,"

has a range of view to be found only in the uplands of literature. In fine, in its capacity for giving keen and varied enjoyment, absorbing narrative, enchanting melody, and engaging flashes of imagination and humor, Chaucer's poetry is, in the truest sense, as so many generations of Chaucerians have felt, "The world's sweet inn from pain and wearisome turmoil."

FERRIS GREENSLET.



# The Forum

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DECEMBER, 1900.

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## THE LESSONS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

THE experiences and lessons of the campaign just closed, probably the most important in the history of our Republic, have taught us much. Taken with those of four years ago the politicians of our country should know much that will prove useful and which should be applied to future campaigns. In 1896 we entered upon a campaign the paramount issues of which were accepted by all to be (1) the proposition to coin free, and to an unlimited extent, the silver of the entire world at the ratio of 16 to 1; and (2) opposition to what was termed "government by injunction," *i. e.*, the introduction of Federal force where local authorities were unable to quell disturbances which interfered with inter-State commerce or destroyed Federal property.

Voters at the outset of the campaign were unfamiliar with the real meaning of these two issues, and it required much explanation to make them thoroughly understood. When finally the two great issues were thoroughly understood, it was easy work to defeat the Bryanite ticket. It was, therefore, a great surprise to those who knew the inside work of the two great National Committees of 1896 that the Bryanites should have had the hardihood to reaffirm the two great old issues as a part of the issues of the campaign just closed. Yet, they attempted in their platform at Kansas City to cover up the real issues, even after Mr. Bryan had demanded that 16 to 1 should be permanently incorporated in the new code of declarations. Like the ostrich who believes himself to be entirely hidden when he simply

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has his head covered, the framers of the platform at Kansas City believed they could conceal their designs by declaring that "anti-imperialism," an issue inconceivable, was paramount.

As a literary feat the Kansas City platform may be pronounced almost perfect, and its writer should be congratulated upon a magnificent accomplishment. It was not what it said so much as what it did not declare, and the beautiful manner in which this was all done made the platform one of which any man might be proud. But when the Chicago platform of 1896 was reaffirmed the platform of Kansas City was nil. It required but the half of an eye of an intelligent, well-informed voter to see that the Kansas City platform was but a cloak to cover the horrid skeletons of 1896. The translucency of the Kansas City platform itself, when taken in connection with the act of reaffirming the Chicago platform, was notice to all intelligent men that the campaign upon which we were entering was to be a campaign of misrepresentation. The Kansas City platform was to be used in one section of the country — in the East for instance — as the charter and only declaration of principles of the Bryanite party; while the Chicago platform, reaffirmed and kept as a single and separate document, was to be used in certain large cities in the Central States and in the Far West and Northwest, where the other document was not to be mentioned.

In other words, the evident design of the men who controlled the Kansas City convention was to play fast and loose with their followers as a body, leading them under one banner in one section of the country and under another banner in the other section. As soon as it was learned that in the East Mr. Bryan refused to say whether he would discharge Government obligations in silver or in gold, that, in fact, he remained silent as to free silver and government by injunction, while in the West he hinted that it was his intention to pay Federal obligations in silver, and talked vehemently on government by injunction, then the ulterior design of the Kansas City transaction became plain to all.

When the Republican National Committee opened headquarters in Chicago, the work of education upon the real issues began with so-called imperialism. It was only necessary to point out the fact that Democrats in Congress voted almost unanimously in favor of the war with Spain, and that Democratic and Bryanite newspapers had for some time prior been denouncing President McKinley because he was unwilling openly to declare in favor of war. When the Paris treaty



was before the Senate, Mr. Bryan himself shed the uniform of a volunteer colonel and went to Washington to urge his friends to vote for the ratification of the treaty; thereby becoming directly responsible individually and as a party man for the situation in which we find ourselves with regard to the Philippines. This made it clear that if such a thing as imperialism were possible in this country, as a result of the retention of the Philippines, Mr. Bryan and his followers were as much responsible for it as President McKinley or any of his political associates, if not more so.

Mr. Bryan soon learned that he was making an egregious error in his work of forcing imperialism to the front. He made feeble efforts to reply to statements to the effect that he himself and his party were fully as responsible as the Republicans for the acquirement of the Philippine Islands; but all his answers were greeted with indignation, even by his own people. It was easy to demonstrate that under a republican form of government like ours, under any republic, in fact, imperialism such as Mr. Bryan would have made voters believe was the aim of President McKinley and his party to foster was a palpable impossibility; and that even if it had been possible, under any circumstances, it would have to be voted for by the people in the selection of a Congress, which alone could make the declaration.

Then Mr. Bryan and his managers were greatly embarrassed when confronted with the fact that their arguments against the "consent of the governed" would of necessity remind the people of the condition of suffrage existing in certain Southern States, where Democratic Congressmen have been elected for many years with but a few thousand votes, due to the open suppression of the negro vote — and where, too, since the foundation of our country almost, the black men and those who have not been willing to wear the collar of the master of men have been governed without their consent, and have been deprived of the franchise which the white man has always been given and which the black man secured as a result of the war of 1861. Added to this, Senator Tillman's prominent part in the formation of the Kansas City platform and his report to the Convention lent emphasis to the statements of the Republicans that more voters were governed without their consent in our own Southern States than were affected by the Philippine situation. The men whose votes have been for so long suppressed in the South, and who have been governed without their consent, have been, and are all, civilized men, clearly entitled under the Constitution and the law to all the privileges of

franchise; whereas none of the inhabitants of the Philippines, in whose behalf anti-imperialism and the consent-of-the-governed issue were exploited, has ever known what it is to have the right of franchise, or has ever had any voice whatever in the conduct of any sort of government.

In no section of the country did Mr. Bryan especially urge the 16 to 1 proposition, although in what are known as the original silver States he did reavow his adherence to the principle and declare himself to be firmly in favor of coining free of cost all the silver of the entire world, and of placing behind the coins the credit of the United States Government; thus lending, without any return whatsoever, the credit of the United States to bankrupt and pauper countries. The people, however, even in the silver States, had largely learned to know that the United States Government could no more maintain parity of value between silver coined in unlimited quantities and a currency based upon actual credit than it could run water up-hill. They had learned full well four years before that the Government is in this respect exactly like an individual, who may be worth and good for, say, one hundred thousand dollars, which may be set down as his limit of credit. He could issue notes which would pass current and at par up to the limit of that credit; but all notes issued in excess of that established credit would be worth less than their face value in the same ratio as the excess of the issue; so that as rapidly as the United States Government became responsible for silver coined — owned either by itself or foreigners — in excess of its present established credit, discount and repudiation would begin, and but a few months would be necessary completely to destroy the finest financial credit ever possessed by a people.

Militarism was another issue brought into the situation, and it was another unfortunate stroke of the Bryan management. It was only necessary to state that our army, including regulars and volunteers, is now the smallest per capita of any civilized nation in the world — that it stands only as about one soldier to every thousand citizens — and that militarism, as Mr. Bryan would explain it, was an impossibility, that if it should be possible at any time in the future it would come as a result of the direct vote and expression of the people. The efforts to make laboring men believe that the Republican party intended to build forts around great cities for the purpose of turning guns and soldiers upon wage-earners who stood up for their rights was an insult to the intelligence of workingmen, and they resented



it with vehemence. In the same connection men on the hustings referred to our military expenditures; attempting to make workingmen believe that these expenditures far exceeded anything known in the history of modern governments, and that the money was wrung from the men whose capital was their hands and their brains. It was shown as quickly as the mouth could speak or the press could print that even during the height of the war with Spain our military and naval expenditures were far less than the regular military and naval expenditures of most civilized countries; that the extraordinary expenditures would be continued only until the end of the troubles in the Philippines; and that within eight months, by virtue of the expiration of statutory authority, the volunteer army would be disbanded.

In their work of arraying class against class and of exciting prejudice, the Bryanite managers, apparently determined to run the gauntlet of all experiments, made strenuous efforts to array against us our Irish-American citizens, on the ground that President McKinley's administration and the Republican party in general had been pro-English, and that they had been opposed to the Boers in their war against England. Then they attempted to array all Catholics against the Republican cause by the specious argument that church property had been confiscated or destroyed in the Philippines, and that the Catholic Church would fare worse under a Republican form of government and a liberal Republican President and administration than it fared under a monarchical and despotic government which was worse than bankrupt and which had been constantly at war with all great church countries. The same effort was made to reach the Germans and the German Catholics.

But, as if to tramp upon their own heels in an effort to walk backward while they were proceeding forward in the identical work, Bryanite managers were at the same moment handling the A. P. A. organization, which was instituted to destroy Catholic interests in this country, in politics at least. This organization circulated millions of documents containing statements to the effect that President McKinley was controlled by Archbishop Ireland and other eminent Catholics, and that he had consulted the Pope in Rome at every step of his progress in the Philippines. It required but a short time for the Catholics, and for the Germans who are Lutherans and belong to other Protestant churches, to understand that they were being misled, that every effort was being made by unscrupulous politicians to play upon their prejudices and their religion. Quick as lightning these people,



who are good citizens and honest in their intentions, arose and resented these efforts. The Bryanites soon learned also that their tirade against "government by injunction" was simply a pleading in favor of that principle of destruction always advocated by men and parties who never build up, but are always in favor of tearing down, institutions and industries.

Then the opposition to the Republican ticket began a policy of shiftiness, a season of flying from pillar to post in search of new arguments. And here begin the impressive lessons growing out of the campaign just ended. The first and greatest lesson is in favor of frankness and fairness. No party can expect to win upon any other course. The next lesson is that the party must have a definite policy, a charter of principles well-defined and fairly laid upon actual history, and not dependent upon the simple prophecy, conception, or unfounded utterance of an individual. This latter effort made the road of Mr. Bryan a very hard one to travel, in view of the fact that he had attempted so many prophecies four years ago, none of which had been fulfilled, while, on the other hand, the Republicans had made open and specific assertions in their platform, which were promises and not prophecies, promises based upon the operation of similar platform principles, every single one of which had been fulfilled.

The campaign progressed in such a manner as to cause the Republican management everywhere considerable concern until the early part of September. At this juncture the opposition began to disintegrate. It had lashed itself into fury, and it now began to beat out its life upon the shoals. Republicans had been rather dormant and apathetic, and the slowness of State and county organizations everywhere contributed largely to this condition on their side. But those in national control were confident that Mr. Bryan and his followers would make their pretences so ridiculous that they would go to pieces as soon as the Republican organization should everywhere begin to reach perfection and activity. During the latter part of September the tide ran strongly toward the Republican cause. As it grew in volume the Bryanites became more and more desperate. Anti-imperialism now became only a fleck upon the window-pane through which Mugwumps and carping grannies looked out upon the field. Free silver had ceased to make votes in the West, and was adding furore to the opposition in the East. It solidified all business elements. President McKinley's magnificent administration began to stand out in greater grandeur after it had been charged and charged by the op-



position. The assaults seemed simply to make the citadel of Republicanism less pregnable.

The opposition to the Republican campaign now began the work it so vigorously prosecuted in the last month of the campaign of 1896 — that of creating unthought-of issues in the form of wild rumors and assertions. Statements began to issue to the effect that the Republicans were obtaining money from gigantic monopolies and corporations for the purpose of buying the voters of the country, that arrangements were being made for the purpose of perpetrating the most outrageous character of fraud at the polls, etc., etc. These statements were taken up by State committees with considerable exaggeration, and when they reached for reiteration the county and city committees they were most lurid in form. I remember one circular letter issued by the chairman or secretary of a hopelessly Democratic State in the West, which stated that Mark Hanna had raised a corruption fund of many millions of dollars — probably ten times greater than the aggregate ever raised in any campaign — for the purpose of buying the Democratic voters of that State. After a lot of assertions as to impossible designs upon the part of the McKinley managers, the writer closed by saying that the Democratic voters of his State were unpurchasable, and were not to be bribed. By the middle of October so many canards had been circulated that, as four years before, the authors were discredited among their own people; and it became unnecessary for the Republican managers at National Committee headquarters to meet the condition. This work had proved so disastrous to the Bryan cause in 1896 that it would seem as if those who had conducted it then would never have resumed it. I desire to exculpate from this responsibility Chairman Jones and his Chicago committee associates.

The resumption of this unfortunate character of work, its conspicuity as a part and parcel of the management of the opposition, together with the false prophecies of Mr. Bryan in 1896, brought out in beautiful relief and with great emphasis the very opposite history upon the Republican side. After the campaign of 1896, the Republicans, under the direction of President McKinley, immediately went to work — beginning with an extraordinary session of Congress — to make good every plank in the St. Louis platform; and this work did not stop until Congress adjourned last spring with everything done that could be accomplished in the direction of fulfilment of promises, direct or implied, made by the Republicans in the formation of their

platform and in the conduct of their campaign. Added to this was perhaps the greatest era of prosperity ever experienced by any country. This latter condition was a source of much embarrassment to Mr. Bryan and his managers, who tried to ridicule the idea of a full dinner pail, or of more work at better prices.

When Mr. Hanna, the plain business man of Ohio, who was chosen Chairman of the Republican National Committee at the close of the St. Louis Convention, declared that the management of a national political campaign was but a business matter, and that, being only a business man, he would set about his work as such, there was an effort made to ridicule his position and his utterances. The manner in which he had conducted the campaign of 1896 and had closed up the affairs of the headquarters of the National Committee — having cut his garment to suit the cloth so accurately as to enable him to pay every debt and discharge every obligation within a few days after the election, an accomplishment perhaps never before achieved by any national chairman — elicited the encomiums of all good citizens and prominent men within his own party, as well as the admiration of all thinking men in the opposition party. From top to bottom Chairman Hanna had instituted methods of conducting a campaign never before adopted, and he had contributed by this system and his individuality toward the success of four years ago. He set up against the fast and loose system of the opposition a policy such as a wise, successful, and honorable business man would establish for the conduct of a great commercial institution. These methods also contributed much to the success of the campaign just closed.

Taken all in all, the campaign of 1900 was devoid of sensations and unexpected developments. The campaign upon both sides was conspicuous by the absence of popular excitement. Owing to the confidence of the people in a continuance of existing conditions, it involved practically no disturbance of general business. At the wind-up of the campaign, for a period of ten days or two weeks, great interest was manifested; but this was not fraught with any acrimony or unusual agitation. The arousing of those who intended to vote for McKinley and Roosevelt from the dangerous condition of coma to the full realization of possible defeat would have resulted, under ordinary circumstances, in considerable individual feeling and some violent expressions; but, throughout the country, from one end to the other, there was less disturbance than has accompanied any campaign within a quarter of a century.



At the close of the great national political struggle of 1900 the voters of our country found themselves better equipped for the exercise of their right at the polls than ever before. They had kept fairly good pace with the events transpiring at Washington during the last four years, and the education growing out of the campaign of 1896 had placed them in a high rank of political intelligence. It was, therefore, bold and venturesome to attempt to lead them astray by any form of misrepresentation. These men now realize more firmly than ever the necessity of keeping even closer trace of the legislative and political work of all parties, in order that they may act intelligently and for their best interests. Politics forms an important feature of the daily press of our country, and is an attractive part of the magazines and of our general literature. Politics, commerce, and industry go hand in hand. The effort of Mr. Bryan and his managers to make of our expansion of territory, among other things, a simple proposition of commercialism, when they should have realized that nearly all of our people favor expansion of markets and expansion of territory when they come in the manner in which the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico were received, was a political error. I do not believe that there will ever be again any persistent appeal to the sordid traits of character, any attempt to array employé against employer, class against class, one religious creed against another, as the lessons of this campaign have taught that all who make this effort must perish in overwhelming defeat.

The interests of the employer and employé are identical: without the success of one the success of the other is impossible; with the success of the one success must come to the other, whether or not in just proportion I do not undertake to say. I must, however, express the hope that the employers of the country will take into more serious consideration the employés, who at the recent election voted to give prosperity to all, in the face of the strenuous effort of the opposition, who would have had them believe that the prosperity of the employer meant the coercion of the employé, and that the only recourse of the latter was to destroy the former. The workingmen of our country have again resented the talk of demagogues about coercion, and have voted for a continuance of an administration that has given employers great prosperity, in which they themselves have participated. They have voted for the flag wherever it floats, and I hope and believe that they will have their full share of the benefits.

PERRY S. HEATH.

## THE WORK OF THE RECIPROCITY COMMISSION.

It is now over three years since President McKinley took the first step toward carrying out those provisions of the Dingley Tariff Act, approved July 24, 1897, relating to Conventions of Commercial Reciprocity. The initial step was taken when he appointed Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, a Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary to represent him in negotiations with foreign governments. The results of the indefatigable labors of Commissioner Kasson consist, at this writing, of four agreements under section 3 of the Tariff Act — agreements of limited scope, not needing ratification by the Senate, which have become operative by proclamation of the President — and of twelve treaties under section 4, of which seven are pending in the Senate, while five<sup>1</sup> will be submitted to that body at its approaching session for its advice and consent to ratification. No vote on any of those sent in at the last session was reached, although the treaty with France was favorably reported to the Senate by the Committee on Foreign Relations; the others are still awaiting the report of that committee.

This is the largest number of commercial treaties ever negotiated by one officer on the part of the United States. Secretary Blaine, with the aid of Gen. John W. Foster, concluded in 1891-92 a dozen reciprocal agreements, under the provisions of section 3 of the McKinley Tariff Act, which went into effect by Presidential proclamation. But not one of those agreements involved so much difficulty in negotiation as each and every one of the sixteen conventions negotiated by Mr. Kasson.

Mr. Blaine's commercial arrangements<sup>2</sup> were very satisfactory, but his task was made easy by auspicious circumstances. His doctrine of a Pan-American Zollverein, to be based on a system of reciprocal treaties of commerce, was enthusiastically received by the governments of the various countries of South and Central America, and they fairly tumbled over each other in their zeal to take advan-

<sup>1</sup> As will be seen on p. 407, this number may be reduced to four.

<sup>2</sup> See THE FORUM for August, 1898.



tage of the reciprocity features of the McKinley law. In their negotiations to this end they displayed, as a rule, a generous spirit. The concessions they could obtain from the United States were defined in the tariff act and were the same to all. They gave whatever was asked, usually without haggling or hesitancy. So fast as other affairs of state permitted agreements were arranged by exchange of notes and went into effect on proclamation. The commerce of the United States grew by leaps and bounds, and both contracting parties to the respective conventions were pleased with their bargain.

Unfortunately, the Wilson Tariff Act repudiated and repealed these arrangements without the slightest notice to the interested governments, and, in consequence, the United States stood discredited in the eyes of the contracting nations. Then came the passage of the Dingley Tariff Act, which aroused a feeling of exasperation and resentment throughout the commercial world, because of its high protective duties — in many instances made especially high, in order to permit of reciprocal concessions under section 4 and still leave ample protection. The result was that when Mr. Kasson undertook his labors, in October, 1897, he found hostile tariffs and unjust discriminations confronting him in new quarters, and everywhere a noticeable indisposition to negotiate.

The situation in Europe was even worse than on this hemisphere. One great nation had a maximum and a minimum tariff, applying the former to the United States, while all the principal countries of Europe enjoyed the latter by virtue of special treaties. Another equally important nation, under the guise of sanitary measures, had imposed prohibitive regulations on certain of our food products. In still other countries serious embarrassments of one kind and another to American commerce existed, and the complaints of our exporters were loud and numerous. This has been changed only in part; but it is a fact that the ratification of the twelve treaties which will soon be begging for life before the Senate would go a long way toward the removal of existing causes of complaint and the expansion of the foreign commerce of the United States. On the other hand, it is equally true that the rejection of these treaties would practically mean the abandonment of the grand principle of reciprocity, which the Republican national platform of 1896 declared to be, with protection, "a twin measure of Republican policy," and which was incorporated in the Dingley Tariff Act in fulfilment of the party's pledge to the people.

## I. COMMERCIAL AGREEMENTS UNDER SECTION 3, TARIFF ACT OF 1897.

Section 3 of the United States Tariff Act empowers the President to enter into negotiations with any country which exports to the United States any of certain enumerated articles, and, in return for reciprocal and equivalent concessions, to suspend by proclamation the existing duties on the said products imported from the country in question, which shall thereafter be admitted on payment of specified reduced duties. These articles, with the general and concessional rates applicable to them, are as follows:

ENUMERATED ARTICLES.	GENERAL RATE.	CONCESSIONAL RATE.
Argols, or crude tartar or wine lees, crude.....	1 to 1½ cent per pound.	5 per cent ad valorem.
Brandies, or other spirits manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials.....	\$2.25 per proof gallon.	\$1.75 per proof gallon.
Champagne and all other sparkling wines, in bottles, containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint.....	\$8 per dozen.	\$6 per dozen.
Each not more than 1 pint and more than ½ pint.....	\$4 per dozen.	\$3 per dozen.
Each ½ pint or less.....	\$2 per dozen.	\$1.50 per dozen.
In bottles or other vessels containing more than 1 quart each.....	\$8 per dozen, plus \$2.50 per gallon on quantities in excess of 1 quart.	\$6 per dozen, plus \$1.90 per gallon on quantities in excess of 1 quart.
Still wines, and vermouth:		
In casks.....	40 to 50 cents per gallon.	35 cents per gallon.
In bottles or jugs, case of 1 dozen bottles or jugs, containing each not more than 1 quart and more than 1 pint, or 24 bottles or jugs containing each not more than 1 pint.....	\$1.60 per case.	\$1.25 per case.
Any excess beyond these quantities found in such bottles or jugs.....	5 cents per pint or fractional part thereof.	4 cents per pint or fractional part thereof.
Paintings in oil or water colors, pastels, pen and ink drawings, and statuary.....	20 per cent ad valorem.	15 per cent ad valorem.

Under this section commercial agreements have been concluded with a number of countries, which will be individually considered.

The French Reciprocal Agreement was signed by United States Commissioner Kasson and Ambassador Cambon on May 28, 1898. It was proclaimed by the President of the United States on May 30, and



went into effect on June 1, 1898. By its terms France obtains all the concessions provided in section 3, except the reductions contemplated on champagne and other sparkling wines, which, by reason of their great importance, were strenuously demanded by the French, but declined on the part of the United States, because champagne is an article of luxury, the import of which is not affected by existing duties. Another significant feature introduced by the American negotiator is the provision that the concession on still wines and vermouth may be withdrawn from France, in the discretion of the President of the United States, whenever additional duties beyond those now existing, and which may be deemed by him unjust to the commerce of the United States, shall be imposed by France on our products. In compensation, the United States secures from France her minimum tariff, not exceeding certain rates specified in the agreement, on canned meats, fresh table fruits, dried or pressed fruits (excluding raisins), logs, timber and lumber, paving blocks, staves, hops; manufactured and prepared pork meats; lard and its compounds.

The way in which this agreement has operated, during a period of nearly two years, is shown by the statistical tables, prepared from official sources at the Treasury Department, given on pages 398 and 399.

Examination of the statistics in the tables shows that United States exports to France of concessional articles increased 74 per cent in value, while the imports into the United States of French merchandise affected by the agreement increased less than 5 per cent in value. Another remarkable fact is that there has been no increase of imports of French brandy and still wines, as had been feared by our producers. Now, can it be justly denied that the United States has made the better bargain, or that our commercial interests in France have been greatly benefited by this agreement?

The agreement with Portugal was concluded May 22, 1899, by Mr. Kasson and the Viscount de Santo-Thyrso, Portuguese Minister at Washington. It was ratified by the Cortes of Portugal, and put into effect by proclamation on June 12, 1900. The delay in its going into operation was partly due to the necessity of correcting a clerical error in the signed copies. Its term is five years from the date of proclamation. Under this arrangement Portugal receives the same concessions as those granted to France excepting on vermouth, and, in addition, the reduced rates on sparkling wines. Inasmuch, however, as Portugal is not a producer of the latter, their inclusion has no signifi-

cance. Reciprocally, Portugal guarantees that the lowest rates which shall be granted to any other country (Spain and Brazil excepted) shall be enjoyed, on their importation into Portugal and the Azores and Madeira Islands, by the following important products of the soil and industry of the United States, viz. : flour of cereals (except wheat), maize and wheat in the grain, lard and grease, mineral oils and certain important products thereof; reaping, mowing, and threshing machines; machines for compressing hay and straw; steam-

## I.

Benefits to United States: Table of exports from United States to France of merchandise enjoying concessional rates of duty, under Commercial Agreement in effect June 1, 1898, during the twenty-two months ending March 31, 1898, and March 31, 1900, respectively:

ARTICLES.	22 MONTHS ENDING MARCH 31, 1898.		22 MONTHS ENDING MARCH 31, 1900.	
	QUANTI- TIES.	VALUE.	QUANTI- TIES.	VALUE.
Apples, dried:..... pounds	3,331,620	\$159,859	5,091,331	\$216,374
Apples, green or ripe.....barrels	1,070	5,352	1,620	9,718
All other fruits (except raisins).....		498,318		997,733
Fruits preserved, canned.....		7,629		19,077
“ “ other.....		3,714		1,388
Beef, canned.....pounds	1,568,510	129,638	1,438,522	139,298
Bacon.....pounds	3,763,866	253,664	23,522,004	1,587,136
Hams.....pounds	1,284,531	126,339	2,211,868	209,849
Lard.....pounds	40,117,019	2,022,041	58,858,130	3,382,838
Lard compounds.....pounds	5,813,704	280,536	1,912,370	101,548
Timber, sawed.....M feet	34,693	327,482	45,863	442,237
“ hewn.....cubic feet	415,105	51,876	608,055	75,801
Logs and other timber.....		108,453		201,660
Boards, deals and planks.....M feet	40,121	551,526	50,377	775,618
Joists and scantling.....M feet	187	2,718		
Staves and headings.....		608,339		797,354
Total.....		\$5,137,484		\$8,957,629

plows, separate parts of these machines, and plow-shares; instruments, implements, and tools for the arts, manufactures, agriculture, and gardening. On most of these articles low rates are specified which shall not be exceeded. The guaranty of the minimum rates on United States petroleum is especially important, in view of the fact that Portugal had previously granted them, in a special arrangement, to Russian oils, thus giving the latter a decided advantage.



II.

Benefits to France: Table of imports into United States from France of merchandise enjoying concessional rates of duty, under Commercial Agreement in effect June 1, 1898, during the twenty-two months ending March 31, 1898, and March 31, 1900, respectively.

ARTICLES.	22 MONTHS ENDING MARCH 31, 1898.			22 MONTHS ENDING MARCH 31, 1900.		
	QUANTI- TIES.	VALUES.	DUTY.	QUANTI- TIES.	VALUES.	DUTY.
Art Works { Free.....	.....	\$2,795,609	.....	.....	.....	.....
{ Dutiable.....	.....	525,328	105,065.60	.....	\$2,647,802	\$397,170.30
Argal or crude tartar, free, lbs.....	7,161,651	635,469	.....	.....	.....	.....
Argols or wine lees—dut., lbs.....	3,315,385	289,165	49,730.77	22,348,706	1,891,313	94,565.65
Spirits distilled:						
Brandy—proof, galls., dut.....	406,014	1,122,790	771,311.70	351,028	1,041,011	614,299.00
Other—proof, galls., dut.....	126,476	353,524	221,951.95	167,068	409,757	292,369.00
Still wines and vermouth:						
In casks—galls., dut.....	806,070	473,339	276,646.20	726,823	430,490	254,388.05
In other coverings—doz., qts., dut....	179,264	1,024,231	286,822.40	207,904	1,112,805	259,880.00
Total.....	.....	\$7,219,455	\$1,711,528.62	.....	\$7,533,178	\$1,912,672.00

The agreement with Italy was signed on February 8, 1900, by Mr. Kasson and Baron Fava, Italian Ambassador at Washington. It was ratified by the parliament of Italy, and proclaimed and put into effect on July 18, 1900. It is terminable by either party at the end of the year 1903, if denounced one year in advance. The United States grants to Italy the identical concessions given to France under section 3, and, reciprocally, Italy guarantees that the duties on the following products of the United States shall not exceed certain specified rates: Cotton-seed oil, pickled or preserved fish (certain exceptions), agricultural machinery and detached parts, scientific instruments, dynamo-electrical machines and detached parts, sewing machines, and varnishes. On some of these articles the Italian duties were reduced, and on others the continuance of the previous minimum rates was guaranteed. The United States also secures the free entry of turpentine oil, natural fertilizers of all kinds, crude, fresh, or dried skins, not suitable for furs, and fur skins.

The agreement with Germany, prepared by the Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary, was signed by Secretary Hay and Herr von Holleben, German Ambassador at Washington, on July 10, 1900, and put into effect by proclamation on July 13. It is terminable by either party on three months' notice. The concessions secured thereunder by Germany are identical with those granted to France and Italy. Reciprocally, Germany guarantees to the products of the United States, on their entry into Germany, the tariff rates which have been conceded by the commercial treaties concluded during the years 1891-1894 between Germany, on the one part, and Belgium, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Russia, Switzerland, and Servia, on the other part. The treaties referred to cover a large list of articles imported into Germany from the United States; and, consequently, so long as the agreement shall remain in force our commercial interests in that country will be on a most favored nation basis. As a further compensation Germany agreed to annul the regulations providing that the dried or evaporated fruits imported from the United States be inspected on account of the San José scale. When the agreement became operative this pledge was promptly fulfilled, much to the relief of the California fruit growers and of other United States exporters of the products in question. The conclusion of this agreement is not only beneficial to American commerce, but it has tended to soothe, if not to remove altogether, certain causes of international irritation.



## II. COMMERCIAL CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER SECTION 4, TARIFF ACT OF 1897.

Section 4 of the Tariff Act authorizes the President to negotiate treaties of reciprocity which may provide, during a specified period not exceeding five years, for (1) reduction of the existing duties to the extent of not more than 20 per cent on any article imported from any foreign country; or (2) transfer from the dutiable to the free list of any natural products of any foreign country which are not natural products of the United States; or (3) retention on the free list of any articles already there.

Under the extensive provisions of this section, the Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary, on behalf of the President, has negotiated and concluded the following important conventions. The treaty term in each is five years, except in two instances where it is four years. The original period for the exchange of ratifications having expired in the case of France, Barbados, British Guiana, Turks and Caicos Islands, Jamaica, Bermuda, Argentine Republic, and Nicaragua, supplementary conventions have been signed, extending it in each instance. It has also expired in the case of Trinidad, but has not yet been extended, which may prevent the original convention from being submitted to the Senate.

The Franco-American Treaty under section 4 was signed by Mr. Kasson and Ambassador Cambon, the plenipotentiaries of their respective governments, on July 24, 1899. It is by far the most important commercial treaty negotiated in the modern history of the country. The negotiations which culminated in its signature were initiated in the autumn of 1897, by Ambassador Patenôtre, who at first proposed to concede the whole minimum tariff of France in exchange for the authorized reduction of 20 per cent on the entire list of French merchandise imported into the United States. After careful consideration this offer was declined by the American negotiator, who then made a counter-proposition to Ambassador Cambon — the successor of M. Patenôtre — for a moderate reduction on specific French articles in exchange for the French minimum tariff on all United States exports. This constituted the basis of the successful negotiations which followed.

The tariff system of France is unique, consisting of a general (maximum) and a minimum tariff. The latter is enjoyed by nations with which France has concluded special commercial treaties, as is

the case with every commercially important country of Europe, excepting Portugal; while the higher rates of the general tariff are imposed on the products of less fortunate nations, and in this category is the United States. It is true there is a single tariff for certain articles and also a limited free list; but the unpleasant fact remains that the United States is face to face in France with a most objectionable discriminating tariff system.

Now, as to what the United States secures. In article 1 of the convention France agrees that all articles of merchandise, the product of the soil or industry of the United States of America, exported to France or Algeria (whether shipped directly to a French or Algerian port or arriving by way of an intermediate port) shall be admitted into France and Algeria upon the payment of only the minimum rates of duty imposed on like articles of any other origin, excepting from this general provision nineteen articles only, viz.: horses, butter, lucerne and clover seed, fodder, cast-iron, skins and hides prepared, boots and shoes and parts of same, belts, cords, and other leather articles for machinery, dynamos, machine tools, dynamo conductors and parts, arc lamps known as regulators, sugar, green or dried chicory roots, eggs, cheese, honey, porcelain, and rough cardboard in sheets. These excepted articles are enumerated in order that the reader may perceive that the majority do not figure prominently, if at all, in our exports to France. In fact, only two, viz., boots and shoes and machine tools, are of much importance in a commercial sense. But even for these nineteen exceptions — which may possibly form the basis of a supplementary treaty — the American negotiator contended vigorously and persistently. On the other hand, the grant by France of her minimum tariff on every other conceivable product of United States soil or manufacture opens up a magnificent prospect for our diversified industries.

The French tariff contains 654 numbers. Deducting the 19 excepted articles, there remain 635 categories of merchandise on which the United States has obtained concessions. It would have made an imposing array to have specified all of them in the treaty itself, but the United States Commissioner wisely considered the universal clause as preferable. The average percentage of reduction from the rates of the maximum tariff made by France is 26.1 per cent, excluding mineral and vegetable oils, and 48 per cent, including them. On many articles it is 50 and even 60 per cent. The average reduction on 96 products of the soil is over 32 per cent.



Among the important products of our soil and manufactures which are largely benefited in the treaty may be cited the following (the accompanying percentages of reduction were computed by the United States Government actuary): Agricultural implements and machinery of all kinds,  $41\frac{2}{3}$  per cent; other machinery and engines of all kinds,  $33\frac{1}{3}$  to 46 per cent; railway equipment and supplies of every description, 16 to 48 per cent; vehicles of all kinds,  $16\frac{2}{3}$  to 26 per cent; cycles and parts, 12 per cent; watches and clocks, 25 to  $87\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; sewing machines, 30 per cent; stoves,  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent; scientific instruments and apparatus of all kinds, free; musical instruments,  $16\frac{2}{3}$  to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent; furniture,  $14\frac{3}{4}$  to 36 per cent; all manufactures of wood,  $14\frac{3}{10}$  to 60 per cent; rubber goods, 20 to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent; textiles and all other manufactures of silk, wool, flax, hemp, etc., 20 to  $66\frac{2}{3}$  per cent; cotton cloths and knit goods of cotton, 23 per cent; lumber and timber, 28 to 40 per cent; stone, 60 per cent; marble, free and 20 to 40 per cent; iron (except pig) of all kinds and in all shapes, 5 to 46 per cent; steel of all kinds and in all shapes, 5 to 46 per cent; sulphate of copper, 25 per cent; petroleum, 50 per cent; products of petroleum,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 50 per cent; meats, 10 to 50 per cent; lard,  $37\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; fruit and vegetables, 20 to  $66\frac{2}{3}$  per cent; carded cotton, 25 per cent; wools, 20 to 30 per cent; pitch and tar, 25 to 40 per cent; turpentine, 50 per cent; resin, 40 per cent; oil cake and meal, free; flour, wheat and grain of all kinds, and cotton-seed oil, lowest rates.

In short, nearly every United States industry, great or little — whether fully developed and already battling for recognition against heavy odds in the markets of France, or yet in infancy, but with commercial ambitions and possibilities — has been cared for in this convention, in whose ratification at the approaching session of Congress every section of this country should be equally interested.

In 1897 France imported from the world a total of \$117,000,000 worth of manufactured goods, of which the United States, handicapped by the maximum tariff, furnished less than \$4,000,000 worth. The commercial possibilities, when this market of forty millions of highly civilized people shall be opened to our producers on conditions of equality with their European competitors, will certainly be very great. It has been estimated that, with the treaty in operation, the annual exports of the United States to France would increase in value to the extent of about \$25,000,000. In the language of Mr. Kasson, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:

"We are not merely regulating an old trade and market, but making a new one, for American manufacturers. We are getting advantages on old trade, but that is nothing as compared with the new trade that is coming to relieve the plethora which will soon be on our own home market."

Now, what does France secure? In Article II the United States reciprocally agrees to the admission of certain specified products of France or Algeria at reductions in duty varying from 5 to 20 per cent from the existing rates. The enumerated articles comprise 126 numbers of the United States tariff, which contains 463 dutiable items. The United States, therefore, reserves from its concessional list to France 337 categories of merchandise, whereas France, as we have seen, excepts only 19 United States products from her grant of the minimum tariff. It is to be remembered, however, that France is only giving us what she has already conceded to European nations, while our concessions are made to France for the first time.

In 1898 the total value of imports into this country of French merchandise that would be affected by the treaty was \$25,504,443. Taking this amount as a basis, the following table, prepared by the United States Government actuary, Mr. Joseph S. McCoy, shows the distribution of the concessions offered by the United States.

The concession of 20 per cent applies to only.....	\$1,444,186
The concession of 15 per cent applies to only.....	968,767
The concession of 10 per cent applies to.....	5,971,207
The concession of 5 per cent applies to.....	17,120,283
Total.....	\$25,504,443

In fact, the authorized reduction of 20 per cent is granted by the United States on eight items only, that of 15 per cent on six only, while the average percentage of reduction is only  $6\frac{8}{10}$  per cent.

The opposition in this country to the ratification of the treaty is confined almost exclusively to manufacturers of cotton knit goods, imitation jewelry, and spectacles. The United States tariff and treaty rates on these articles are as follows:

	AVERAGE AD VALOREM DUTY UNDER U. S. TARIFF ACT OF 1897. PER CENT.	AVERAGE AD VALOREM DUTY UNDER FRENCH TREATY. PER CENT.
Cotton knit goods...	$64\frac{2}{10}$	$51\frac{5}{10}$
Imitation jewelry...	60	57
Spectacles.....	$79\frac{8}{10}$	$71\frac{8}{10}$

To show the groundlessness of the fears expressed by representatives of these industries that the concessions to France may affect them



injuriously, it will suffice to take the single instance of cotton knit goods. The annual product of the United States is about \$100,000,000, while our imports from the world amounted, in 1898, to \$4,034,483, of which France furnished only \$241,278. The duty on this class of goods, as averaged at the Treasury, is  $64\frac{2}{10}$  per cent ad valorem. The concession of 20 per cent does not mean, as some critics apparently believe, that the treaty would reduce the duty to  $44\frac{2}{10}$  per cent. It means that it would be reduced to  $51\frac{5}{10}$  per cent ad valorem, which certainly involves no sacrifice of our protective policy. And right here it may be remarked that there are one hundred business interests of the United States directly benefited by the treaty to one that is asked, for the sake of the common welfare, to spare a tittle of its tariff protection.

In addition to the foregoing concessions the United States, in Article III, agrees to extend to France or Algeria any reduction of duties upon sparkling wines or certain articles of woollen manufacture which may hereafter be conceded to any other country. The grant to Portugal, however, of reduced rates on sparkling wines does not inure to France, the Portuguese agreement having been concluded prior to this convention; and the general understanding is that no reduction of duties on woollen goods is contemplated.

Article IV provides that in case either contracting party, during the term of the convention, shall, by legislative action, increase the reduced rates stipulated in the treaty for the products of the other, or shall impose new restrictions or prohibitions upon importations from the other, the option is reserved to the other contracting party to terminate its obligations under the convention after six months' notice to that effect.

Article V provides that the treaty shall be ratified by both governments and shall continue in force for the term of five years from the date of exchange of ratifications, and from year to year thereafter, until denounced by either contracting party by giving twelve months' notice to the other.

The following conventions with the British West Indies were in fact negotiated in most instances by colonial delegates, who came to Washington for that purpose; but were signed by the diplomatic representative of the British Government.

The convention with Great Britain on behalf of her colony of Barbados was signed by Mr. Kasson and Mr. Reginald Tower, British Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, on June 16, 1899. The

United States grants a concession of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent reduction of the existing duties on cane sugars and molasses, fresh fruit and vegetables, and asphalt or manjack. In return Barbados agrees to the free admission of nineteen articles of United States exports, including vehicles, clocks, cycles and parts, machinery for electric lighting, corn and corn meal, cotton-seed oil, eggs, hay, horses, pitch, tar, resin, etc.; it also guarantees that the duties imposed on eight classes of goods, comprising fruits and vegetables, clothing, hardware, furniture, earthenware, glassware, woodenware, and willowware shall not exceed 5 per cent ad valorem, and it specifies low rates, which shall not be increased, on twelve classes of United States merchandise.

The convention with Great Britain on behalf of British Guiana was signed by Mr. Kasson and Mr. Tower on July 18, 1899. The United States grants a reduction of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on cane sugars, fresh vegetables, and kaolin. The reciprocal concessions given by the colony are almost identical with those granted to the United States by Barbados, the articles being practically the same, with slight differences in the specified low rates in the third schedule.

The convention on behalf of Turks and Caicos Islands was concluded by Mr. Kasson, for the United States, and Mr. Tower, for Great Britain, on July 21, 1899. The United States concedes a reduction of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent merely on salt and unmanufactured sponges, and continues the free admission of unmanufactured and undressed sisal grass. Reciprocally, the Islands grant exemption of customs duties on twenty-one products of the United States, including cereals and other farm products, manufactured goods of various kinds, iron, steel, copper, etc.; and on another list of nineteen articles low rates are specified, which shall not be increased.

The convention with Great Britain on behalf of the colony of Jamaica was signed by Mr. Kasson and Mr. Tower on July 22, 1899. The United States concedes a reduction of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the duties on cane sugar and molasses; of 20 per cent on citrus fruits, pine apples, fresh vegetables, and rum; and the free entry of certain natural products of Jamaica not produced in this country. In compensation Jamaica agrees to admit free of duty fifty-nine classes of products of United States soil and industry, including machinery, agricultural implements and tools, telegraphic, telephonic, gas, and electrical apparatus and appliances, railway equipment, vehicles, steam-engines, sewing machines, steel, zinc, coal, coke, fruit,



fish, meat, etc. The colony also agrees upon certain low rates, which shall not be exceeded, on a further list of twenty articles of United States export, mostly farm products.

This is the only one of the conventions for the British West Indian colonies which has been at all criticised, and this simply because of the concession respecting citrus fruits from Jamaica, which, the orange growers of California say, compete with their products in the markets of the United States. The season of importation of Jamaican oranges, however, is only in part coincident with the market season of the California oranges. But there would be no increase of competition in any event, because the entire crop of the island is now sold in the United States. In fact, the competition is likely to be less, owing to the establishment of subsidized fast steamers between Jamaica and England, with a view to a diversion to the latter of the present Jamaican trade with the United States.

The convention with Great Britain on behalf of Bermuda was concluded by Mr. Kasson and Mr. Tower on July 24, 1899. The United States grants a reduction of 20 per cent of the present duties on the island's early potatoes, its onions, tomatoes, and other fresh vegetables, as well as its bulbs and natural flowers. In return we secure the free admission into the colony of thirty articles of merchandise, including fresh and canned fruits, vegetables, fresh and canned meats, dredging machinery, agricultural implements, clocks, vehicles, cycles, cotton-seed oil and cake, naval stores, etc. Bermuda also agrees that on seven enumerated classes of articles, including cereals, flour, and furniture, the rate of duty shall not exceed 5 per cent ad valorem, and specifies a low rate for United States cattle.

A convention with Great Britain for Trinidad was concluded by Mr. Kasson and the British Chargé d'Affaires on July 22, 1899, but it failed to receive the assent of the colonial legislature. A second convention was then negotiated, and signed on February 13, 1900, by United States Commissioner Kasson and Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador. The stipulated period for exchange of ratifications has expired and, as in the case of the other British colonies, it may not be extended, in which event, of course, it will not be sent to the Senate. The writer is unable to discuss the contents of this and of four other conventions which have not yet been submitted to the Senate, ordered printed, and the injunction of secrecy removed.

The Argentina convention was signed at Buenos Ayres, July 10, 1899, by the respective plenipotentiaries, Hon. William I.

Buchanan, United States Minister at Buenos Ayres, and Dr. Amancio Alcorta, Minister of Foreign Relations of the Argentine Republic. The United States concedes to Argentina a reduction of 20 per cent of the existing duties on sugar, hides of cattle, and certain kinds of wool. Reciprocally, Argentina grants the following concessions upon the products of the United States: (1) a reduction of 50 per cent of the duties (existing or which may be prescribed by law) on ten classes of articles, principally canned goods; (2) a reduction of 20 per cent of present or future rates on eight classes of articles, including bacon, all cereal foods, sail-twine, and cotton rope; (3) a guaranty that the duties imposed on furniture made of oak, ash, or pine shall be calculated on a basis more favorable than at present; (4) a reduced rate of 15 per cent ad valorem on white, spruce, Oregon and yellow pines, oak and ash lumber, undressed; (5) a guaranty of a fixed low rate on cotton-seed oil; and (6) the specification of reduced *aforos* on about thirteen articles largely imported from the United States. The *aforos* are valuations on imports which are fixed by the executive authority of Argentina as the basis for the assessment of ad valorem duties. The arbitrary exercise from time to time of this power is a convenient expedient for increasing revenues without recourse to additional legislation, and has proved a source of embarrassment to our exporters.

As respects the concessions secured from Argentina, this treaty is distinctly a diplomatic triumph for the United States. Indeed, it would be difficult to devise arrangements more favorable for the development of our trade in that country. Unfortunately, the convention is vulnerable in a single feature, viz. : the concession on the part of the United States of a reduction of 20 per cent of the present tariff rates on Argentine wool, and this has aroused such opposition from the wool-growing interests of our country as to imperil its ratification by the Senate. The Argentine negotiator made this particular concession a *sine qua non*; otherwise, of course, the United States minister would never have agreed to its inclusion in the original *projet* of the convention furnished him by the Special Commissioner Plenipotentiary.

On the other hand, advocates of the treaty in exporting circles claim that the concession on wool would have little, if any, effect in increasing the importation of that article from Argentina. The total import of wool into the United States from all sources, in 1899, was 76,736,209 pounds, of which the Argentine Republic furnished only



7,573,601 pounds. Its classification, with present tariff and concessional rates under the treaty, is as follows :

WOOLS OF	IMPORTS FROM ARGENTINA, 1899.	UNITED STATES TARIFF RATES.	TREATY RATES.
Class I. ....	2,693,426 pounds	11 cents per pound	$8\frac{8}{10}$ cents per pound
Class III. ....	4,880,175 pounds	4 and 7 cents per pound	$3\frac{2}{10}$ and $5\frac{8}{10}$ cents per pound
Total. ....	7,573,601 pounds		

It will be observed that the wools which we import from Argentina belong mostly to Class III. They are of a much inferior grade to those produced in the United States, and are needed especially by our carpet manufacturers.

The convention with Nicaragua was concluded at Washington on October 20, 1899, and signed by Commissioner Kasson, on the part of the United States, and Dr. Joaquin Sanson, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua, on the part of the latter nation.

The convention with Denmark on behalf of the West Indian Island of St. Croix was concluded June 5, 1900, by Mr. Kasson, on the part of the United States, and Mr. Constantin Brun, Danish minister at Washington, on the part of Denmark.

The convention with the Dominican Republic was negotiated by the Reciprocity Commissioner, and signed at Washington on June 25, 1900, by Secretary Hay, on the part of the United States, and Senor F. Vasquez, Minister of Improvements and Public Works of the Dominican Republic and Special Envoy to the United States, on the part of the other contracting nation.

The convention with Ecuador was signed at Quito on July 10, 1900, by Hon. Archibald J. Sampson, United States Minister at Quito, and Dr. José Peralta, Minister of Foreign Relations of Ecuador, representing their respective governments.

These last four conventions, not yet having been submitted to the Senate, cannot be discussed.

The reader will observe that some of the treaties above mentioned have been concluded subsequent to July 24, 1899, notwithstanding that a strict construction of section 4 requires that not only the conclusion but the *ratification* by the Senate of any treaties negotiated thereunder must be within a period of two years from and after the passage of the act—an obvious impossibility. The same section also provides that these treaties shall be ratified by the Senate

(requiring the constitutional two-thirds vote) and "approved by Congress" (majority vote). In other respects, however, they are all in strict conformity with the provisions of section 4, and the intentions of Congress have been faithfully carried out by the President; hence it matters little whether they be regarded as negotiated under section 4 or by virtue of the constitutional power of the Executive to make a treaty of any kind, subject only to ratification by the Senate.

In conclusion, a natural query is, What would be the probable effect upon our international commercial relations of the abandonment of the reciprocity principle as an essential feature of the present tariff law, coördinate with high protection? Perhaps nothing so serious as what I intimated at the beginning of this article, but unquestionably some unpleasantness for our exporting interests, as a few straws may indicate. Shortly after the passage of the Dingley bill, the Premier of the Austro-Hungarian empire publicly proposed united official action on the part of Europe against the commercial interests of the United States; but the other powers, hopeful of the possibilities presented by the reciprocity features of the tariff act, failed to engage in the scheme. The following remarks by Mr. Kasson before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, respecting his negotiations with France, are also significant in this connection:

"They change with great facility their minimum tariff to maximum, and from one rate to another, where there are no treaty arrangements. When Mr. Patenôtre and myself had for the time being dropped the negotiations under the fourth section of the tariff act, they more than doubled their duties on Chicago meat products very suddenly, and barred the market by lifting their maximum rates upon us, raising the minimum rate also."

If unjust discriminations beyond endurance should be heaped upon the products of the United States there would be no adequate remedy in our tariff system, unless the offending nation happened to be, like Brazil or Venezuela, a producer and exporter of coffee, tea,<sup>1</sup> or tonka and vanilla beans, in which case the President could, under the retaliatory clause of section 3 of the tariff act, suspend by proclamation the free entry of the said products from the particular country; and thereafter they would be subjected to certain specified duties. But if our exports were to be made the object of hostile and unreasonable discriminations by an important nation of Europe, it would be absolutely necessary for Congress to enact retaliatory measures of

<sup>1</sup> A duty of 10 cents per pound, however, was imposed on all foreign teas by the War Revenue Law, approved June 13, 1898.



a far more comprehensive character than any to be found in existing legislation.

Let us hope, however, that this deplorable necessity will not arise, for the policy of retaliation would restrict all foreign trade, entrain endless embarrassments, and engender unfriendly feeling between the nations involved; whereas the policy of reciprocity will surely stimulate our domestic industries, extend our commerce, allay the tempers of our foreign friends which have been ruffled by the advanced protectionism of the Dingley tariff, and promote cordiality in our international relations.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE.

## THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF BANKING.

THE stranger on arriving in China is struck with the apparent inconvenience of the monetary system; but a short residence tends to create an opinion that the system is well adapted to the people, at least in some respects. The financial business of the foreigner is done in either Mexican dollars or in taels, as he prefers, and his bank account is kept in the same way. Drafts on London are in pounds sterling. Ordinary accounts in the stores in Shanghai are kept in Mexican dollars. The commercial business is done mostly in taels. As the price of silver varies every day, the transfer of dollars into pounds, pounds into taels, and taels into Mexicans is bewildering. Usually the tael is worth \$1.40 in Mexicans.

Until recently China has resisted all schemes for the establishment of a mint, as understood in Western countries. Yet it is said that China coined iron money two thousand six hundred years before Christ, under the reign of Huang Ti. This coin has been replaced by a copper piece called chien, because it originally weighed a mace (one-tenth of a tael). This and lump silver are the only public signs of the value of products and the only instruments of ordinary barter, except some Mexican dollars recently coined. The popular name of this coin is "cash."

The monetary system as affecting silver is arranged on the principle of weight, and the divisions have the same names — taels, mace, candareen, and cash. The computation is decimal. Each cash should weigh, as Williams states, 58 grains Troy, or 3.78 grams; but there are in various localities smaller cash in circulation, and the rate of exchange varies in different parts of the land from 500 to 1,800 for a silver dollar. There are big cash and little cash. The Pekin cash passes 5 for 1 silver cent or 500 for \$1. Taking into consideration the immense population of China and the poverty of the people, a good argument may be formulated to sustain the legislator who created "cash." If there was to be but one coin, it had necessarily to be the smallest.



Great weight makes transportation difficult, so that copper coin is not often carried from place to place; and the incumbrance of quantities of coin is so great that every one seeks to get rid of it. For transactions to be consummated at a distance the copper coin must be changed for silver, but in small transactions in the various localities its circulation is rapid. It thus happens that silver in the empire and coin in the districts fulfil exactly the intention of the Government. In the open ports, and wherever Europeans have a foothold, the Mexican dollar readily passes current. At Peking the missionaries, whose dealings are with the poorer classes of people, use exclusively the tael and the cash. But the foreign merchants located at Peking as well as the legations habitually keep their accounts in Mexican dollars.

The tael varies in weight in various centers. The Hai Kuan (customs) tael is the heaviest, and it is the one in which the Government collects its revenues in the customs. It is worth more than any other tael. The copper coin, as coined by the Government, never varies in purity; and no matter what the value of copper may be the same quantity enters into the coin. Williams gives the contents of this coin as follows: Alloy of copper 50, zinc  $41\frac{1}{2}$ , lead  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , and tin 2, or equal parts of copper and zinc. It must be said that the Chinese have succeeded reasonably well in maintaining the equilibrium between silver and cash and between these two metals and the needs of commerce. Monsieur Simon, who wrote a valuable paper on this subject, accounts for the first result by the non-existence of foreign enterprises which offer to pay large interest on silver, but more particularly by the Chinese law which permits interest at 30 per cent. While this law exists no country will be able to compete with China as a market for silver.

As to the depreciation of silver, it depends on many causes and cannot be avoided. Its inconveniences are manifold, especially to the poorer classes, whose wages do not increase as the value of silver diminishes. The Government seeks to avoid the effect of depreciation by making new issues of cash. Because the importation of foreign silver tends to diminish the value of silver in the Empire, there is a strong party in China opposed to foreign commerce. It may be remarked that the depreciation of silver is one of the great evils attending commercial operations in China. The European who desires to send a part of his earnings home finds that his silver tael varies in value every day. The lower silver goes the less sterling it will buy, and the more he loses. The rate of exchange on London and

the demand are the measures of the profits of the trade with China. It is, therefore, evident that when exchange on London is low, the merchant in China cannot get his goods laid down in this market for the same price in sterling as when the exchange is high. The market value of the goods not having increased he has to bear a loss proportionate to the fall in exchange.

The interest laws of China, with which the operations of banking are intimately connected, date from the year 1250 of our era. The enormous rate of interest is curiously defended by several writers. It results, they say, in securing economy, in order that the borrower may repay the loan, in producing greater industry, in deterring persons from borrowing, in reducing the number of renters of land, thus increasing the number of land owners, and in inducing circumspection with regard to new enterprises. It is further stated, by men of business, that this 30 per cent is only a maximum founded on the probability that the oscillations in the price of silver will never exceed that sum. It must be understood also that the ordinary rate of interest rarely exceeds 20 or 22 per cent, and that money may be had as low as 12 per cent, though the rate sometimes exceeds even 30 per cent.

Silver is ordinarily cast into pieces of ten taels value, bearing some resemblance to a Chinese shoe, being a lump hollowed out in the center and raised at the sides and ends. Large pieces of fifty taels are almost the exact shape of a shoe. They are from 97 to 99 per cent pure silver. Gold bullion is cast into bars, like cakes of India ink, weighing about ten taels. In the early days of foreign trade the Mexican dollar was cut into pieces as it was in our Western States. Pieces were punched out of it until it lost recognition as a coin. I have seen in the south of China hundreds of these mutilated pieces, which are of no use except to be melted into bullion. It is the custom in the south of China to stamp Mexican dollars, and they are then called "chopped dollars."

Williams has little to say about the banking system of China, but his views, in the main, are correct. The subject is worthy of more attention than he accorded to it, and it is becoming day by day more important. The progress of trade, the necessities of the Empire, and the importunity of foreigners seeking concessions of banking privileges have latterly attracted the attention of the whole world to banking in China.

There does not exist in China any state bank, so-called. The issue



of paper money dates back to the earliest historic period. The reader of Marco Polo wearies of the continual and unvarying description given by him of the countries that he visited. The monotonous statement is forever repeated that "they issue paper money." This statement is sometimes all that is said, and constitutes a chapter. Kublai Khan bought everything valuable his people had, and paid in paper money, a system much commended by Marco Polo as resulting in the possession of endless treasure without any cost. This system brought on a rebellion which overthrew the reigning dynasty.

Five hundred years before Christ, Government bills, which were utterly worthless, were forced into circulation. In 1455, according to Williams, they were suspended; and, except during the Taiping rebellion, in 1858, no bills have been issued since. These bills were current in the capital only. As there is no profit to a government in the business of banking except in the issue of paper money, and as only a bank of issue requires special privileges, China has, as a state, nothing to do with banking. There is, however, in each province a private bank which performs the functions of the treasury for the Government and receives the taxes. It requires payment in silver purer than the silver of the locality, and thereby makes two per cent as compensation for its services. These banks are like all other private banks and perform all the usual functions. There are also private banks of emission, but they are not numerous. They exist chiefly at Peking. They issue notes of as low a denomination as 10 cents. Their bills do not pass current out of Peking. These notes are worth more than cash, and a great business is done in exchanging one for the other.

The Government tolerates rather than favors these banks of issue. In the event of suspension of payment the Government officials take possession of the bank and administer its affairs for the benefit of the bill-holders. There are few cases where there are, after failure, any but nominal assets. Usually when disaster comes the banker disappears with the assets, and the loss is total. The true Chinese banks are the banks of discount and deposit. These stand high in popular confidence. It does not appear that they derive any great benefit from governmental action. For aught that can be ascertained to the contrary these banks are as old as history. Their existence 2,600 B. C. is said to have been well established. The creation of paper money and the existence of banks are contemporaneously described, and, possibly, the coinage suggested the bank.

The insecurity of Chinese houses and the danger from fire made banks of deposits a necessity. All classes in China have bank accounts. The business of the banks is to discount paper, to negotiate bills of exchange, to loan money on land or on personal property, and to buy and sell the precious metals. There is no government limit to their establishment. They sell bills of exchange at short dates to any point in China. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and other foreign banks have largely interfered with the sale of foreign bills and of bills running for a long time. The banks ordinarily, except in Peking, pay interest on deposits, sometimes on daily balances. They agree also to give the parties every facility for borrowing. The custom is that a depositor can obtain on his own paper, as a loan, twice the amount of his deposit, but only for a few days' accommodation. Deposits may be withdrawn at will, and the interest, except in Peking, is allowed up to the date of withdrawal. The foreign banks also pay interest on deposits, but they stipulate for fixed terms. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation pays five per cent on fixed deposits. The bank, for a consideration, guarantees the paper of its customers. It sometimes happens here, as elsewhere, that the deposits are ten or fifteen times greater than the capital of the bank.

There exists in Peking a clearing-house system which will compare favorably with that of New York. Each depositor receives from his banker a book with two columns, in one of which will be entered his deposits, and in the other to his debit all the sums he may disburse. He then sends all his creditors to his banker to be paid, and in the evening he sends his book to his bankers. The next morning the clerks of the various banks get together and indicate in their books the various sums that they are to disburse or to receive for their patrons. The balances are paid in cash, or are left to stand over on interest until the end of the year. It is said that the banks assist each other in case of difficulty, and that they extend the time of payment to any solvent bank requiring it.

The system of demanding immediate payment by holders of bills, which has resulted in so many commercial crises in America and elsewhere, does not exist in China. The Chinese banker allows ten or fifteen days in which the debtor bank can raise money at home or procure it from the provinces. Failures take place here as elsewhere; but a bank resting on a solid foundation, which might have been ruined by sudden pressure, secures time to raise funds and save



itself. These financial difficulties ordinarily supervene at the end of the year only, when all debts must be settled. At the time of the Chinese New Year and at two other periods — the fifth and the eighth moon festivals — every man settles up, and to allow a debt to go over these periods is considered disgraceful. Especially does this rule prevail at the Chinese New Year, which occurs in February of our calendar. These important periodical settlements have hitherto had the effect of preventing financial crises such as have occurred in other countries.

It is the practice of the Government to allow its moneys to be deposited with the banks of the best class when any danger is anticipated. Thus, at the end of the year large deposits are made by the Government officials in the banks, to enable the latter to meet their obligations in cases where there has been unusual stringency in the market. In cases of general suffering the Government also makes loans of grain to cultivators of land and to other necessitous people, to be repaid, with interest, in kind.

There is little counterfeiting of bank bills. Often the depositor waits and sees the bills filled up in sums to suit him. I knew one case where a very worthy gentleman thus received notes representing 100 taels in the morning, and where the bank closed before night. He came to me, and I presented his case to the Tsung-li Yamen. The Yamen denied all responsibility, but promised to see that the assets were properly administered. A Government officer took possession of the bank, the cashier having fled; but my friend never received a cent of his 100 taels.

Circular letters of credit are issued by the banks, which are good in China where the banks have agencies. Money is remitted from place to place in bills as at home. The rates are much higher than with us, as transportation is private and very costly. No statistics are published that I know of relative to banks, and bankers are reticent. There is considerable competition between native and foreign banks, and information as to business is designedly withheld. The branch of the Hong Kong and Shanghai bank at Peking keeps large sums on deposit in about twenty banks, but receives no interest thereon. The native banks "milt" the silver received without charge, which is all the consideration the Hong Kong and Shanghai bank receives for its deposits. The ordinary rate of interest at Peking is 1 per cent a month.

Silver comes to the capital from the provinces in small wooden

logs. The inside is dug out, and the silver is put in. The pieces of wood are then bound together with iron bands, and are thus carted to the treasury. Among foreigners in China there is a general desire for coinage and a national bank. The rivalry between the various nationalities is so great, however, that any particular scheme by one nationality is attacked by all the others. This happened, notably, when the Philadelphia syndicate sought to obtain concessions at Tientsin.

In spite of the abundance of banks existing in China, making it a country as thoroughly provided with them as any country in the world, they often succumb to financial difficulties. Some of their difficulties originate from the non-fulfilment of the obligations assumed by the local authorities. This happened recently in Shansi, where, during the campaigns in the northwest, the banks lost many millions of taels. There being no Government bank, the private banks can get no relief when it is most needed, except as I have already stated. It must be remembered, in considering the general question, that the merchants and others have little confidence in the good faith of officials. As China is practically divided into twenty-one separate local governments, with almost absolute authority in the viceroys or governors, this want of confidence in financial matters results in serious evils. There seems to be no reason why our banking system should not work successfully in China. If China would intrust the whole subject to some great American financier, I do not doubt that the success which has attended the operations of the imperial maritime customs under Sir Robert Hart would be realized in banking and coinage.

There is no confusion in the world comparable to the financial muddle in governmental operations in China. The immense benefits which would accrue to the Government from a good system in the collection, distribution, and remittance of revenues are patent to all observers. The superintendence of financial matters in China would be a career worthy of any man's ambition. It is needless to say that unimpeachable reputation and great ability would be requisite. Recently mints have been established by several of the viceroys. There are such establishments at Canton, Hankow, and Tientsin. They coin silver dollars, half dollars, quarters, and ten and five cent pieces. These coins are made a legal tender. They do not, however, circulate in the interior, where the old system of using lumps of silver prevails.



Besides the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation there are also the Russo-Chinese Bank, the Imperial Chinese Bank, and some other foreign banks which do business in the concessions. What results the present disturbances may produce in the financial world it is difficult to foresee. The whole situation in North China is a wretched mess, which might have been avoided by pursuing an honest and honorable course toward China. But the financial people are in no wise responsible for this condition, and I have faith that the business men of the country will bring order out of chaos.

CHARLES DENBY.

## THE PROGRAMME FOR CONGRESS.

THE result of the election just held insures the control of both branches of Congress by the Republicans until March 4, 1903. In the Fifty-seventh Congress, which begins on the fourth of next March, the Republican majority will be in the neighborhood of forty-five, while in the Senate it will be about eighteen.

This fact has its influence upon the Republican programme for the short session of Congress, beginning on the first Monday of December, 1900, because it insures them the power to enact later such legislation as may fail, through various causes, during the brief three months of work remaining for the present session. In addition to this all incentive for Democratic opposition is removed. If the next House were to be Democratic, it could be confidently predicted that successful opposition would be interposed by the Democrats to sundry Republican measures which they regard as extravagant, unnecessary, and dangerous. Two such measures instantly suggest themselves, viz. : the Shipping Subsidy Bill and the proposition to increase the regular army.

Ordinarily, a short session of Congress is devoted almost exclusively to the preparation and passage of the appropriation bills. These are becoming more bulky in form and larger in aggregate expenditures with each successive year; and "a billion dollar Congress," which was once a political issue, is now accepted as a matter of necessity, to be neither criticised nor opposed. The war with Spain compelled increased budgets, which were voted without question; and the subsequent development of affairs in the Philippines and the maintenance of new governments in Hawaii and Puerto Rico have kept the expenditures up to high-water mark. The incursion of the army into China, a very proper sequel to the imprisonment of the American minister in Peking, occasioned a very great outlay which must be met by deficiency appropriations. At home, the country and the government are growing. Towns are becoming cities and require public buildings; commerce is constantly seeking the im-



provement of internal waterways; the machinery of Federal administration is steadily expanding. A thousand new rivulets combine to swell the broad stream of congressional appropriations.

The Republican party is not a party of economy. It is always liberal in providing for the Government; and though this liberality sometimes approaches the danger line of extravagance, there is no doubt that it is a wiser policy than the cheese-paring of the Democrats. Sustained by the verdict of November 6, the Republican leaders in Congress will feel justified in recommending large appropriations; and I look, therefore, for budgets of unequalled magnitude. Some of the more conservative party managers will undoubtedly suggest that the future must not be forgotten and that the day of reckoning will come. Their voices will be almost unheard amid the loud outcry for generous appropriations. An overflowing treasury will invite expenditures on a mammoth scale; and the probability is that the invitation will be accepted.

In the first session of the present, or Fifty-sixth, Congress, the total appropriations reached the enormous sum of \$674,000,000. A rather suggestive insight into the American character is afforded by the fact that nearly one-quarter of this aggregate, or \$145,000,000, was distributed in pensions — the practical acknowledgment of a debt of gratitude to the men who fought for the nation in the Civil War. There is no possibility of the decrease of this sum. On the contrary, the pension list is being swollen daily as the result of the war with Spain and the continuing war in the Philippines; and it will require the greatest amount of firmness on the part of the Republican leaders to withstand the appeal of the pensioners for allowances even more liberal than they now receive. Next to pensions, the administration of the Post Office Department demands the largest sum, \$105,000,000; and while its expenditure naturally increases with the development of the country, the service has reached a point where it is practically self-supporting, so that it need not be taken into consideration.

On the other hand, the amount appropriated for the army is a direct outlay, and will soon reach unparalleled figures. It aggregated in the last session \$80,000,000, or \$30,000,000 less than the sum asked by the Secretary of War, and the probability is that at least \$100,000,000 will be provided in the approaching session. The navy asked \$74,000,000 and received \$48,000,000, with the likelihood that \$60,000,000 will be granted. The legislative and the sun-

dry civil budgets, which deal with the administration of government, appropriated nearly \$100,000,000, an amount which is certain to be exceeded. If a river and harbor bill is enacted several additional millions will swell the total.

As a matter of interest, and as a basis for future comparison, I present herewith the items which combined to make the total appropriations of \$674,000,000 in the last session of Congress :

Agriculture.....	\$3,726,022.00
Army.....	80,430,204.06
Diplomatic and Consular.....	1,714,533.76
District of Columbia.....	6,834,535.77
Fortification.....	4,909,902.00
Indian.....	7,504,775.81
Legislative, etc.....	23,410,840.79
Military Academy.....	575,774.47
Navy.....	48,099,969.58
Pension.....	145,233,830.00
Post Office....	105,634,138.75
River and Harbor.....	16,091,841.94
Sundry Civil.....	48,385,930.86
Deficiencies.....	25,005,912.26
Miscellaneous.....	28,744,590.24
Permanent annual.....	128,678,220.00
Total.....	\$674,981,022.29

Even should the appropriations of the second session of Congress be limited to the same figures as the first, which is not likely in the natural order of things, we should still reach a total for the entire Congress of nearly \$1,500,000,000.

I have gone with some detail into these figures because their consideration will form the backbone, as it were, of the session's work, and because there is a very general demand all over the country for a repeal of some of the taxes imposed to meet increased war expenditures. The Republican party in the House of Representatives hinted in the last session at some reduction of this taxation, and gave hearings to the brewers, upon whom the burden falls with especial weight. These intimations found concrete expression in the national platform of the party, which declared that "the country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about, a reduction of the war taxes;" and Speaker Henderson, in his campaign speeches, assured his audiences that this promise would be fulfilled.

It would seem, therefore, as if a part of the programme for the



approaching short session of Congress would be the enactment of a law repealing emergency taxation; but I seriously doubt whether anything in the way of universal relief will be accomplished. In the first place, the elections are over, and ante-campaign promises may be forgotten; in the second place, the distribution of taxation was made with consummate wisdom, and the burden is borne by those most able to bear it, so that there is no emphatic protest due either to injustice or inability to pay; and, last, the Government will need all the money it can raise to meet the increasing expenditures. It is true that the refunding of a large portion of the national debt into two per cent bonds reduces the interest charges; but even with this saving the necessary demands upon the Federal treasury cannot be met by the ordinary revenues. Some reduction of taxation may be made by Congress, but I do not look for anything like the complete wiping out of all the taxation imposed after the war with Spain.

The focus of interest in the next session of Congress will undoubtedly be the bill "to promote the commerce and increase the foreign trade of the United States and to provide auxiliary cruisers, transports, and seamen for government use when necessary." This is the merchant marine bill, or, to call it by its more popular and expressive title, the Shipping Subsidy Bill. In the Senate the measure was considered in the last session by the Committee on Commerce, of which Senator Frye is chairman, and in the House by the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, of which Representative Grosvenor, of Ohio, is chairman. Both committees reported substantially similar measures to their respective Houses.

The bill, as is well known, provides that there shall be paid to American sail and steam vessels carrying cargoes compensation at the rate of one and one-half cents per gross ton for each one hundred miles, not exceeding in the aggregate 1,500 miles, outward and homeward bound, and additional compensation of one cent per gross ton for each additional one hundred miles on longer voyages. It is not necessary that the vessel shall carry passengers. It is simply to make trips in the foreign trade with cargoes of not less than a prescribed amount, no matter what the nature of the trade may be. In order to stimulate the building of large steamers of more than the average rate of speed additional subsidy is proposed, based upon speed and tonnage, as high as 2.3 cents per gross ton. Foreign-built vessels admitted to American registry are to receive only fifty per cent of the compensation granted to home-built ships, while ship-builders

are to be allowed to make contracts with the Government which will guarantee them the same subsidy as that which is to be enjoyed by vessels already constructed. No vessel is to be entitled to compensation unless at least one-fourth of her crew are citizens of the United States, or have declared their intention to become such; while bounties are provided for vessels and crews engaged in deep-sea fishing.

Arguments for and against the subsidy bill have been presented with such detail and cogency in the pages of *THE FORUM* that I shall not in this article either outline the measure more fully or discuss its merits. Suffice it to say that the bill as reported to the Senate and House limits the expenditure which can be made under its provisions to \$9,000,000 a year, this limit having been determined upon to remove the principal objection of unknown cost which attached to the measure when first introduced.

The subsidy bill is purely a Republican proposition. Its chief sponsor is Senator Hanna, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, who has taken occasion in nearly every speech upon the stump to enlighten his audiences as to its provisions and to advocate its passage. His views have been accepted most cordially by his fellow Republicans in Congress; and the reports accompanying the bill, prepared by Senator Frye and Congressman Grosvenor, are lengthy and able arguments. By the passage of the bill the Republicans hope to revive the merchant marine to the position of eminence which it formerly held; and the likelihood is that the American people, taking a broad view, will approve the effort, despite the fact that the proposed legislation is in the nature of class benefit. The Republicans argue that in aiding the vessel owners they are indirectly helping to develop the entire country, which is undoubtedly true; but the fact remains that these owners will profit immensely by the enactment of the subsidy law, and they are bringing great pressure upon Congress to secure this result.

The House bill is buried deeply in an over-burdened calendar, and cannot be reached unless a special order for its consideration is enacted. It will remain with Speaker Henderson to decide whether this special order shall be granted, and the probability is that he will give his consent. The passage of the bill has been recommended by the Republicans in national convention assembled, so that in granting special privileges to the measure he will simply be executing the behest of his party. The special order which will obtain for the bill a hearing in the House will also arbitrarily fix a time at which a vote shall



be taken ; so that the passage of the measure in that body by the Republican majority may be considered as a fact already accomplished.

In the Senate, where different rules prevail, it will be in order for Mr. Frye at any time to move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the shipping bill, which question must be decided without debate. If it is supported by a majority, as it likely will be, the bill will be before the Senate. It would still be in the power of the Democrats to talk the bill to death ; unlimited debate being a prerogative of the Senate. This fate might well be predicted for the bill if the next Congress were to be Democratic. As it is, opposition would be futile. Even should the passage of the measure be prevented during the short session, the Republicans would have before them another Congress of two years' duration, a length of time too extensive for even the Democrats successfully to cover with debate. The probability is that the Senators composing the Democratic minority will content themselves with uncovering what they consider to be the extravagances of the measure, and will then allow the matter to pass. Up to the present time no serious opposition to the passage of the subsidy bill has appeared on the Republican side. Only this hostility, not yet apparent, can prevent the enactment of the measure.

In the last session of Congress the Republicans attempted to secure the passage of a law providing for the permanent increase of the regular army to 100,000 men. This programme was blocked in the Senate by the Democratic minority, which compelled a compromise in the shape of a bill which allowed only 65,000 regular soldiers, and countenanced even this comparatively slight increase until July 1, 1901, only. In the campaign which has just closed, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency emphasized in almost every speech the danger of an increased standing army. " Militarism " was the concrete expression of this antagonism to the Republican programme, and it became a political catch-word. The result of the election shows that it failed to prove effective as a vote-getting agency.

As a natural consequence of the Republican victory we may expect to see the Administration's plan for an army of 100,000 men revived in the approaching session of Congress ; and, as in the case of the subsidy bill, Democratic opposition may be aroused, but it will not avail. The Republicans will have every right to regard President McKinley's triumphant reëlection as an endorsement of all his policies and plans, among which the increase of the army is pre-eminent ; nor do I believe that the American people will regard their

endeavors to secure this increase as menacing the existence of the Republic. The standing army of 25,000 is too small for a nation of 76,000,000 people; and even 100,000 soldiers would be only one for every 760 citizens, a proportion which even the most peacefully disposed need not fear. With the enlargement of the army there will naturally come a reorganization of our military establishment along modern lines. Many tentative suggestions, some of them bearing the endorsement of the military experts in the War Department, have already been introduced in Congress.

The consideration of the army bill will naturally invite attention to the Philippines and to Cuba, the two foreign territories where the bulk of the army will be placed. No one, it seems to me, will agree with Mr. Bryan's suggestion that "the army is to be used to suppress by force the discontent which legislation ought to cure." The army will, however, be imperatively needed in the Philippines; and the Republicans, accepting the result of the election as an evidence that the American people propose to hold the Philippines permanently, will no longer disguise that fact. The present outlook is for indefinite trouble in our new oriental possessions, for it is scarcely credible that the struggle of the Filipinos for independence has so shallow a foundation as to be abandoned because Mr. Bryan has been defeated. It seems to me that we may expect a prolonged, though possibly a guerilla-like, warfare; but it is also equally apparent that the American people are quite willing to sit down and patiently play the game with Aguinaldo, conscious of ultimate victory.

In the meantime, however, it will be a question for the Republican leaders to decide whether they will allow the present anomalous condition of affairs to continue in the islands, or whether a territorial government shall be established through legislation, as has been done in Puerto Rico. The programme in the last session contemplated the passage of the bill introduced by Senator Spooner, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That when all insurrection against the sovereignty and authority of the United States in the Philippine Islands, acquired from Spain by the treaty concluded at Paris on the tenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, shall have been completely suppressed by the military and naval forces of the United States, all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the said islands shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

Although this bill followed literally the statute under which Pres-



ident Jefferson governed Louisiana, the Democrats served notice upon the Republicans that a serious attempt to enact it would provoke unlimited debate. The threat proved effective, and the session ended without a vote upon the measure. The measure served, however, as a text for a very large number of utterances upon the Philippine question, the whole subject being threshed over for campaign material. In fact, so numerous and exhaustive were the speeches that it is difficult to see how any new views can be presented during the session of Congress now about to begin; and yet I venture the prediction that the Philippines will continue to prove a most fruitful topic of controversy.

Much will depend upon the recommendations of the President in his annual message to Congress, the probability being that he will leave to the legislative branch of the Government full and free discretion in the matter of dealing with the islands. The declaration of the Republican national platform, which simply promises to the Filipinos that the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law, allows the widest latitude for the Republican majority in Congress. There may be no legislation at all. In fact, it would not be surprising if the party leaders should decide to allow the President to continue his present quasi-military control, through the Commission which is now in Manila. This will certainly be the case if the present unsettled condition in the islands continues. Every one agrees that self-government cannot be established until the Filipinos shall have become more civilized; and Congress will probably wait until the future is less misty before enacting experimental legislation. This would, indeed, seem the proper course to pursue. It certainly will be followed if the party leaders in Congress regard the recent election as a vote of confidence in the President.

Not only the Philippine problem, but the Cuban problem as well, will obtrude itself before Congress. Again we must look to the Republican national platform for some intimation as to the Republican programme in Congress. We find it declared that to Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and that to the letter this pledge should be performed. The President will probably inform Congress, in his annual message, that the first step toward independence has been taken through the partial withdrawal of American troops, and that the recent Cuban elections have been a successful experiment in the direction

of self-government. Possibly, Congress will be content with this presentation of the case. At any rate, it is easy to imagine that, amid the multitude of subjects which will engross Congressional attention, it will not be difficult for the Republican leaders to overlook Cuba.

It is an open secret that many of these leaders do not favor the independence and self-government of Cuba. Some of them believe that Cuba offers a better field for financial and commercial exploitation if under the American flag; and others again doubt the wisdom of withdrawing our restraining hand, fearing lest the island should sink to the level of the South American republics, and become a constant irritant at our doors. At the same time, the Democratic minority, even though the campaign be over, may be expected to comment emphatically upon the causes leading to the Cuban scandals that have been so widely discussed. The probability is, however, that there will be much talk and little action, and that the future of Cuba will not be definitely determined during the approaching session.

When the House reassembles it will proceed to the consideration of the oleomargarine bill, which provides for a tax of ten cents a pound upon that article when it is colored to represent butter, and one-fourth of one cent a pound when it is not so colored. Important interests are involved in this proposed law. The dairymen of the country are supporting it, while the stock raisers and beef packers are opposing it, oleomargarine being a by-product of the packing house.

When this measure has been disposed of the Committee on Rules will formulate a programme in which must be included consideration for a bill reapportioning the Congressional districts of the United States under the census of the present year. In the discussion of this measure, the demand for reduced representation from the South, because of the suppression of the negro vote, will be asserted with much force.

At the other end of the capitol the Senate will promptly take up the Nicaragua Canal bill, which has already passed the House, and it ought to pass the former without delay; but the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is still pending, and will undoubtedly be used to delay action upon the canal bill.

In the Senate, as in the House, there is a legislative calendar crowded with measures of more or less importance, many of which



should be enacted into law. They represent much laborious and thoughtful effort on the part of Congressional committees, but only a few of them are likely to be considered. Bills of a private nature, no matter how deserving, will meet the same fate.

The approaching session of Congress, doomed by law to expire on the fourth of next March, will contain only about eighty working days. Bulky appropriation bills must be passed in this limited period if an extraordinary session is to be avoided. Legislation of the highest importance must be enacted. It will be a busy and perhaps an eventful session. The Republicans, elated with success, will work under a full head of steam, while the Democrats will offer little or no resistance. There will be temptation to extravagance, to partisanship, to hasty law-making. In the flush of victory, caution and conservatism are apt to be forgotten; but the sagacious leader who counsels both will point to the Republican party the only safe pathway to continued power. HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

## THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

EARLY in 1898 the writer prepared an article in which the question of England's commercial supremacy was discussed. It was submitted to the editor of *THE FORUM*, who accepted it, and it made its appearance in this review in April, 1899.

The principal feature of that paper was its contention that the increasing cost of mining coal in Great Britain would soon place that country at a disadvantage in a competition with nations containing extensive measures which can be more cheaply worked. The prediction was made that "the present century will hardly be closed before we (the United States) shall enter the lists as a rival of England for this trade." The reader who follows his daily paper closely will perceive that the prophecy is being realized. The United States is now exporting coal to countries hitherto supplied by the United Kingdom; and the German trade press is unanimous in expressing the conviction that no expedients which may be resorted to by Germany can attract English coal, owing to its dearness, but that the field will remain open for American coal.

There is, however, no general disposition on the part of British writers to admit that the present condition is likely to prove a permanent one. On the contrary, many still prefer to lean on the geologists who assure them that at the present rate of consumption the coal measures of the United Kingdom still contain a supply which it will require three hundred years to exhaust. These optimists disregard the fact that it is not the extent of the coal measures, but the cost at which they may be worked, that will determine the result of a competitive contest. Obviously the mines of England, which have reached an enormous depth, cannot be worked as cheaply as those of the United States, which lie comparatively near the surface. This being the case, it will be conceded that if certain drawbacks which now attend the exportation of American coal are removed, the United States must in a brief period oust the British from many markets which they now possess; and unless the world's demand for fuel in-



creases so rapidly that it will absorb the output at very high prices, we may look forward to a considerable diminution of coal exports from the United Kingdom in the very near future.

But it is not this phase of the subject that I wish to discuss. I desire, rather, to direct attention to the peculiar attitude of those critics who assume that the situation is not a serious one for Great Britain because they believe that there is no immediate danger of the exhaustion of the British coal measures. It is remarkable that this class of writers, all of them advocates of free trade, approach the subject from the standpoint of "after me the deluge." They express themselves as though the world were an affair of to-day, and as if its present inhabitants had a perfect right to disregard the future.

This extraordinary and entirely uneconomic attitude impressed me greatly, and suggested a line of investigation which disclosed the fact that it was wholly due to adherence to the utterly indefensible Cobdenistic theory that it is best to buy in the cheapest market. This alleged axiom is responsible for the wastefulness which attends the pursuit of trade in modern times. If we read the eulogies bestowed upon the nations that have achieved success in that commercial field described by Adam Smith as the "round-about-foreign trade," and note the stress laid upon the assumed effects of communication, we cannot help being struck by the singular failure of all classes of economists to point out that the one-sided development of the world's resources, which has been the most pronounced feature of external trade, must necessarily result in waste of human energy and the uncalled-for dissipation of immense quantities of coal — that great source of mechanical energy.

That this is true and that the Cobdenite assumption that it is wisest to buy in the cheapest market has stimulated this wasteful trade are, to my mind, self-evident. Yet the underlying economic error has hitherto met with almost universal acceptance. Even protectionists have assented to the idea that if the whole world could be persuaded to trade on terms professedly equal mankind would be benefited. They have failed to recognize that no system is economically defensible that promotes waste. They have been misled by specious arguments in which the fact has been obscured that present cheapness may mean permanent dearness. The glamour of the word "natural" has been over them and has prevented their realizing that the apparently natural method may be, and often is, the most costly one. In the beginning it requires a greater expenditure of human energy to



dig a well than to go to a distant stream to procure water; but when the well has been provided there is a great saving.

The Cobdenites have asked the world to believe, and, singularly enough, many of its wise men have consented to do so, that mankind would be benefited by always going to a distant stream for water when the life-sustaining fluid might be obtained at the consumer's doors. They have taught that there would be a universal gain if the people living in the countries where great quantities of raw products and foodstuffs are produced would consent to devote themselves to their production, and allow people thousands of miles distant to convert them into finished articles, to be reshipped to consumers in the places where the raw materials originated.

This remarkable process they have actually succeeded in making themselves believe is an economic one. The writers of free-trade books are convinced that it is not wasteful to raise raw cotton in the United States and ship it over three thousand miles to Great Britain, or to countries on the continent of Europe, to be there manufactured into articles for consumption in the country in which the raw material was produced. They have satisfied themselves that there is no waste of human energy in transporting to distant lands raw materials which could be as easily worked up near the spot of production. They do not regard as wasteful the practice of moving immense quantities of foodstuffs to manufacturing countries deficient in them as well as in raw materials. And they utterly disregard the fact that these unnecessary processes result in the destruction of immense quantities of mineral fuel which, once consumed, can never be restored.

Views such as these are, to say the least, uneconomic. Fortunately for the world, however, while the theory that it is wisest to buy in the cheapest market has been accepted without qualification by scholars, practical statesmen in many countries have instinctively recognized that present dearness may mean ultimate cheapness, and have shaped their course accordingly. That the result of disregarding the free-trader's shibboleth has been to promote production will scarcely be denied by the most extreme advocates of the doctrines of the Manchester school. The latter, however, are not yet prepared to admit that this increased productiveness is an economic gain, despite the fact that it has been accompanied by all the circumstances that would testify to such a result having been achieved. But they will be compelled to do so in the near future. I am firmly persuaded that this is so, that in a very brief period it will be gen-



erally acknowledged that "protection" has a sound economic basis, and that some day all external trade, excepting that in non-competing products, will be justly characterized as wasteful.

The views above expressed are so much at variance with those generally entertained that I have been impelled to elaborate them in a volume recently issued under the title of "Protection and Progress." The impulse to do so came while considering the singular character of the criticism to which *THE FORUM* article of April, 1899, was subjected in England. I had originally designed writing something in the nature of an historical sketch of the development of the protective policy, and had actually begun on those lines, when my attention was directed to the purely academic nature of the discussion in the United Kingdom, as in the colleges of our own country, and it dawned upon me that it would be impossible by the mere act of emphasizing the story of the progress in protectionist countries to make any adequate impression. I thought that unless protectionists could conclusively demonstrate that free trade of the kind advocated by British economists, if universally practised, must result injuriously, the wisdom of the protective policy would not be acknowledged. I felt also that something economically sound lay at the bottom of the impulse which led statesmen to deny by concrete action what they assented to as an abstraction. It seemed to me that if free trade, as defined by the British, were a sound economic doctrine, the fact would have forced general recognition in a shorter period than that during which it has been in operation in the United Kingdom. I deemed it incredible that the world could reject what could positively be shown to be beneficial, and accept what is harmful.

Whether consciously or unconsciously, protective nations have acted on the theory that creeping must precede walking. But it is doubtful if this feeling can endure long after a nation has passed the stage when the infant-industry argument has lost its force. Unless some better reason for the retention of the protective system can be given when such circumstances arise it must fall into disfavor. The reasonable assumption will be that the policy has served its purpose, that it has outlived its period of usefulness, and therefore should be swept aside. Unless it can be shown that protection has a sound economic basis it cannot survive. The child having learned to walk would disdain leading strings.

Protection has an economic basis. Its chief function is to eliminate waste of energy and wealth. In assisting in the creation of

new industries in countries adapted to them it performs this function by conserving the former and preventing the dissipation of the latter. No refinement of logic can obscure the fact that it must be cheaper to manufacture near the spot where the raw material and the foodstuffs for subsisting operatives can be obtained than in countries remote from where the one and the other are produced. If in the past it has appeared that countries deficient in raw materials and foodstuffs were able to manufacture more cheaply than those well provided with raw and food products, it was because the countries with established industries had acquired skill and capital. These are purely artificial advantages, and no nation can have a monopoly of them. Application in new countries speedily results in the acquisition of the former and the amassing of the latter. The experience of the United States demonstrates this conclusively. The skill and wealth once having been acquired, there can be no question that their application on the spot of production will result in an enormous saving of human energy and of that great source of energy — coal.

It is obvious that there is but one method by which a country deficient in raw materials and food stuffs can hope to compete with a rival whose inhabitants possess abundant capital, are equally skilful, and who have in addition almost inexhaustible supplies of minerals and a practically unlimited capacity for the creation of raw and food products. That method is to diminish the wages of workers to a point below that for which the workers in the more favored country will consent to work. But success achieved by such means would not disguise the wastefulness of the process of unnecessarily hauling raw materials three thousand or more miles to be manufactured. It could not conceal the fact that this unnecessary transportation involves the expenditure of a vast quantity of human energy and the dissipation of enormous quantities of coal.

I believe that the facts which I have enumerated will ultimately receive general recognition, and that the prime importance of maintaining a system which will prevent the wasteful results of unrestricted competition will be admitted. When it is clearly seen that the attempt to secure temporary cheapness is not only attended with immediate wastefulness, but that it also threatens permanent dearth by hastening the extinction of the world's supply of mineral fuel, it will be no longer possible for economists to magnify the value of external trade. The trouble with Cobdenism is that it unduly extols trade. In any economic system the distributor must play an



important part; but his rôle is, after all, only a secondary one. No scheme which elevates the middleman above the producer can be beneficial to mankind. Not all middlemen are useless; but Cobdenism does not distinguish between the useful and the useless ones. Its theory is that the unnecessary middleman performs as useful a function as the one really needed to forward the work of distributing.

The Cobdenite takes no note of the waste incurred. He fails to consider that when competition is carried to extremes it makes impossible the achievement of its object. He ignores the fact that the creation of an unnecessary transportation army and the augmentation of the number of useless middlemen of other kinds militate against real cheapness. He notes that production is on a greater scale than formerly, and he attributes it wholly to the effects of competition. He refuses to take into account that the hauling of a bushel of wheat from the plains of Dakota or the fertile valleys of California does not add to its value, although the consumer in England is obliged to pay twice as much for it as it is worth at the place of production, or that if it were consumed in feeding men employed in gainful occupations near the fields in which it was raised it would be conferring a greater benefit than it does at present. In short, he refuses to see that there is no economic excuse for the gathering of great masses of people in contracted areas destitute of resources sufficient to maintain them, and that there would be a positive economic gain by their dispersion.

In my opinion, the demonstration is conclusive that the free-trade policy, which stands for absolutely unrestricted international competition, if it could win, would result in continuous waste and ultimate dearness; while, on the other hand, it is equally plain that protection, by bringing producer and consumer together, is an eliminator of waste. Therefore, the latter is the system which must finally prevail.

JOHN P. YOUNG.

## CAN THERE EVER BE A CUBAN REPUBLIC?

THE answer to the question, Can there ever be a Cuban Republic? was given in 1859 by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of the Thirty-fifth Congress, second session, when reporting "A bill making appropriations to facilitate the acquisition of Cuba by negotiation." The eminent gentlemen who formed that committee recognized that, as Spain could not long maintain her grasp on that distant colony, there were but *three possible alternatives* in regard to its future: (1) Possession by one of the great European powers; (2) the independence of the island; or (3) annexation to the United States.

With regard to the first the committee said that any attempt to consummate it would be resisted "by all the means in our power." With regard to the second the committee said:

"This independence can only be nominal. It never can be maintained in fact. It will eventually fall under some protectorate, either open or disguised. If under ours, annexation will soon follow as certainly as the shadow follows the substance. An European protectorate could not be tolerated."

In respect to the third the committee said that if effected by war it would be too expensive, but if effected by negotiation its beneficial results, commercially, politically, and morally, would be immense.

This terse declaration of the American idea concerning Cuba introduced no novelty in the political programme mapped out in this respect by the American Government since 1809, when the thought of acquiring the island through the interposition of Napoleon was seriously entertained and considered.

On April 28, 1823, John Quincy Adams, as Secretary of State, declared:

"There are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation. As an apple, when severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, so Cuba, when forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only toward the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her off from its bosom."

Mr. Adams' successor in the State department, who was a no



less prominent American than Henry Clay, said (April 13, 1826) that he had "prevailed upon the governments of Colombia and Mexico to suspend any expedition which both or either of them might be fitting against the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico," and declared that as far as the American Government and the American interests were concerned the said islands "would be safe in the possession of Spain."

His successor, Martin Van Buren, said (Oct. 13, 1830): "We are content that Cuba should remain as it now is." And again, "Motives of reasonable State policy render it more desirable to us that it should remain subject to Spain rather than to either of the South American States." Such a man as John Forsyth, one of the successors of Mr. Van Buren, went so far in this policy as to say to the United States Minister in Madrid (July 15, 1840):

"You are authorized to assure the Spanish Government that in case of any attempt, from whatever source, to wrest from her this portion of her territory (Cuba), she may securely depend upon the military and naval resources of the United States to aid her in preserving or recovering it."

And three years afterward (Jan. 14, 1843), upon information imparted — strange to say by the Duke of Wellington himself — of a British plot "to cause the Cubans to rise in insurrection against the Spanish Government," establish a republic, and abolish slavery, Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, reiterated and reaffirmed *verbatim* the assurance which John Forsyth had given Spain, as above stated.

What was the reason of this attitude? Were, peradventure, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, John Forsyth, Daniel Webster, and the eminent members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of the Thirty-fifth Congress, second session, champions of despotism and sworn enemies of Cuban freedom and self-government? Were they actuated by any other feeling than that of their paramount duty to protect the interests of their own country, by preventing Cuba from becoming a source of uneasiness and danger to the American Union?

To propound this question is to answer it. The interest of the United States in the political condition of Cuba, both during the period which preceded the declaration by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1859 and in all the years that have since elapsed, has not been due to "any spirit of meddlesomeness, or any desire to force its will upon another nation," as the Secretary of State, Mr. Olney, explained to the Spanish Minister here (April 4, 1896), but

upon considerations of all kinds, geographical, political, commercial, strategical, social, etc., which "compel it to be concerned in the solution of the Cuban problem, whether it will or no."

In his message to Congress of December 5, 1899, President McKinley said that Cuba is "bound to us by ties of singular intimacy and strength," and that "the destinies of Cuba are in some rightful form and manner irrevocably linked with our own." The year before (December 5, 1898), he had said also that "until there is complete tranquillity in the island, and a stable government inaugurated, military occupation will be continued."

Upon what ground can it be claimed that this sound traditional policy of the United States of America in regard to the island of Cuba, founded upon reasons of self-defence, shall now be changed into a new one, full of the same perplexities and dangers which American statesmen, ever since 1809, have been endeavoring to avoid? What solid reason can be alleged to demand from the United States, now, when, through the fortunes or misfortunes of war, they are in full possession of Cuba, that they should launch into the world a new sovereignty, exposed to foreign aggression, and one which, through alliance with any European nation, or compelled by it through belligerent action or diplomacy, might cause the whole work of American statesmanship for ninety-one long years to fall to the ground? What has happened since 1899 capable of persuading the United States Government that Cuban independence can now be maintained in fact, and that Cuba is no longer doomed to fall under a protectorate, ours or foreign, open or disguised?

The geographical position of Cuba, and the relations, whether commercial or strategical, which it forces imperatively between her and the United States, have not been changed. Havana is still the acknowledged key of the Gulf of Mexico, and the interests of our most important coastwise intercourse have not ceased to be compelled "to pass almost within hail of the Havana fortifications, and to run the gauntlet of their masters." What then could be sufficient to induce the United States to modify their traditional policy and to place themselves again, voluntarily, in the condition of danger and of anxiety with regard to Cuba in which they were placed for about a century?

The argument is made, however, that, under the joint resolution of Congress, approved by the President on April 20, 1898, we are bound to leave Cuba and to place the government thereof in the hands of her



people. Should the contention stop here nothing, perhaps, could be said against it. That joint resolution, no matter how ill-advised and productive of mischief it may be, is a law; and as long as it stands unrepealed on the statute books of the United States it is binding upon the people and the Government of the United States.

But the contention does not stop there; it goes farther, claiming that the people in whose hands the government of Cuba is to be left by us when withdrawing from that island are the Cuban insurgents of 1895, the authors or organizers of the "Republic of Cuba," created on Sept. 16, 1895, by the Constitution of Jimaguayú, and reorganized on Oct. 29, 1897, by the Constitution of La Yaya. It claims also that in going to war with Spain, we practically and implicitly recognized the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents, above named, and consequently their flag and their organization; that we became the allies of the said insurgents; and that, as the Republic of Cuba has been entirely ignored by us, we have wrongfully "cancelled" the law and have "robbed the Cuban people of their freedom."

Were it not for the fact that an argument of this kind might promote and encourage among certain classes of the Cuban people the feeling of unrest and aversion which unfortunately they entertain at present against the United States, there would not be any need of paying any attention to it. But as the mischief it does is serious, an effort should be made to disprove it. The fact must be made clear to all intelligent people that by remaining in Cuba until a government, republican in form and truly democratic, is established by her people, her whole people, and not the insurgents of 1895 alone, under a constitution which should free the United States from all anxieties on that side, we are not "cancelling" our laws or "robbing" anybody of what belongs to him, but, on the contrary, we are fulfilling to the letter what the law commands.

That the joint resolution itself absolutely ignored the "Republic of Cuba," and refused alliance, connection, or relation with the Cuban insurgents, their flag or their organization, is fully shown by its language. Not a word of recognition of any of those things can be found in it; and the most earnest advocates of the "Republic of Cuba" have to content themselves with the groundless statement that the said recognition was made "practically" and "implicitly."

True it is that when the joint resolution was read for the third time, put to a vote, and passed in the Senate ("Congressional Rec-

ord," April 16, 1898, pages 4386 and 4387) its first article was couched in the following language :

"First—That the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent, and that the Government of the United States hereby recognizes the Republic of Cuba as the true and lawful Government of that island."

But it is true also that on the 16th of April, 1898, when the resolution thus passed by the Senate was taken up by the House, the latter body, on motion of Mr. Dingley of Maine, decided to strike out of the first article all that was written in it after the word "independent." And as the House insisted upon its amendment, and as the Senate finally concurred in it, the result was the adoption of the resolution without the slightest recognition or mention of, or allusion to, the Republic of Cuba or the Cuban insurgents.

If the Congress of the United States, by deliberately striking out the words, "The Government of the United States hereby recognizes the Republic of Cuba as the true and lawful Government of that island," meant to make an "implicit and practical recognition" of the same republic, its flag and its followers, the rules of logic and of grammar would be thoroughly revolutionized. To refuse a thing would be tantamount to granting it; and negative assertions could logically be turned into affirmative ones.

As to our "alliance" with the insurgents, it would be well to remember the language which President McKinley himself used in this respect. After proving exhaustively that the Cuban insurgents were not entitled to recognition as belligerents, and much less as an independent people, he said :

"Nor from the standpoint of expediency, I think, would it be wise or prudent for the Government to recognize at the present time the independence of the so-called Cuban Republic. Such recognition is not necessary in order to enable the United States to intervene and pacify the island. To commit the country now to the recognition of any particular government in Cuba might subject us to embarrassing conditions of international obligation towards the organization so recognized. In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such government. We would be required to submit to its direction, and to assume to it the mere relation of a friendly ally."

They are not friends of Cuba, nor are they friends of the United States, who torture the language of the joint resolution of Congress approved on April 20, 1898, into any kind of recognition of a "government," which at no time, as President Cleveland said, was more than "putative," and which, when created on paper, was created exclusively, as acknowledged by one, and perhaps the ablest, of its organizers, to enable the latter to contract obligations in the name



of Cuba, and to give validity to bonds, concessions, contracts, and promises issued or entered into by them.

The friends of Cuba, interested in the welfare of that beautiful and interesting island, which in the hands of the United States would be a perfect paradise, instead of sowing distrust and promoting and encouraging aspirations which can never be realized, should strive, on the contrary, to help the Cuban problem to be solved in the only way which is possible and natural, and the only way which can be satisfactory to all the parties concerned, namely, by making the connection between Cuba and the United States of America organic and permanent. No Cuban who has a dollar or desires to make it honestly aspires to any other thing; and those among the insurgents of 1895 who know what they are talking about concur in this opinion. No man has ever expressed himself more strongly in this sense than the one who was President of the so-called "Republic of Cuba," in the letter which he wrote from Cubitas to the "New York Times," which is reprinted in full on page 127 of Mr. Halstead's "Story of Cuba." He said :

"Cuba is properly American, as much as is Long Island, and I believe there can be but one ultimate disposition of it—to be included in the great American sisterhood of States."

Has any one better right to speak for the "Republic of Cuba" and for the insurgents of 1895 than the venerable Marquis of Santa Lucía, Salvador Cisneros y Betancourt, who sacrificed all things upon the altar of his country and signed his name to those words?

J. I. RODRIGUEZ

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## PROGRESS IN PENOLOGY.

Does the world move? That is the question we ask ourselves at the close of the century. In the wide realm of science and invention there is a ready response. It comes in the click of the telegraph, the voice of the telephone, the scream of the locomotive, the whirr of the electric car, and the flash of the electric light. In some lines of moral effort it may be difficult to answer the question; but in the realm of penology we can make our response without hesitation at the close of the nineteenth century. There is no department of science, whether physical or social, in which progress is more evident. It is progress in the development of principles and ideals, and it is advancement in their realization.

It is only in the century just closing that we have come to reap the fruit of the work of John Howard and of Beccaria in the last century, the first eminent for his influence in the reformation of prisons and the latter for his influence on criminal procedure and criminal law. Each of these men worked independently and alone. The era of organization was to come later. Organization has been most influential and effective in the last thirty years; and it is largely through its influence that national and international sentiment has been developed and unity of purpose and aim secured. Through the communication which such organization has established, the data it has collected, the comparisons it has furnished, we are able to gauge the progress which the world has made in treating the problems of crime and in dealing with the criminal.

The International Prison Association has just held its sixth quinquennial session at Brussels. It has been organized thirty years. Some 395 members were present, and some twenty-nine countries were represented by official delegates. Its existence was due primarily to the initiative of an eminent American penologist, the late Rev. E. C. Wines, and to the official encouragement and support given to the enterprise by the Government of the United States. Dr. Wines was not the first to secure international consideration of penological



problems. As early as 1846 several eminent penologists of Europe, among them Aubanel, Ducpetiaux, and Mittermaier, organized a congress of persons in different countries interested in the prevention of crime and in the study of penological questions. The congress was held in Frankfort-on-the-Main in that year, in Brussels in 1847, and again in Frankfort in 1857. These congresses were due entirely to private initiative and activity. No governments were officially represented, and they were not organized on a permanent basis. Dr. Wines was able, however, to unite private interest and activity with official power and influence. Both are necessary in a work of this kind. Official responsibility is necessary to give practical effect to reforms and also to check the extravagance of irresponsible sentimentalism; and private interest and activity are necessary to overcome the general inertia of officialism toward reforms and innovations. Dr. Wines was fortunate in securing the coöperation of the heads of Governments, of the directors of prison administration, and of some of the most prominent criminalists in Europe.

At the first Congress, held in London in 1871, twenty governments were represented. Then it became necessary to insure the life of the congress and to provide for its continued activity. This was done by the establishment of a permanent commission, composed of a representative from each government subscribing to its constitution and also to its treasury. The International Prison Commission, which is the executive and permanent arm of the Congress, endeavors to maintain some relation not only between the governments which are united for this object, but between experts in every land. Valuable as are the quinquennial meetings and discussions, a phase of its work still more valuable is the preparation of reports by experts and competent writers, in different countries, concerning questions and problems submitted by the Commission. It is thus able to secure the coöperation of a large number of experts who are not able to attend the Congress in person. These reports, based on official information and special investigation, furnish reliable data and indicate tendencies of thought, effort, and experiment. The conclusions of the Congress when formulated, if not decisive as to the questions treated, are influential and important in relation to both theory and practice. No organization has had so much influence upon the penal system of Europe.

La Société Générale des Prisons of France is another organization which in the last twenty-five years has promoted the development

of penology in France as well as in surrounding countries. The International Union for Comparative Criminal Law also grew out of the International Prison Congress. Criminal anthropology has created another international organization, in which the new school of criminologists, prominent now in Italy, is largely represented. On the side of applied philanthropy there is also in Europe an international organization of Prisoners' Aid Societies.

In the United States organizations for the improvement of prisons began in the last century. The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons was organized in 1787, and the Pennsylvania Prison Society of to-day is the offspring of that society. New York, Maryland, and Massachusetts have State organizations for inspecting prisons, guiding legislation, and aiding discharged convicts. The National Prison Association, organized in 1870, has been in active operation during the last sixteen years and is the heir of earlier efforts. It succeeds in bringing together annually the prison wardens, the prison chaplains, the members of State boards of control, the prison commissioners of different States, professors of sociology, and students of penology.

These organizations, State, national, and international, like medical societies, local and general, are agencies for effecting and recording progress in that branch of moral surgery and therapeutics called penology. It is as true there as it is in medicine that an individual like Howard or Brockway, Elizabeth Fry or Ellen C. Johnson, can accomplish what no organization can effect; but it is equally true that organization is necessary to promulgate and diffuse and introduce in general practice the ideas, methods, and principles developed or applied by the individual theorist or practitioner. While they grapple actively with the problems of crime these organizations have a retrospect and a history. They furnish records of accumulated experience and discussion. We can trace the history of penal surgery as readily as abdominal surgery. The International Prison Commission is most important of all in furnishing a viewpoint from which we may see the winding, upward trail.

If there is one thing on which penologists the world over are fully agreed, it is in demanding a certain standard of physical condition as the test of a civilized prison. It is not a standard of comfort or luxury, but a standard of light, cleanliness, food, ventilation, and other sanitary conditions for the prisoner, and a certain standard of security for society. This standard is by no means universally realized, but it is



generally accepted. The traveller in Rome is shown the Mamertine prison, a wretched, dark, dank dungeon, and the Tullian pit below it. He is shown the dungeons under the ducal palace at Venice, and still worse the fearful hole in the castle at Rothenburg, where the prisoner literally died for want of breath. These, like the terrible instruments of torture at Nuremburg, are historical curiosities. They remind us of a time when imprisonment was but a prolongation of the torture which formed a part of criminal procedure. The wretched condition of things which Howard found in the English prisons was duplicated with few exceptions on the Continent. They were badly built, shockingly dirty, overcrowded, dens of darkness and filth in which prisoners were promiscuously huddled. They had their counterpart in this country. It is not necessary to go into details. Some of them here were so insecure that the wonder is that any prisoner would consent to stay in them. Superintendent Scott, of Concord, Mass., tells of a New England prison from which a convict escaped. When asked how he got out he replied that he fell out. Mr. Scott relates that in Nantucket, Mass., one of the prisoners, thinking he had a special grievance, sent word to the jailer that if the jail was not mended so as to prevent sheep from coming into his cell and disturbing him at night, he should leave.

Such prisons were neither comfortable for society nor for the prisoner. They were in all cases either hells of horror or mockeries and parodies of restraint and security. We shudder at some of them, we laugh at others, but the enlightened sentiment of the age repudiates them all. If the traveller wants to know what Italy used to think as to prisons, he may go to the Mamertine and to the palace of the doges; but if he asks what Italy thinks to-day, let him go to Regina di Coeli, in Rome, or to the new prison at Genoa, or visit the Reformatory at Pisa, conducted by De Sanctis, or that at Tivoli. Here he will find some of the best built and best conducted prisons in Europe. If he is in France he may leave the Conciergerie and go to Fresnes, to see what France regards as the model prison of the nation. In Belgium he will find hardly any of the old, but everywhere the new, ideas of separation and cleanliness. In Berlin he may visit Plotzensee and Moabit; in Baden, the admirable institutions at Freiburg; in Switzerland, the prison at Lenzbourg; in Holland, prisons at Arnheim and Amsterdam; in England, Portsmouth; in Scotland, Peterhead; in Ireland, the prisons at Cork and Dublin.

All these prisons in Europe, and the United States, and many

others which might be mentioned if this were a catalogue, show the great advance which has been made in the last fifty years. In Howard's time prisoners were thrown promiscuously together — men and women, the sick and the well, old and young, insolvent debtors and hardened criminals. Howard demanded the reduction of physical suffering, the separation of the sexes, and a better classification of prisoners. It has been well said that in a century after Howard the civilized world has embodied in its penitentiary systems nearly all the improvements demanded by him, and that in some respects it has even gone beyond what he asked.

I do not mean that Howard would have no opportunity to renew his complaint to-day, for there are a great number of jails in this and other countries which are far below the moral and physical standard he set. It takes a long time to grow out of old conditions. It costs money to build new prisons, and this is often grudgingly voted; but the new institutions are generally built on modern principles. Modern prison inspection is an outgrowth of the influence and example of Howard. When the light of publicity has been turned upon evil conditions we have taken the first step toward remedying them. There is no general agreement as to the best form of prison structure. The separate system, originally borrowed from the United States, has been accepted as the ideal in Belgium, France, and some other countries. In the United States the system of congregate labor by day with cellular separation at night has been adopted in nearly all the best prisons and reformatories. These divergences are differences of method, not differences of standard: and it still remains true that the civilization of a people can now be told quite as well by its prisons as by its picture galleries, its schools, or its churches.

The absolute necessity of labor as a remedial agent, both physical and moral, is universally recognized by all penologists. Those who are most positive in their convictions on this subject are the prison wardens. They have found that the hardest prison to conduct, with reference to the physical and moral welfare of the prisoners, is one in which the men languish in idleness, leading to insanity and bodily degeneration. The sentence to a penitentiary "with hard labor" has an aspect of severity which is misleading. Although labor is sometimes believed to be a curse, as a fact it is a divine blessing — a necessary element in all development, a condition of moral and physical health. The cruelty is not in the sentence to hard labor, but in a sentence to isolation without it. No principle of prison admin-



istration is better established than that which insists on a sufficient amount of labor. There is a vast difference between the mental and moral effect of labor which is productive or educative and that which is simply aimless drudgery. A serious defect of the English prison system was the use for a long time of the treadmill and the crank. A man was set to turn a fly-wheel with a register attached which recorded the number of revolutions. His task perhaps was ten thousand turns a day. There was no danger that this drudgery would compete with any labor outside, but it made the man a part of the machine he turned. From the standpoint of political economy, it was foolish to waste in this way a man's energy which might have been turned to the advantage of the state or to the advantage of the man or his family. A thorough investigation by a parliamentary commission, about five years ago, condemned this fruitless labor, and it is now abolished. The report of the United States Industrial Commission on the subject of prison labor, submitted to Congress last spring, says: "Every interest of society and consideration of discipline, economy, reformation, and health demands that prisoners should be kept employed at productive work. Manufacturers, wage-earners, and all who have given the subject any consideration are practically unanimous in this conclusion."

Unfortunately, reckless legislation has greatly interfered with the natural and healthful operation of the system of productive prison labor in the United States, and largely because of a groundless fear as to the extent of competition of prison labor with free labor. It is desirable, of course, to reduce such competition to the minimum; and this can be done by varying the industries and by forbidding the products of prison labor from being sold at less than regular market rates. It cannot be regarded as a step forward, but rather as a step backward, that the Industrial Commission should have reported in favor of a Federal law interdicting inter-state commerce in all goods, minerals, or materials in whole or in part the product of convict labor. Two of the Commissioners dissent from the conclusions of the report.

While the necessity of labor is theoretically accepted, the fact remains that, partly owing to culpable negligence, and partly owing to a misguided agitation against prison labor, there is a deplorable amount of idleness in American jails and prisons. In most of our jails idleness is the rule rather than the exception, and in many prisons, notably those of Pennsylvania, restrictive labor laws have seriously interfered with the employment of prisoners and thus with

an element necessary for their reformation. In this respect, progress in penology is seen rather in theory than in practice.

A general improvement in the personnel of prison officials and administrators is evident in Europe and in this country. The early traditional warden, like the slave driver, was chosen for his physical preëminence. He is chosen to too great an extent in the United States for his political skill or service. But the great improvement in the sentiment of the prison wardens of this country is shown in the unanimity with which, in common with prison reformers outside, they demand that prison administration shall be taken out of politics. In some States changes are made among prison superintendents and subordinate officers with every change in political control. In Massachusetts prison officials are brought under the civil service law, with the best possible results. In Europe the prisons have been taken wholly out of politics, permanence of tenure has been secured, and provision has been made for systematic instruction. Whatever the system employed in any prison, the personal character of the warden is a great force in discipline and reformation. The profession of prison warden is an exacting one; but men of the highest ability, men who could administer great industries and lead armies, men of force, magnetism, and — like the prison director in Spielhagen's "Hammer and Anvil" — of silent, mysterious moral power, may be found among prison directors to-day. Formerly the warden was considered as a cog or a wheel in the administrative machinery, but not as a part of the motive power. Influence had to be brought to bear upon the warden as upon the prisoner to secure prison reforms; but I venture to say that in the practical administration of prisons the wardens have contributed more to the development of their own profession than any legislative or external influence. There are prison superintendents in the United States, as abroad, who, in all that pertains to the theory, philosophy, and practical application of penological science, stand at the very front. Who since the days of Howard has been able to give to the reformatory idea such a far-reaching impulse as Mr. Z. R. Brockway? Men like McClaughry, Wright, Nicholson, Scott, Chamberlain, Hatch, Wolfer, Garvin, and others in the United States, represent the new spirit, the new method, and the new ideal in penology.

In this new spirit and new ideal among our superintendents nothing is more characteristic than the unshaken confidence that prisoners are capable of reformation, and that this is one object of their im-



prisonment. Prison governors are not rose-water sentimentalists. They cannot be accused, as are prison reformers outside, of being visionary and of not knowing the material with which they have to deal. They are students of men. They have seen the normal and the abnormal man in every phase. They are brought face to face with the fact that the average age of criminals runs not much above 22 or 23. They have learned to make a distinction between occasional offenders and habitual criminals. They know the repeaters, sodden in evil habits; they know the good timber from the bad, and can generally take its measure as a practised woodman can measure the trees in a forest. The experienced and enlightened warden knows that fully half of his prisoners are about as good as the same number of people outside who have been brought up in the same circumstances and with the same restricted opportunities for education and development. Hence, many modern wardens have reached the conclusion that a house of correction ought to be a house which corrects; that every prison should be able to furnish that discipline of will, that education of mind, hand, and character, which the prisoner failed to get before going to prison, and which, if he had received it, would have kept him out of it. Let any one read the proceedings of the National Wardens' Association for the last ten years, and he will find that its members have not merely occupied themselves with the details of prison management, but that they have reached conclusions as to the possibilities of convicts which are of the highest value, because derived from long observation and experience. These and other papers show that our prison wardens are not pessimistic. Experience has taught them not to be too extravagant in hope, but it has also taught them to have confidence in the capacities of men when brought under the steady pressure of educative influences.

There are prison directors who have been compelled by law and public sentiment to conduct their prisons as they would a great factory; the test of success being the amount of money they can make for the State in a year. There is no necessary conflict between productive labor and the welfare of the prisoner if the money-making idea is not carried too far; but in asking if a prison pays the answer must not be sought in the ledgers alone. The value of a prison system is judged to-day not merely as a social quarantine, to protect society by removing elements dangerous to its health, but by its capacity to reform those committed. A prison which makes recidivists, as undoubtedly many prisons have done, does not protect society.

In the last century the retributive and punitive idea was predominant in prison discipline; to-day the reformatory idea is clearly coming into the ascendancy. The introduction of common schools, of trade schools, libraries, prison journals, lectures, and societies clearly indicate the modern tendency. A prison is and ought to be an educational institution. That word education, however, must not be interpreted by the three R's alone, but in its broader relation to character and capacity. In Europe the reformatory spirit is being applied to the cellular system, but in Italy there are reformatories in which the limitations of the cellular system have given way to structures much better adapted to social development. In the United States the influence of the Elmira Reformatory has been felt throughout the country. It has been copied in some States, and its ideas and methods have been applied with success to penitentiaries and State prisons. The extension of the reformatory system from juveniles to adults is the most characteristic movement in American penology.

Under the retributive idea the prisoner simply endured the punishment which was meted out to him. In common parlance, he "paid the penalty," from which there was no discount. The more modern idea is to make the prisoner an agent in effecting his own release. It has become an established practice in nearly all civilized countries to allow the prisoner to earn a reduction of his sentence by his good behavior. In its simplest and commonest form this conditional liberation is awarded on the observance by the prisoner of a code of prison rules which are simple and lenient. There are no grades of conduct: the prisoner is either good or bad. His sentence is not shortened in proportion to his conduct, but in proportion to its original length; the reduction may be one-fourth or it may be one-third. A prisoner is sentenced for six years, but the law says: If you are good you may get out in four. The great majority of prisoners are "good," and few fail to earn this commutation. It is a common observation of prison wardens that the prisoners who are worst out of jail are often the best behaved men within.

The principle of conditional liberation when thus framed and applied is crude and insufficient, but it has great significance because it marks the transition from the old conception to the new. To remit any part of a penalty because of the conduct of the prisoner is to make an appeal to his conception of self-interest. The only ethics in his "goodness" are of a purely utilitarian order. He finds himself in a community of offenders as well as under a system of rules and laws



which are so rational that it is of no advantage to him to break them. He promptly discovers that it will not pay to violate rules if by keeping them he can not only avoid immediate punishment, but can also gain a future reward. Ethically it may be a small gain weighed in the scale of motives; but practically it is of great importance for the protection of society when a man decides that it does not pay him to violate law. There is something gained, too, when a prisoner learns to consider the effect of his conduct on his own welfare two or three years ahead. But the "good time" laws are only the beginning of a rational system of conditional liberation.

The parole system, as it has been applied and developed in many States, is a distinct advance. Prisoners are required either to serve out half of their sentences, as in Virginia and Connecticut; or one-third, as in Alabama and Idaho; or one year, as in California; or the minimum time prescribed by law for the offence, as in Ohio; or no prescribed period, as in certain States, and, on the recommendation of the prison authorities, may be paroled by the Board of Prison Commissioners, the Governor, the Board of Pardons, or some designated central authority. The parole is granted only when there is good evidence that it is safe to release the prisoner, and in most States only on satisfactory assurance that employment is secured for him; and he is required to report at regular intervals to the officers of the institution. Under the "good time" laws the release of the prisoner is finally dependent on his behavior while in prison; under the parole system his behavior outside the prison is under surveillance of the prison authorities until the expiration of the full period of his sentence, and he may be returned at any time for the violation of his parole. This tentative release is of the greatest value in its restraining effect on the prisoner. It has also proved to be of value in reducing the evils of the pardon abuse, under which prisoners were released through the pressure of personal and political influence.

There is still another form of conditional liberation. It is known as the indeterminate sentence. Under this law the prisoner is not sentenced for a definite period. There may be a minimum or a maximum period fixed by the judge, as in sentences to the Massachusetts State prison, or there may be no minimum, and the maximum may be the longest period prescribed by law for the offence. The prisoner is to be released only after he has earned a certain number of marks, and then on the same conditions as to employment and good behavior as apply to the parole law. The theory of the indeterminate sentence

supposes that a prisoner, like a patient in a hospital, is not to be released until he is cured or convalescent. No physician other than a quack would undertake to say how long an insane patient will have to remain at an asylum before being pronounced convalescent, and no judge can tell on sentencing a prisoner just how long he will need to be detained in prison before it will be safe to release him. In the case of a dangerous malefactor, as of a dangerous crank, the welfare of society is of some consequence. It is illogical and absurd to release a madman or a criminal when there is every reason to believe that he will immediately make an onslaught upon society. And there is no good end to be attained by detaining him after he has proved by his record that he is fit to be at large. It is not the judges, but the officers of the institutions to which they are committed, who are most competent to pronounce upon the fitness of the prisoners to be released. The sentence is not for a certain duration of punishment, or to impose a certain degree of suffering, but for a new environment and a new régime. It may be a painful environment and a severe régime, and to that extent it imposes suffering, and to that extent it may also be deterrent; but it is not purely retributive.

The indeterminate sentence is illogical and non-effective unless combined with a reformatory system. If a prisoner's release is to depend on the character he develops and the record he makes, some opportunity must be given to him to outgrow his past. He must be surrounded with influences which call out the best that is in him. His path is not to be smooth; it is to be made rough; no flowery bed of ease for him. His brain, his body, and, above all, his will must be taxed, not to exhaustion, but to invigoration. The grading system in which he is placed is a ladder by which he can rise or from which he may fall; his tasks are hard, but they are man-making tasks. Though differently organized and adjusted and conditioned, it is the régime of the school and the gymnasium; it is a régime which educates. The prisoner is deprived of opportunities for self-indulgence, but is given what he needs for self-development. He is not punished for what he has been; he is to prove by labor, study, and good behavior what he is and may be. The indeterminate sentence, though not accepted fully by European penologists, is accepted by a majority of the penologists of the United States. The late Charles Dudley Warner was an earnest advocate of this idea.

While theoretically sentences are still imposed for their deterrent effect, and many judges seem to think this to be the most important



feature in a sentence, as a matter of fact we have moved far away from the early conception of a deterrent sentence. The most remarkable change is seen in the comparative infrequency with which capital punishment is imposed in our day. In the time of Queen Elizabeth it was a capital crime to steal a handkerchief or anything worth a shilling from the person of another or to steal five shillings' worth from a shop. At the beginning of this century it was still a capital crime for an Egyptian to reside one year in England, or for a person to injure Westminster Bridge, or to wound cattle, destroy trees, break down the banks of rivers, or send threatening letters. Sheep-stealing ceased to be a capital offence in 1832; breaking into a house was removed from the list of capital offences in 1833. Sacrilege and the theft of letters were exempted in 1835. Yet, until 1837 there were still thirty-seven capital offences on the English statute books. The number has been reduced to two, murder and treason. Hanging in chains and the pillory have also been abolished. Farrar states that in Holland it was once a capital offence to kill a stork, and in England to cut down a man's cherry-tree. Beccaria spoke of the useless prodigality of punishments. The statistics of crime in England conclusively prove that extreme punishments have been of little effect in the prevention of crime. Though the population has multiplied, the severity of punishments been reduced, and the vigilance of the police greatly increased, the number of convictions has steadily diminished. The experience of England and of every other country shows that it is not to deterrent laws, but mainly to preventive means, that we must look for a decrease in crime. At the recent International Prison Congress at Brussels great emphasis was laid upon this.

The present century has been marked also by various improvements in criminal procedure. There is less delay in civilized countries in bringing offenders to trial. Torture as a means of extracting information from a witness passed away in the last century, largely due to the crusade against it led by Beccaria.

There is another form of deterrent sentence which has already vindicated its wisdom and utility. It is the new practice of suspending the sentence instead of executing it. When a judge imposes an extremely heavy sentence upon a prisoner he often justifies himself on the ground that it will be a warning to other evildoers; but the prisoner himself gets no advantage of the deterrent quality. He is an object lesson to somebody else. If, on the other hand, a prisoner is

tried and condemned, and the sentence, instead of being executed immediately, is held over him as a menace, it becomes an immense restraining force. This is the natural purpose and actual effect of the probation system, as it is called, in this country, and of the system of suspended sentence, embodying the same idea, applied also to first offenders in France and Belgium, and, under different conditions, in England. If the parole law can be applied with benefit to men on leaving prison, may not the same principle be applied to prevent them from getting into prison altogether? Experience has shown that in a vast number of cases the influences that are needed to correct or reform a first offender may be secured without sending him to prison at all. Where the reformatory, with its rigid discipline and unrelenting pressure is certainly necessary, for many offenders, there are other cases in which it is simply necessary to exhibit the whip instead of applying it. The needed conditions for reformation can be secured outside the prison walls.

The system of probation was established by law in Massachusetts in 1878. It had early been applied to juveniles; it was then extended to adults. It has been since adopted in Belgium and in France. Under various forms the suspended sentence has been adopted in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Missouri, Minnesota, Mississippi, and Vermont. In some cases it simply puts the prisoner on parole, or it discharges him with the sentence, like the sword of Damocles, hanging over his head. But, as developed in Massachusetts, an important feature is the appointment of a probation officer by each municipal, police, and district court. It is the duty of such officers to investigate all cases of first offenders and to report to the judges the result. If released on their recommendation, the probationer is still under surveillance, which is both friendly and advisory. In a statement made in Paris last summer, at the Congress of Aid Societies, M. Monis, the Minister of Justice, said that only five in a hundred of those who received the benefit of probation had fallen back and been recommitted. The number of probationers amounts in France to 24,000 a year. It is the salvation of many individuals to keep them out of prison, and besides the saving to the State financially is considerable. "Imprisonment is an expensive system," says Mr. W. F. Spalding, of Massachusetts. He calculates that the 5,626 persons taken on probation in a year in Massachusetts would have served at least three months, and as on this basis their aggregate imprisonment would have amounted to 1,406 years, the saving in



the expense of imprisonment amounted to \$70,300. The cost of the work was less than \$59,000; thus saving more than \$11,000.

It was argued against probation that it would weaken the general deterrent effect of law. The facts prove the contrary. In France, as M. Monis showed, the number of first offenders has diminished ten thousand in ten years.

The treatment of the criminal insane from a medical rather than a penal standpoint is a marked feature of advance in penology. The whole judicial procedure of civilized countries has been modified by the necessity of determining the question of responsibility. If an accused person is adjudged to have been insane before the offense was committed the act is not regarded as criminal, and he is sent to an insane asylum. A prisoner who becomes insane after committal to prison is likewise transferred to an asylum. But the objection to receiving insane criminals in hospitals organized for those who are not criminals, combined with the necessity for greater restraint, has led to the establishment of special quarters for the insane in prisons and to other special asylums. Such asylums now exist in New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Illinois, as well as in Canada, Saxony, Baden, Hungary, England, Belgium, Norway, and Italy.

The old theory of penal law was to affix a penalty to a forbidden act and to enforce it without much regard to the condition of the offender. In these days his condition is a question of prime importance. From the study of crime, pathologists and sociologists have turned to the study of the criminal. It is too soon to speak of positive results in the department of criminal anthropology. The studies of Lombroso, Ferri, and others open new lines of inquiry and raise new problems. We may expect fruitful results in the prevention of crime from the study of the history and environment of offenders.

In the important work of distinguishing between habitual and occasional criminals, the anthropometric system of Bertillon is recognized as a sure means of identifying any person who has been measured and recorded under this method. Let a person be arrested in any part of France, and in a few minutes it can be ascertained at Paris whether he has ever been arrested before. The system has been adopted in London and in some cities of our own country; but to coördinate the information a central bureau should be established by the Government as a measure for public protection.

The close of the century is signalized by a notable step taken by Russia in abolishing deportation as a part of her penal system, with

the exception of a small penal colony for political and habitual offenders. This is a step long contemplated by Russia, and now determined upon after the most positive evidence of the evils of deportation to Siberia. Russia is about to make provision in prisons for 14,000 more prisoners; and she has appropriated \$3,520,000 for the new buildings which must be erected for the 8,000 who cannot be accommodated in existing prisons. This new step by Russia marks the practical abandonment of transportation by all civilized countries with the exception of France, which still supports penal colonies; but the latter are secondary features of the French system.

If asked to sum up in a paragraph the most important indications of progress in penology, the representatives of different schools would undoubtedly differ; but speaking as a student of tendencies, principles, and results, and not as the exponent of a school, I should say that progress in the century just closed is evident in the following points: (1) The higher standard of prison construction and administration; (2) the improved personnel in prison management; (3) the recognition of labor as a disciplinary and reformatory agent; (4) the substitution of productive for unproductive labor, and to a small degree requited for unrequited labor; (5) an improvement in prison dietaries; (6) new and better principles of classification; (7) the substitution of a reformatory for a retributory system; (8) probation,<sup>X</sup> or conditional release for first offenders, with friendly surveillance; (9) the parole system of conditional liberation, found in its best form in the indeterminate sentence as an adjunct of a reformatory system and as a means for the protection of society; (10) the Bertillon system for the identification of prisoners; (11) the new attention given to the study of the criminal, his environment and history; (12) the separation of accidental from habitual criminals; (13) the abandonment of transportation; (14) the humane treatment of the criminal insane, the improvement in criminal procedure, with more effective organization in relief and protective work and in the study of penological problems; and (15) the new emphasis laid upon preventive, instead of punitive or merely corrective, measures.)

S. J. BARROWS. .



## THE EDUCATION OF THE MILLIONAIRE.

“WE must educate our masters” was the favorite observation of an English liberal half a century ago. We must educate our leaders could be said with equal truth by Americans to-day. If the statement made by Mr. Thomas Nelson Page, in his recent address at Concord, that not more than fifty thousand people of the American public were at all interested or concerned in the life of Newport, the subject would perhaps not be worth further public discussion. But as fifty million would probably be an under-estimate of those who are interested in the life there, or whose lives are influenced, directly or indirectly by that life, it comes properly within the class of public questions, and one that now needs further serious public discussion.

As long as we continue to live under the régime of private property and inherited wealth the “multis” of Newport will be our social leaders. Their example will be felt throughout all classes. They will give the tone to manners and morals in our country as much as a prince and his court do in any country of Europe. The indictments of the Rev. Dr. Hamblin and Mr. Page for their conduct, with the replies of the various prominent Newport leaders, have brought the case into court. The alleged wrong-doer, the “multi,” is now at the bar of public opinion. The declarations of Dr. Hamblin and Mr. Page, however, do not, in my opinion, go at all into the merits of the case. Dr. Hamblin evidently saw Newport with the eye of one of his seventeenth-century Puritan ancestors. Playing croquet and tennis on Sunday cannot to-day be taken as serious offences. Mr. Lecky in his recent work, “The Map of Life,” has reminded us how much the point of view has changed in criticising moral conduct. The question in this age is not whether we are living in accordance with dogmas, but how much positive good or ill we are accomplishing as social beings.

The comments of Mr. Page that have attracted most attention, viz., (1) the arrogance of the Newport leaders; (2) that society there is composed of divorced and doubly divorced individuals; and (3)

that not more than fifty thousand people in America know or care for their proceedings are severally immaterial and incorrect.

Arrogance is certainly not the prevailing tone of manners there. No doubly divorced person is identified with Newport society; and the implication that there is immorality there is a most unfair one. This may be for the ignoble reason that the people are too busy with their trappings and their toys; but it is true, nevertheless, as one of their defenders has said, that they are more correct in that respect than the denizens of any other resort of this kind in the world. The last and only material one of these statements, that only an insignificant part of the country is interested in the life of Newport, is, on its face, a mistaken one. Any allusions made to the acts or words of the Four Hundred in the theatres, in music halls, or in political meetings, from New York to the Pacific coast, are at once understood by the whole audience.

These comments hardly touch upon those acts of the "multis" with which the public is most concerned. The most serious charges that can be made against them from the point of their civic duties are (1) their enormous unproductive expenditure, and (2) their ignorance of some of the most important laws of that wealth of which they possess so much. They are, however, to be criticised for the lack of a certain kind of education which public duty demands of them, and not for moral perversity or arrogance.

One fallacy in relation to their wealth seems to obtain among the millionaires as well as among the millions, one that was exposed by Adam Smith in the very year in which we started upon our national life, namely, that spendthrift expenditure is a good thing for society. Despite the fact that every great economist since his day has demonstrated the contrary, it is a fallacy that has not yet been rooted out of the minds of a large majority of even the educated. Indeed, it might be called the *pons asinorum* of economics. There are so few even of college-bred men who have ever given themselves the trouble to understand the subject in the abstract, and of those few some are constantly stating propositions that are altogether inconsistent.

If Adam Smith, when he first exposed the fallacy of this belief, a century and a quarter ago, implied a responsibility on the part of the capitalist to expend his money in ways that would be most beneficial to society, or at least in ways not harmful to it, that responsibility must be much heavier to-day, with capital so enormously increased and concentrated. It is surprising, too, that the question of



expenditure of the rich should have suddenly become a more serious question with us than it is with any of the countries of the Old World. When Adam Smith wrote we were a hard-working community engaged in the simple occupations of clearing forests and killing Indians; while to-day palaces have arisen on our shores probably as magnificent as that of Diocletian at Spalato, and a scale of unproductive expenditure has been initiated, with racing stables, ocean-going yachts, etc., that could not possibly have been equalled by the expenditure even of Mæcenæ. It is this that justifies a reassertion of some of the axioms of economics in regard to it.

When the millions as well as the millionaire thoroughly understand that absurd and vulgar expenditure impoverishes society and checks the production, and when they learn that there is no economical justification for the present vast, unproductive expenditure, then public opinion will compel the "multis" to expend their fortunes in ways that will be more in accordance with simplicity and good taste. The vulgarity of wasting wealth will be all the clearer when its effect upon the public wealth is understood; and no sound public opinion on the subject can be formed until the public understands the purely economic side of the question.

The "multi" has a right to give himself and his children any kind of an education he sees fit. He may become — or he may cause his offspring to become — a linguist, a musician, a locomotive engineer, or an architect; but he owes it to society to make the comprehension of the following propositions a part of his education, or, to employ a university phrase, society should put the following precepts in the list of his required studies:

That spendthrift expenditure is impoverishing, not enriching, society; that a demand for commodities is not a demand for labor, but only determines its direction; that a loss of wealth to the public results by the diversion of capital from productive to unproductive channels; that in living as they do they are making luxuries cheaper but necessities dearer; that when they, by deciding upon a channel for their capital, set labor in motion to produce something, it makes a great difference to society whether the thing produced has in itself reproductive qualities — the difference between an unoccupied palace and a factory; that there never has been any such a thing as over-production, but that there has been only disproportionate production; that the only justification for the diversion of capital from a productive to an unproductive use, thereby drawing labor out of pro-

ductive and into unproductive channels, is for legitimate public purposes, including the elevation of the public taste; that wealth that goes to any individual unearned must be the intercepted earnings of others, and that the only moral title the recipient of it can have is based upon his making good use of it and of the leisure that he acquires by it; that the phrase "parasite of industry" is descriptive of all those who live in absolute idleness or are devoted simply to sport; that when Carlyle exclaimed, "The only monster on earth is an idler," he meant to include all kinds of trifling activity as well as idleness.

That these laws and axioms of wealth, of which a popular knowledge has now become so important, are not familiar either to the "multis" or to their critics is evidenced by the character of the defences that were made by the "multis" as well as by the attacks of the critics themselves. The most prominent of the Newport leaders who was interviewed stated that such expenditures of money were better than keeping it in bank. The interviews of the others imply the same belief. One of their most prominent critics also stated that their one virtue was that they *did* spend money. During the public discussion of unproductive consumption and expenditure which occurred at the time of the Bradley Martin ball it was shown how little the economic side of these questions was understood. Nearly all the critics on that occasion discussed the subject from the point of view either of its morality or of its good or bad taste. Very few even touched upon the economic phase of the question; and those who did commonly fell into the old fallacy of the mercantile system that such expenditure was good because it employed labor and circulated money. Bishop Potter, a gentleman whose profession and mental training are far removed from the science of political economy, was, so far as I know, the only one who expressed sound views on the economic phase of the question. Mills, in his chapter on the unproductive consumption, proves, in my opinion conclusively, that money left in bank is aiding society by directing wealth into reproductive channels, and that taking it from the bank for expenditure such as we are discussing is a dissipation of it and a subtraction from the reproductive powers of labor.

If our English writers on economics had taken as much pains to make this subject clear as some of the French economists have done, correct ideas in regard to it would be more diffused in America to-day. While the loss of wealth to society occasioned by this expenditure and



the bad example set to others by such expenditures are very great, the economic effects are not the only ones to be considered. It creates class hatred, perverts education, deteriorates manners, and lowers the standard of taste in the fine arts, not to mention many other deleterious effects upon society at large.

Since the science of economics gives no justification for the present tendency to lavish expenditure, the only other reason for it — the expenditures of the corresponding class in European countries — would be found, with a little education in the origin and history of European institutions, to be equally unsound. An unfair and unfriendly critic has said of Americans that they are the only people who go from rawness to rottenness without passing through the intervening stages of growth. Although this statement is both unfair and untrue, as there are many Americans who have acquired vast wealth and have led the world in great public charities while retaining the simplicity of their private lives, there is a tendency, nevertheless, in many of the possessors of the newly acquired fortunes of this country to skip over several phases in the course of the evolution from the useful to the purely ornamental. One of our great writers on education has given us a linear classification of what a natural education should be, viz., (1) the education of those faculties that tend to sustentation; (2) the education directed to the rearing and bringing up of offspring; (3) the education necessary to perform well our civic duties; and (4) the education of taste in the fine arts. While our *nouveaux riches* do not all consider it necessary to drink themselves to death on gin in order properly to distribute their wealth, like the one mentioned by Leslie Stephen, nevertheless, nearly all of them spend it in many ways hardly more useful to themselves and society. They almost invariably skip the second and third heads in the educational classification, and very frequently entirely overlook the fourth, although to be a connoisseur of the fine arts strikes them more frequently as part of the education of a fine gentleman than do the other two. If they were thoroughly educated in the history and origin of the ceremonial institutions abroad; if they were taught that the retinues of servants in knee breeches and plush forming part of a nobleman's household were the degenerate descendants, sociologically speaking, of the men-at-arms; that his display and expenditures were at one time the necessary insignia of his military, and later of his political, powers; that they are survivals and encumbrances that have outlived their usefulness, and which the nobleman would probably be glad to shake off, then

our newly enriched would not be so anxious to tangle himself up with the impedimenta of nobility until he becomes as much their prisoner as their proprietor. It would only require a little of the right kind of study to make him choose the highest, if not always the most conspicuous, type abroad for imitation.

In countries like England, where the type evolved by the traditions of militarism exists side by side with the modern industrial type, each being equally conspicuous, it is easy to see by what we expect of both which of them we really consider the higher. For instance, we should not consider it at all *infra dig.* for the Prince of Wales, or any other English nobleman who is partly the product of the traditions of militarism, to lead his own horse off the race track, if he should happen to win the Derby. But what educated American could see a John Bright or a Mr. Gladstone do such a thing without feeling that there was something in it unworthy of the man? In this day, when the study of sociology has become so common among all classes, it will be necessary, if we wish to continue to live under the system of private property, to keep it free from all Old World objections to it. History, as we know, gives no justification for its existence. It is only on grounds of public utility that it can continue to be maintained, and if the "multi" does not make the most important part of his education a knowledge of the relation that his wealth bears to the public weal, many on this side of the Atlantic will say what Mill was provoked into saying a half a century ago in England, that if the abuses under the system of private property cannot be pruned from it, that "if it be this or communism that is to be the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communities would be as dust in the balance."

Nothing in this article is intended to suggest that it is desirable for a rich American to live with all the Spartan severity of "the economic man." As an author who has recently written on the United States has said, "No man in America objects to another's living like a gentleman." But there are sound reasons against engrafting upon the system of private property here the excrescences which have grown upon it in the Old World, as a result of historical conditions from which we have been happily freed.

TRUXTUN BEALE.



## THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH SHIPPING.

More than one Scottish clan claims to have had a boat of its own at the time of the Flood, which may, perhaps, in the eternal fitness of things, account for the fact that Scotland is now the hub of the world's shipbuilding. There is, however, rather a long step from Noah's cattleship to a Clyde-built battleship; and it is only through the fairy tales of science and by the long results of time that the world's sea-commerce has passed into the hands which now hold it. No more fascinating study presents itself to modern intelligence than that of the history of commerce, and certainly no branch of that study is more full of interest and importance than the history of the development of shipbuilding and shipping. The dug-outs of the early Indians and the skin coracles of the early Scandinavians were the precursors of our ocean liners and armored cruisers; for there can be no doubt that in their coracles the hardy Norsemen crossed the North Sea to Iceland, as in their later galleys they crossed the Atlantic to America, long before Columbus was thought of. Even the ships of Columbus were thimbles compared with our *Campania*, *Oceanic*, and *Cymric*.

When Queen Victoria ascended the throne there were only a few small wooden paddle-steamers afloat on the Clyde and the Thames and on some short coasting runs. All the over-sea trade was done in wooden sailing ships, and the voyage then from Liverpool to New York occupied from thirty to forty days. The first steamers crossed the Atlantic in 1838, and the Cunard line was inaugurated by the historic *Britannia* in 1840. In that year the total tonnage of merchant vessels on the British register was 3,311,538 tons, comprised in 28,138 sailing vessels and 824 steamers. In 1899 there were 12,926,924 tons on the British register, all in vessels over 100 tons, of which 6,920 were steamers and only 2,053 were sailers. A development so enormous as these figures indicate merits some close attention.

Americans have been so busy during the last thirty years in de-

veloping the manufacturing and other industries adapted to the resources and needs of their continent that only a very small proportion of them seem to have paid any attention to shipping, or to realize what a very great industry it is. Elsewhere I have shown that the business of sea-carrying is the most important trade in the world. "Those who go down to the sea in ships, those who do business on the great waters, those who labor directly or indirectly in association with shipping, and those who are more or less dependent on it, number three-fourths of the world's population." And, of course, the most important part of this vast industry is that which is concerned with the building of ships. Longfellow, we may be sure, saw very clearly what the not far distant future had in store when he wrote:

"There's not a ship that sails the ocean  
But every climate, every soil  
Must bring its tribute great or small  
And help to build the wooden wall."

Only, of course, we do not build wooden walls now, and instead of scouring the forests for teak and oak we delve into the mines for metalliferous ores. But the joy of the successful designer of the ocean greyhound is not less great than that of the New England master-builder, while he calls into active play an infinitely greater variety, as well as greater amount, of human skill and energy. To my mind, a perfectly equipped modern steamer is the most wonderful and admirable production of the brain and hand of man that the world contains. Familiarity has dulled our perception of its wonders and, let me add, its beauties; for the beauty of a stately liner is not less than, though different from, that of the old-time Baltimore clipper, with her lovely curves and billowy canvas. In the poetry of motion, however, the clipper had no peer, as she walked the waters like a thing of life; and in point of speed she held her own for a long time against the clumsy contrivances of the early days of steam. She served her day faithfully and well, and her memory will be always green with those who delight in naval architecture and who venerate the records of maritime enterprise.

Mr. Eugene T. Chamberlain, in the course of his article on "The Shipping Subsidy Bill," in *THE FORUM* for July, 1900, remarks that from 1840 to the present time Great Britain and her colonies have expended directly \$240,552,292 on merchant steamships, and that by this policy, steadily pursued for many years, Great Britain has fairly



established her great steamship lines to all parts of the world, so that less effort is now necessary on her part to maintain such lines. He admits that the great bulk of these payments are now made to mail steamships of from 13 to 22 knots, and that the policy of bounties for all vessels has never been adopted by Great Britain. "But," he goes on to add, "it is equally true that by these payments Great Britain began the construction of steamships and sent them under the red ensign as agents for the promotion of British trade to the four quarters of the globe," and "moreover, through these subsidies she has maintained her leadership in steam navigation" — with more to the same effect, all of which indicates that Mr. Chamberlain has been mixing up cause and effect.

The British Government do grant what are called mail subsidies to certain steamship companies; and British shipping and shipbuilding have thriven as the shipping and shipbuilding of no other country have done. But there is no connection between the two facts. The progress of British merchant shipping is in no sense or degree due to the payment of mail subsidies, which are simply remuneration for cargo carried. That cargo is postal matter, but the money paid for the carriage of it is just as much freight as the money paid by merchants for the carriage of Manchester cottons or American flour. If the United States Commissioner of Navigation falls into the error of connecting British maritime prosperity with mail subsidies, it is not surprising if the fallacy is pretty current in the United States. Let us see if it will not be possible for us to dispose of this fallacy once and for all.

Mail subsidies, as granted by the British Government, are payments for services rendered — and payments screwed down to the smallest possible dimensions by a department notorious for economical methods (which some call parsimony), in turn strictly supervised by Treasury officials ready to pounce down upon every sixpence of unnecessary outlay. These mail payments are accompanied by such onerous conditions that they do not bring a profit to the recipients. They involve the building of very expensive vessels, the despatch of these vessels on time whether cargo space or passenger berths be full or empty, the arrival on time at fixed points under heavy penalties for delay regardless of weather and coal famines, and a very considerable addition to the working expenses of ordinary service. They are only attractive indirectly in respect of the prestige attaching to the right to fly the Royal Mail flag; and many of these mail steamship owners

will confess to you, in the confidences of private intercourse, that the game is not worth the candle. They are in it, and they continue in it, as is the custom of all men of commerce to run in grooves; but they are by no means the beneficently endowed beings that Mr. E. T. Chamberlain's argument may lead the general reader to suppose that they are.

The Peninsular and Oriental and the Cunard companies are, perhaps, the best known of the subsidized mail steamship companies of Great Britain; but they are by no means the best paying of British steamship companies. And, after all, these mail subsidies are unimportant and even trifling in amount, when taken in relation to the value of the shipping engaged and to the magnitude of the maritime commerce of the empire. There are only six ocean mail contracts worth taking into consideration at all. These are as classified hereunder:

SERVICE.	COMPANY.	ANNUAL SUBSIDY.
United States (outward).....	Cunard and White Star (divided)...	£130,000
India, China, and Japan (out and home) .....	P. & O.....	245,000
Australia (out and home).....	P. & O. and Orient Co.'s (divided)..	170,000
West Indies (out and home).....	Royal Mail Steam Packet.....	80,000
South Africa (out and home).....	Union and Castle.....	135,000
Canada, including overland and ocean service to the East.....		60,000

In all, this is considerably less than a million of money divided among seven companies, owning in the neighborhood of 160 vessels, and representing a capital value, in the aggregate, of not far from £20,000,000.

These seven companies on our list possess some of the finest, largest, and swiftest — which is to say the most costly, for speed means money — steamers in the world, which have to be kept up always at the highest point of efficiency. And as against the payments to them the Government collects postage on the mail matter, which, it is computed, reduces the amount actually paid by Great Britain for ocean mail service to about a quarter of a million sterling per annum. If we were to take the fiscal view of these mail subsidies that Mr. Chamberlain does, and regard them as grants in aid of British shipping, then the actual cost to the Exchequer is only £250,000 per annum! Is that worth talking about in affairs of such magnitude? This payment, however, is really not in aid of British shipping, but in aid of the colonies and dependencies, for whom we have



undertaken to convey postal matter at a rate so cheap that it leaves a deficit.

The mail contracts are all open to public competition, and they are only given to the same companies over and over again because no others come forward able and willing to undertake them as efficiently for less money. The very fact that the numerous other wealthy shipping companies and private shipowners in the country do not find it worth while to compete for these contracts is conclusive proof that the mail subsidies do not have the effect assumed by Mr. Chamberlain. That is to say they are in no way subsidies in the sense of the American Shipping Subsidy Bill. With the exception of the P. & O., none of these "subsidized" companies pays enviable dividends; and even the celebrated P. & O. does not pay nearly as much as many a non-subsidized company without its onerous obligations to the Government and its restrictions in regard to both time and place.

But, after all, the fleets of these companies, which are supposed to have been created and supported by state subsidies, but which, as I have shown, are only freight-carriers in Government service, form but a small section of the mercantile fleet of Great Britain. They include, it is true, the highest types and the finest specimens of marine architecture and engineering skill; but the maritime commerce of Great Britain does not depend upon them. The White Star line, for instance, does not make its profits out of its "subsidized" mail boats, but out of its non-subsidized cargo boats. The great ocean commerce of the world is not so much in the hands of the liners as in those of the great navy of ocean "tramps." The latter class of vessels may be called the backbone of Britain's sea trade, and they are not only not supported by subsidies, but are hampered and burdened to a well-nigh intolerable extent by shipping acts and meddlesome officialism.

Contrary to the practice of Great Britain, France grants direct bounties both for the building and operating of merchant vessels, but not with the result of creating a mercantile marine. She has, indeed, only about one and a quarter million tons of merchant ships altogether, and what encouragement the bounties may have given to shipowners is rather in the way of purchasing sailing vessels from British builders. France is the only country that is adding to its sailing fleet, just because more navigation bounty can be earned by a sailer than by a steamer.

The following is a summary view of the world's shipping in 1900, comprising vessels, steam and sail, of over 100 tons :

FLAG.	NO. OF VESSELS.	TOTAL TONNAGE.
United Kingdom.....	8,914	13,241,446
British Colonies.....	1,924	1,019,808
British Empire.....	10,838	14,261,254
United States <sup>1</sup> .....	3,125	2,750,271
Argentina.....	201	87,646
Austria-Hungary.....	270	416,084
Belgium.....	117	162,913
Brazil.....	332	163,087
Chili.....	127	110,978
China (European type).....	49	66,294
United States of Colombia.....	6	1,987
Denmark.....	802	519,071
Holland.....	406	530,277
France.....	1,214	1,350,562
Germany.....	1,710	2,650,033
Greece.....	369	245,094
Hayti.....	7	2,164
Italy.....	1,176	983,655
Japan.....	1,066	574,557
Mexico.....	38	14,541
Montenegro.....	15	5,370
Norway.....	2,380	1,640,812
Peru.....	36	14,476
Portugal.....	204	111,055
Roumania.....	20	18,020
Russia.....	1,246	720,901
Spain.....	597	694,780
Sweden.....	1,433	637,272
Turkey.....	305	143,490
Uruguay.....	36	14,500
Other countries (including Venezuela, Hawaii, Cuba and Philippines).....	287	152,644
Total.....	28,422	29,043,728

One of the arguments used by Mr. Chamberlain in support of the purpose of the Shipping Subsidy Bill — a purpose with which the present writer is in entire sympathy, though he takes leave to doubt the efficacy of the proposed method — is that the United States are “absolutely dependent” on the vessels of Great Britain and Germany for the export of their agricultural products, and to a great extent dependent on them for the export of their manufactures. The

<sup>1</sup> The American total includes 315 iron and steel vessels of 715,209 tons trading on the Great Lakes, but not the wooden vessels on these waters, which are unregistered.



use of the word “absolutely” can, perhaps, hardly be justified, but Mr. Chamberlain’s point is a good one. It serves, however, to remind one of the interdependence of all commerce — of what the French would call the solidarity of international trade. Great Britain is as dependent on America for foodstuffs as America is dependent on her for shipping. It is a sore subject with many persons, on both sides of the Atlantic; but did the nation ever exist, or can it ever exist, able to produce everything it needs within itself? Such a country must be rather a slow place to live in — rather too suggestive of the land of Tennyson’s *Lotos Eaters*, “A land where all things always seemed the same.” Is not foreign commerce the spice of national life? It will be awkward in these connections for both Britain and America if they ever come to fisticuffs — but they must not come to fisticuffs!

The British Empire produces more than it consumes of most things, and it needs an access to all markets for its surplus. The American Republic produces more than it consumes of many things for which carriage must be found to other markets; but in as far as the mere disposal of the surplus is concerned it does not matter by what nationality of vessel it is carried. What I mean is, that while it is natural and proper that America should have a merchant navy in some proportion to her national and commercial greatness, such a navy is by no means essential to the growth and prosperity of her import and export trade. The present proportions of her foreign trade afford conclusive proof of this. An American merchant navy will doubtless cut into Britain’s sea-carrying trade, but will not necessarily, or probably, increase America’s own foreign trade.

The extent of the foreign trade conducted by British shipping is not easy to summarize, but I shall endeavor to focus it as briefly as possible. In the first place, in the following table is shown the total entries and clearings at ports of the United Kingdom of vessels engaged in the foreign trade, distinguishing between British and foreign:

TOTAL ENTRIES AND CLEARINGS IN UNITED KINGDOM.

YEAR.	BRITISH, TONS.	FOREIGN, TONS.	TOTAL, TONS.
1870.....	25,072,180	11,568,002	36,640,182
1880.....	41,348,984	17,387,079	58,736,063
1890.....	53,973,112	20,310,757	74,283,869
1895.....	58,691,926	21,847,248	80,539,174
1896.....	62,064,335	23,398,087	85,462,422
1897.....	64,426,545	25,772,318	90,198,863
1898.....	64,216,728	26,747,238	90,963,966
1899.....	65,648,989	32,133,898	97,782,887

A mere array of figures like the above is apt to be misleading without some explanatory light. Thus, between 1897 and 1899, there was the Welsh coal strike to disorganize the operations in the leading export commodity of the country. Then, in 1899, there were about a million tons of British shipping taken up in connection with the war in South Africa, of which about 500,000 tons cleared from British ports in that year, but which are not included in the above totals. And the large increase of nearly 5,400,000 tons of foreign shipping at British ports in 1899 over 1898 was to a great extent due to the number of new vessels built for, and old vessels sold to, foreigners, which were cleared with cargoes or in ballast at custom houses of the United Kingdom before leaving under their new flag. The phenomenal activity of the coal trade also accounted for a good deal; and then, again, some British shipowners whose vessels were chartered to the Government for war purposes had to charter foreign vessels in order to carry on their own trade. With these explanations it will be seen that the increased entrances and clearances under foreign flags last year do not mean an equivalent encroachment by foreigners upon the foreign trade of the United Kingdom.

The sea-carriage of the world is conducted chiefly under the following flags:

FLAG.	STEAM TONNAGE.	SAILING TONNAGE.	TOTAL TONNAGE.
British Empire.....	12,149,090	2,112,164	14,261,254
United States.....	1,454,966	1,295,305	2,750,271
Germany.....	2,159,919	490,114	2,650,033
France.....	1,052,193	298,369	1,350,562
Norway.....	764,683	876,129	1,640,812
Italy.....	540,349	443,306	983,655
Russia.....	469,496	251,405	720,901

The American and British figures do not include wooden vessels trading on the Great Lakes, and the Russian figures do not include numerous small sailing vessels belonging to and trading in the Black and Caspian seas, of which no official return is obtainable. A point to be noted in the above is that Germany is much stronger in effective than in numerical tonnage, as compared with the United States. A steamer is to a sailer as three to one in effective carrying power. The share of the British Empire in the world's total tonnage is as shown above 14,261,254 out of 29,043,728 tons, that is, close upon 50 per cent. But the share of the British Empire in the world's steam tonnage is 12,149,090 out of 22,369,358 tons, that is, close upon 55 per cent. And while the American sailing tonnage is nearly



five-eighths of that of the British Empire, British steam tonnage is nearly ten times that of America. Next to Germany, however, America has been increasing her steam tonnage most rapidly of late years.

What British vessels carry to and from British ports is, of course, only a portion of the work done by British shipping. There are hundreds of British-owned vessels which never see the British Isles from one year to another, but are all the time constantly employed under the British flag. Take, for instance, vessels on time-charter in the Pacific trade and the coasting steamers of India, China, and Australia. In an article on "Sea Power and Sea Carriage" which I contributed to "The Nineteenth Century," in June, 1899, I estimated the value of the sea traffic of the Pacific, on carefully collected data, at £1,102,000,000 per annum. At an average value of £10 per ton of cargo — a modest average to take considering the large amount of costly merchandise and foodstuffs in this ocean area — this represents a carriage-tonnage of 110,200,000 tons. From 70 to 75 per cent of that tonnage is under the British flag, in vessels sailing from the United Kingdom, the British colonies, and British India.

With regard to the sea-commerce of America and Europe it is possible to state with something like precision what are the actual proportions borne under the flags of the several maritime nations. Indeed, the Board of Trade publishes annually some very elaborate tables in this connection. This branch of the subject, however, is too wide for our present purpose, which is not so much to measure the importance as sea-carriers of all the nations as to show the extent and the development of British maritime commerce. Let us, however, for the sake of comparison take the United States and Germany along with Great Britain. The table on page 472 shows the total tonnage of shipping in the foreign trade entering and leaving the ports of each of these countries, and the proportions of the shipping, whether national, British, or of other nations.

The table is not a mere copy of a Board of Trade table. It is a complete recasting, for purposes of comparison, of figures authenticated by the Board of Trade. The apparent increase in the foreign proportion of British trade since 1897 has been already explained. In the case of Germany the British proportion has decreased about 5 per cent since Germany went in for building large ocean liners — many of which, however, have to resort to British ports to complete their cargoes or discharge part of them. However, it is not to be denied that all the maritime nations have increased their

shipping of late years, and that some of them have increased their proportionate share in the world's sea-carriage, though but to a fractional extent. British vessels carry about 50 per cent of the foreign trade of Russia, about 12 per cent of that of Norway and Sweden, 48 to 50 per cent of that of both Holland and Belgium,  $46\frac{1}{2}$  of that of France,  $53\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of that of Portugal. These proportions have been higher, and perhaps may be higher again; but the present position is this: not only are all British vessels actively employed, but there is a demand for tonnage exceeding the supply.

Year.	UNITED KINGDOM.			UNITED STATES.				GERMANY.			
	Tonnage.	British Per Cent.	Foreign Per Cent.	Tonnage.	National Per Cent.	British Per Cent.	Other Foreign Per Cent.	Tonnage.	National Per Cent.	British Per Cent.	Other Foreign Per Cent.
1860.....	24,689,292	56.3	43.7	17,065,125	70.8	24.8	4.4	.....	.....	.....	.....
1870.....	36,640,182	68.4	31.6	18,325,062	38.2	44.1	17.7	.....	.....	.....	.....
1875.....	46,276,838	66.9	33.1	23,589,317	31.0	43.2	25.8	10,741,983	38.2	31.9	29.9
1880.....	58,736,063	70.4	29.6	36,073,505	18.9	51.7	29.4	13,066,412	39.1	38.1	22.8
1885.....	64,281,642	72.2	27.8	30,819,596	20.6	50.7	28.7	16,549,934	42.2	34.2	23.6
1890.....	74,283,869	73.0	27.0	36,256,123	22.5	52.8	24.7	21,106,980	43.9	35.4	20.7
1895.....	80,539,174	72.9	27.1	39,045,461	23.0	52.3	24.7	23,953,464	42.4	38.7	18.9
1896.....	85,462,422	72.6	27.4	42,413,769	24.8	52.4	22.8	24,086,632	42.7	35.5	21.8
1897.....	90,198,863	71.4	28.6	47,469,445	23.5	56.1	20.4	25,762,511	42.4	35.7	21.9
1898.....	90,963,966	70.6	29.4	51,327,631	20.2	58.4	21.4	27,536,990	43.7	32.4	23.9
1899.....	97,782,887	67.1	32.9	52,376,792	20.6	56.9	22.5	.....	.....	.....	.....

It may be stated here that one curious and interesting effect of the Spanish-American war has been to give Spain a new impetus as an ocean carrier. Prior to and during the war her merchant navy was considerably reduced; but since the war it has been largely augmented, and is being steadily added to. The reason of this is that Spanish capital released from investment in the former Spanish colonies has found an attractive employment in shipping. In 1899 Spain bought from British builders 25,000 tons of new ships, and from British ship-owners 116,500 tons of second-hand ships. In 1900 her acquisitions in shipping from us may be expected to be even more considerable.

<sup>1</sup>These figures are given with all reserve, as the commercial unification of Germany did not take place until 1888.



An immense proportion of Britain's sea trade is with her own possessions. The volume of inter-imperial traffic is growing enormously every year, and accounts for the employment of much British tonnage. In 1899, as many as 3,607 vessels passed through the Suez Canal, with an aggregate gross tonnage of 13,815,992 tons. Of that shipping no fewer than 2,310 vessels of 9,046,031 tons were under the British flag. No other nation was within hailing distance — Germany with 387 vessels of 1,492,657 tons and France with 226 vessels of 940,124 tons being the nearest approaches. Now this British total compares with 8,691,093 tons in 1898, with 7,389,237 tons in 1897, and with 6,372,586 tons in 1887; while the German total compares with 1,353,161 tons in 1898, with 1,194,106 tons in 1897, and with 364,215 tons in 1887. The percentage fiend will make the most of this, of course; but what matter the decimal proportions when Britain counts in millions and Germany in thousands? As for America, she is not in it, as far as the Suez Canal traffic is concerned; but there will be another story when the Nicaragua Canal is finished.

The figures which have been so far used for purposes of comparison do not include the coasting trade of either of the countries dealt with. Taking foreign, colonial, and coasting trade together, the entire tonnage entering and clearing at ports in the United Kingdom in 1899 was 209,348,081 tons, of which no less than 172,635,494 tons were British. The grand total marks an increase of 9,500,000 tons in three years, or 10,000,000 tons if we take into account the 500,000 tons or so cleared for Government service in the South African war. "Foreign trade," in the Board of Trade statistics, includes trade with British possessions — that is to say, the direct trade between the mother country and her colonies. But it does not, of course, include the trade between the colonies, between the colonies and India, between India and China, and between the colonies, India, and China, &c., and America and foreign countries, carried under the British flag. The annual value of the trade between the British colonies and between them and foreign countries is now about £160,000,000. On an average of £10 per ton of cargo this represents a carrying tonnage of about 16,000,000 tons, 90 per cent of which is probably under the British flag. This estimate is not a haphazard one, because of about 12,000,000 tons of direct trade between the United Kingdom and British possessions in 1897 only about 1,000,000 tons (*i. e.*, under 10 per cent) represented foreign vessels.

Needless to say there are no regulations either in the British Isles

or in the British colonies restricting the coasting or inter-colonial trade to British-owned vessels. It was not ever thus, of course, and for fifty years after the Declaration of Independence the navigation laws of Great Britain debarred American shipping from her coasting and colonial trade — just as the navigation laws of the United States now debar British shipping from the coasting and colonial trade of that country. But what was the effect of these old British laws? Let American readers take notice. It was to make British shipowners so contented with their lot and so unenterprising that they allowed American shipowners to capture the transatlantic trade. This was practically the only over-sea trade then open to Americans, and they certainly worked it for all it was worth. They had the pull in their vast timber resources, and with characteristic adaptability to circumstances they evolved just the right type of vessel for the trade and the time.

In a certain sense one might say that the old British navigation law was the creator of the Baltimore clipper, which, in a later type, captured also the cream of the trade between Great Britain and China and Australia, after that restrictive law was repealed. British shipowners thought they were going to be ruined by the repeal. On the contrary, they were revitalized and started on a new career of progress and prosperity. Their energies were stimulated by the competition of the smart and effective American clippers, which it took some time for the skilled builders of Scotland to outsail and outmanœuvre. They succeeded at last, and in spite of the great advantage given to American shipowners in the trade of the Far East by the definition of a voyage from New York to San Francisco as a coasting voyage within the meaning of the act, and therefore restricted to vessels under the American flag. It is not to be wondered at that British shipowners resented this reservation, after the manner in which American vessels formerly cut into the coasting and colonial trade of Great Britain — and still are at liberty to do.

At the close of the War of Independence the United States had not half the tonnage of Great Britain, but by 1850 they had 3,500,000 to our 4,250,000 tons — all wood, of course. Thanks to the start obtained in the trans-Atlantic, China, and other Eastern trade, by 1854 America was only 100,000 tons short of Britain's 5,250,000 tons of shipping. In 1861 American shipping reached high-water mark — 5,482,120 tons, though Britain had forged ahead and stood then 400,000 tons higher. But the age of iron had begun, the famous and



unfortunate Collins line had come and gone, and the days of the triumph of wood and canvas were over. The American wooden clipper could not hold out against the British iron screw, and America could not then build iron screws. What American builders could not build American shipowners were forbidden to buy, and the American flag was driven off the face of the waters by its own statesmen. Even now, and including lake steamers, American tonnage is only half what it was forty years ago.

Thus we see that just as the strict navigation laws of Great Britain gave to America a start and stimulus in the maritime race that nearly sent her into the first place and gave her a monopoly for a time of some of the best ocean traffic in the world, so the existing navigation laws of the United States have largely helped to make Britannia commercial mistress of the seas. British shipping has never looked behind since the repeal of the old British navigation laws; and yet British shipowners have had to carry a monstrous and ever-increasing burden of care in the shape of a sheaf of Merchant Shipping Acts whose object seems to be to thwart, harass, embarrass, and penalize the shipowner at every turn.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the supposition which seems to prevail in America that British shipping owes its success and prosperity to government help. On the contrary, successive Parliaments and Ministries have acted, and enacted, as if their darling object was to fetter and cripple the industry as much as possible. Little does the American shipowner know what an Old Man of the Sea is the Marine Department of the Board of Trade on the back of his British colleague. We have Free Trade in shipping, it is true, but that does not connote free trade in shipowning. It implies not protection in the American sense, but restriction of the British, and practical protection of the foreign, shipowner. And yet, thanks to steam and steel, we own half the world's tonnage and do a good deal more than half the world's sea-carrying trade. And the only country in the world that can ever compete with us in the same lap is the United States. It is not for us to show how it may be done, but the present writer is very decided in his opinion that it will not be done by means of state bounties.

It was iron, not steam, that drove the great shipbuilding industry away from New England and back to Old England. Even twenty years ago the proportion of sailers to steamers built was 20 per cent, but within the last thirty years or so the steam tonnage of the British

merchant navy has increased sevenfold. It is probable that the enormous extent of the British shipbuilding industry is not realized in the United States, where men have so many other big enterprises to occupy their attention. We build ships of all sorts and sizes, both for fighting and trading purposes, for every country with a seaboard under the sun. British builders furnished 1,750,000 tons of the 2,500,000 tons of new shipping put into the water last year. This included about 170,000 tons of warships for the British and foreign governments. The value of all this tonnage, with engines and the necessary equipment for sea, but without stores, would be not less than £35,000,000 sterling — one year's produce of the industry. It gives direct employment to a necessarily fluctuating, but always immense, army of artisans and laborers. It is the mainstay of many towns, and the chief customer of the iron trade, which again is the largest customer of the collieries. Indeed, it is practically impossible to measure the value of the shipbuilding trade as the creator and centre of industrial energy and the distributor of wealth through countless avenues of human employment.

According to the Custom House returns, which in 1899 for the first time included the value of new steamers exported to foreign countries, Britain supplied last year to foreigners £9,195,192 worth of new ships. This figure, however, does not include tonnage constructed during the year but not completed and delivered until the following year. It does not include the value of second-hand ships sold by British to foreign owners, to be replaced by new ones. Such sales last year amounted to 610,000 tons, of which five-sixths were steamers, and may be taken to represent a total value of about £4,000,000. Again, the export returns do not include the value of the work done by British builders and engineers on the repair of foreign vessels — work amounting to millions of pounds per annum. The largest buyer of new ships last year was Germany, and of old ships, Spain.

A peculiarity of the shipbuilding work of 1899 was that a very large proportion of it was in very large vessels of very high speed, and practically all of steel. We have now reached the third stage of development — from wood to iron and from iron to steel. By the employment of this material vessels can be constructed of much greater size and power than was possible before, because the weight of the material is now less than one-third of the total weight of the floating structure. With wood it was seven-eighths, and with iron



one-half. The limit of reduction of weight has probably not yet been reached, but the problem of the future is how still further to increase speed without so increasing the coal consumption as to encroach on space. There is not much profit to be got in running steamers at very high speed if all their interiors have to be filled with coal for their own furnaces.

With regard to the use of steel for ships two interesting facts may be noticed: the first steel vessel built in the United States was constructed of steel plates imported from Glasgow, which was in 1895; and in the present year of grace (1900) American steel plates are being imported into Glasgow for the construction of ships there! Here is a change indeed, reminding us of the time when the wood-shipbuilders of Tyne and Wear and Clyde used to draw the bulk of their ship-timber and naval stores from America. It may be that in the age of steel, a material of which she is now so large a producer, America will recover her position in the maritime race. But other nations also produce steel, and as a shipbuilder she can hardly recover the commanding position her vast forests gave her in the days of wooden walls. Meanwhile, as a builder she will have to multiply the produce of her shipyards sixfold, and as a shipowner she will have to increase her registered tonnage tenfold, before she can be on equal terms with Great Britain, and that will not be done in a day or two.

BENJAMIN TAYLOR.

## AMERICA IN THE PACIFIC.

AMERICA's present position in the Pacific, which to-day commands the attention of all nations and stands sponsor for the first great political issues of the twentieth century, would seem, in the light of history, to be the logical conclusion of a long line of succeeding events and the legitimate consummation of imperious world movements.

The spirit of unrest and the desire to explore and master new fields, even if advance meant the subjugation of the aborigines, which characterized our forefathers and urged them westward across the Atlantic, gave the impulse to their successors, who, in turn, climbed the Alleghanies, conquered the Mississippi Valley and the higher plateaux beyond, then mounted the summit of the Rockies, and descended to the Pacific's shores. Here they refused to be balked by the expanse of sea, and sought first in their unchecked course a resting station in mid-Pacific Hawaii; and now, by way of Guam as an intermediate post, they have reached the trans-Pacific Philippines. These islands may serve as the ultimate goal in this onward western movement, since at last we have passed the distant and mystic point where the West fades away into the East and the East into the West.

History confirms in its recorded events this racial and territorial expansion when it tells the simple story of our nation's growth. The colonies of Massachusetts and Virginia grew into the original thirteen States; these were extended or divided into others to the West and South; they were augmented by the great Louisiana purchase, which connected the United States with the first outlet to the Pacific through what are now Oregon and Washington. Then came Texas and neighboring States, followed by California, which was ceded to the United States as the conclusion of a war where might was right. This gave the country an unbroken coast line of 1,500 miles on the Pacific, and made it at once and for all time a Pacific as well as an Atlantic power. Not satisfied with this extent of Pacific territory, the United States purchased Alaska; thereby adding another 1,500 miles and more to the western coast line, and carrying us almost to Asia.



Thus, from the beginning the United States were set toward the Pacific. As soon as its waters were reached in the path of republican progress, an effort was made to bridge them on the north by the way of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands. Commercial development and political influence, however, did not thrive along that frozen route, or find a favorable approach to the vast markets and millions of Asia. A southern pathway was marked across the seas, which in the surveys included Hawaii. There was some difficulty at first about the title, but the war with Spain conveniently and peremptorily settled that issue. Guam was made a flag station. The Philippines were occupied as a legitimate moral result of war; and now we are discussing the feasibility and cost of erecting there, as it were, permanent terminal facilities. Here we find another dispute about title, but a decision should be rendered soon after the next presidential election. Russia, Germany, France, and England are well provided with rendezvous and possessions along Asia's Pacific shores. We are now to determine whether we shall have our own, or forever depend on other nations. We own the ground in right and theory, if not in practice; and we hope soon to be able to build thereon the fabric of good government, which will bring with it peace, order, and prosperity.

There are great moral as well as material problems to be solved in our occupation of the Philippines. Whether, on the one hand, we believe that our Government is meeting its responsibilities and not shirking the mighty task before it in endeavoring to put down the present warfare, or, on the other hand, that we are violating the sacred principles of the Constitution and trespassing on the rights of others, we must all agree that the one desideratum of the present hour is the conclusion of the conflict, the establishment of quiet, and the beginning of contentment and happiness among the people. When once fighting is at an end, Congress, supported by public sentiment, can determine what shall be the future of the Philippines. It is not the purpose of this article to enter upon a discussion of the principles involved in the occupation of the Philippines; but, in tracing the rise of American influence in the Pacific and the Far East, it is necessary to touch upon the present situation, which has such a direct bearing on our future standing as a power in Pacific lands and seas.

It is not merely in material conquest that the United States has asserted its influence among Pacific peoples. The qualities which took the American people across the United States and made them gaze out wistfully upon the Pacific, with a desire to benefit their own

interests, were mingled with a sense of neighborly help, which showed itself in dealing with Japan, China, Korea, and Siam. It was one of the notable and epoch-framing events of history when Japan, the lusty giant of the Pacific, was opened to a new life and to the world by the work of American naval men and diplomatists. When Commodore Perry sailed into Yeddo Bay, and when Anson Burlingame negotiated the first treaties with Japan, that little country was started upon a career of importance and prosperity almost unrivalled in history. When Commodore Shufeldt taught Korea that it was time for her to heed the suggestions of America for closer intercourse with other nations, she took the advice which is now gradually bringing her into prominence as a land of considerable material promise and worth. When the Tientsin treaties with China were signed by William H. Seward, Anson Burlingame, and William B. Reed, the United States made liberal proposals and admitted rights to the Chinese Government which would have enabled China to become as great a power as Japan, had she possessed in her Government the men and force to take advantage of her splendid material and political possibilities.

These efforts in the north of eastern Asia were supplemented by similar work in Siam, far to the south. It was American diplomatic influence that first brought this tropical country into marked prominence among the lesser nations of the world. When Edmund Roberts journeyed to that interesting kingdom, in 1833, he paved the way for Burlingame, who came again in 1856 to negotiate treaties of commerce and amity with the Siamese which at once gave them a confidence and an interest in America which have never been lost. Standing to-day as the most progressive and prosperous independent country of Asia, after Japan, Siam is not forgetful of America's assistance in the early days of her awakening, and now seeks a closer commercial and political friendship than ever before.

In narrating the gradual development and expansion of American influence in Pacific lands, due credit must be attributed to the missionaries, who have done their work faithfully through long years — even back in the times when there were no treaties to give them protection — from Japan to Java. Whether or not we believe that they have been successful in making a multitude of converts, we must admit that they have exercised a helpful influence in opening the interior of the principal Asiatic countries to foreign material invasion. They have been the forerunners of the merchants, even in the most



hazardous portions of the Far East. Long and careful study of their work has led me to believe that they have accomplished sufficient good to warrant the support they have received from home. There are many weaknesses and shortcomings in their policies and methods, but the general average is surely in their favor.

As we study, therefore, the extent and rise of American influence throughout the Pacific, we see that our present position is not an accident or a sudden appreciation of a great opportunity followed by an extraordinary effort to improve it. True, we are making an endeavor to master and control the situation in commerce and politics as we have never done before. But we have the quiet, steady, continued work of the last fifty years as a preparation and foundation for the responsibilities which we are now assuming. It has required the war with Spain and the crisis in China to bring the American people to a definite appreciation of the extent and value of the Pacific and the Far Eastern fields of commerce and politics, of material and moral influence.

Prior to this conflict there were those who struggled to bring American manufacturers, exporters, and others concerned to a realization of the possibilities of trade among the half a billion people who reside in lands that border upon the Asiatic waters of the Pacific, whose imports and exports make a grand total of foreign trade that nearly approaches the billion-dollar mark, and where — in visiting the great principal ports of Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore — one sees more shipping in motion than in any ocean port of the United States except New York. But our reports and exhortations were heeded by the passing few only who accidentally had their attention turned to the Far East, being generally considered merely as ill-timed prophecies of dreamers. The present universal study of the Pacific and the Far East not only confirms all that was described and prophesied in the days when there was little or no interest, but discovers new opportunities and possibilities beyond even the most hopeful expectations of former days.

We are now face to face with a problem of successfully meeting our responsibilities, not only in the Philippines and China, but in Japan, Korea, Siam, Hawaii, and other lands where there is commercial and moral opportunity before us. It is far from my purpose to advocate territorial aggrandizement for the purpose of extending commerce and influence. Our position in the Philippines is not the result of mere conquest. The war with Spain was not begun with any

intention of holding the islands; but the combinations of conditions and circumstances were such as to draw us into a conflict which has given us, possibly, the outward appearance of going to war for material advancement rather than to meet courageously the duties that devolved upon us. It is now possible for us to occupy the controlling position in diplomacy and commerce throughout the Far East without further disputes or wars.

Our position, as illustrated in our dealings with China, is one of singular prominence and power. We are now recognized and respected in every capital of the Orient. The future is bright with the peaceful undertakings that await our guidance. There is that fortunate mingling of respect and fear with friendship among the Asiatics in their attitude toward us that augurs well for the successful consummation of wisely directed policies. Where before we were continually met with exasperating opposition to legitimate enterprises, we now find objection only luke-warm and a matter of mere form. There was a time in the very recent past, before Dewey sailed out of Mirs Bay, when the foreign representatives of European powers could successfully combat the influence of their American colleagues in the foreign offices of Asiatic powers; but that day has passed, and the requests of United States ministers and consuls are as carefully heeded now as those of the representatives of European nations. I would not imply that American influence was nil in former days, or that we suffered indignities to any considerable degree; but there was simply lacking that tangible something which would make the Asiatics realize the importance and power of the American Government. We are not now in a position where we should bully or brow-beat; we are merely on the same level with our European competitors, but we are in a position to combat the policies of the latter which might lead to unhappy results for various Asiatic lands.

The most important event in the Far East during the past two years, after the Philippine and Chinese difficulties, has been Japan's entry upon her duties as a world power. On July 16, 1899, she threw away, as it were, her swaddling clothes of foreign extra-territorial jurisdiction, and assumed the full responsibilities of administering law and order with the same privileges and rights exercised by European and American countries over foreigners within their borders. Only those familiar with the history of Japan and other non-Christian countries know the meaning of this remarkable stride forward. Heretofore, ever since the inception of the first treaties in Japan, Korea,



China, Siam, Persia, Turkey, and Morocco, the United States and European countries have had complete judicial control of their respective citizens and subjects. Japan is the first one of these to prove her right and capacity to assume the prerogatives of Christian and progressive countries.

The most interesting feature of this radical change in Japan's methods of government is the position which the United States Government has taken. Our policy has always been favorable to Japan's expansion and her development of the fullest degree of control in all matters. The United States has never stood in the way of her ambition, but, on the other hand, was the first country to propose the abolition of extra-territoriality. It is true that Great Britain executed and signed her treaty with Japan first; but the United States began negotiations earlier than Great Britain, and practically paved the way for the new policy. Japan does not forget this; she remembers it as she does the fortunate effect of Commodore Perry's coming and the negotiation of the first treaties. Little difficulties now and then rise, like labor and immigration troubles in Hawaii, or an assault on a rampant American sailor in her ports; but there is throughout Japan, both among officials and among the better informed of her people generally, a deep feeling of respect for America which not only has given us a great influence in the past, but which augurs well for the future.

The history of our diplomatic relations with Japan is of such a nature as to foster mutual confidence and respect, and to provide a way for the friendly settlement of all difficulties and for a possible concert for the maintenance of our mutual rights throughout the Pacific. Now and then we see the effervescent jingo spirit of a Japanese paper berating something that America has done; but it seldom touches a popular chord of sentiment, and it eventually quiets down with the conclusion that Japan can have no stronger or better ally than the United States.

The attitude of Japan toward the United States in the Philippine matter has been such as to warrant more than a passing word of commendation. In the praise that we have bestowed upon Great Britain for her neutrality, we have possibly lost sight of Japan's position. During the long period that has elapsed since the declaration of war with Spain, and the consequent beginning of trouble in the Philippines, there has been every opportunity for Japan quietly to trespass beyond the limits of international courtesy; but she has steadfastly refrained from such steps, and has exercised a vigilance which is

commendable. It may be possible that some filibustering expeditions have sailed from Japan or Formosa with arms and ammunition for the Filipinos, but it has not been with the connivance of the Japanese Government. Japan has displayed no jealousy or irritation over our occupation of the Philippines, although, with the excusable desire on her part to expand and to find wider fields and markets for her people and her products, it might have been natural for her to do so. With greater interests at stake she has had far less to say than Germany or France. Nor will it be forgotten by those who were at Manila at the taking of the city that the Japanese man-of-war, along with the English squadron, steamed over to Cavite alongside the American ships, as if to give them friendly encouragement, instead of seeking a position to the north and west, where went the ships of other nations.

There may be dangers ahead in the abolition of extra-territoriality, and troubles may follow ; but there is no doubt that it is the honest purpose of the Japanese Government to do all in its power to protect the interests of foreigners from any ill-effects of this radical change. Such eminent men as Count Okuma, Viscount Aoki, Count Matsukato, and Marquis Ito told me on my last visit to Japan that while the undertaking was a most serious one, there would be no stone left unturned by their Government to satisfy the expectation of foreigners and foreign governments ; and they hoped that these in turn would fully reciprocate in their efforts to make the new treaties work successfully. If foreigners would approach them and accept them in the right spirit there would be few difficulties or dangers. We can at least afford to be charitable in judging the first workings of these new conditions. The more kindly the spirit manifested by the American Government and by Americans residing in Japan, the greater will be the strengthening of the bonds between the two governments and the privileges and favors shown to our residents. The United States cannot for a moment overlook any violation of the spirit or letter of the new treaties, and we must zealously guard our interests ; but there is a vast difference between mere quibbling and basing complaints on just grounds.

The Japanese are strong, virile people. Their vigor of body and mind is one of the strongest qualities which augurs for their success as a nation. They can stand setbacks and survive periods of distress which would bring misfortune and disaster did not her sons and daughters possess these elements of mental and physical force. Japan is face to face with innumerable problems of internal



government which may retard her progress and disappoint in their issue her well-wishers; but in that respect she is only repeating the experience of all of the nations. There may be unfortunate features of Japanese character and political and moral methods, as there are of other nations, and the Government to-day may not be on that satisfactory, solid basis which could be desired; but one who has met her leading statesmen is inclined to be far more confident than pessimistic in regard to the future. The late Japanese Minister to the United States, Mr. J. Komuro, and the distinguished ex-Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Kentaro, who was given a degree last year by Harvard University, are strong illustrations of forceful, intellectual, and influential Japanese statesmen, whose mingled integrity and patriotism will do much to guide their ambitious nation through the tortuous channels it must pass. Those that I mentioned before, along with these latter two, are but a few selections from a large body of strong men who appreciate the dangers as well as the possibilities ahead of Japan, and who will do their utmost to make her a world power. Among them all there is a prevailing feeling that Japan should draw closer to the United States.

While it is contrary to precedent and to our policy to make any formal alliance with a foreign power, there is no limit to the combined influence of the United States and Japan in the Pacific. United in policy and purpose, they could demand and insist upon the consummation of any plan. They could call a halt to the movements of any other nation, or they could refuse to heed the restrictions of countries which might meddle where Japanese and American interests should be supreme. It is within the power of Japan and America, without war or thought of war, to direct the commerce and politics of Pacific lands along those lines which will be conducive to the best interests of both. They alone could preserve the integrity of China, work out the destiny of Korea, inspire Siam to greater efforts, and exercise a healthy influence throughout the other parts of Asia, which would not only merit, but which would receive, the active support of Great Britain and of Russia.

There is no doubt that to-day England stands ready to unite with Japan and the United States in shaping the future of Pacific lands. But there is no reason why we should antagonize Russia. She is too great a power in the Pacific. Possibly, there could be no better assurance of the continuance of the peaceful relations that have always existed between Russia and the United States than that they

should reach a clear, definite understanding, supplementing notes already exchanged, that all portions of China, which may eventually be considered as Russian spheres of influence, shall be always free and open to American trade to the same extent and degree as now permitted by the Tientsin treaties with China. The differences between Japan, the United States, and Great Britain, on the one side, and Russia, on the other, are, after all, greater in theory and possibility than in present reality. There is danger ahead unless proper provision is made to avoid it; but the differences are not such as to warrant the thought of war on our part, first, because we have too much to gain in Russian territory by maintaining perpetual peace and friendship with Russia; and, second, because war will not be required when the moral force of nations working together and understanding each other can accomplish far more than war to the hilt.

This leads us to mighty China, not now mighty in administration of law and order, but in virility, in racial force, in population, in area, in resources, and in opportunities and possibilities yet undeveloped. The historical age of China, reaching back through a great many centuries, makes the United States but the merest child in comparison with her as an independent Government; but our material progress in one decade is greater than that of China through 3,000 years. Japan has even accomplished more on modern lines in twenty-five years than China has done in twenty-five centuries; and yet there is an element of credit due to a government which has lasted through those uncounted years which we must not forget. After all, is it not marvellous that China has stood the wear and tear of all these centuries, while European nations have risen and fallen? There is a homogeneity among the Chinese people that has enabled China to withstand storms and struggles that would have completely wrecked any other nation. Here again we have an element of heredity which must be considered. The Government may be called weak, but the Chinese people move on with the same unbroken spirit and persistence which characterized them hundreds of years ago. Possibly they may move in a circle; but there is untold strength among China's masses, which is sometimes forgotten in the consideration of her possibilities.

If we note the qualities of the Chinaman as a trader and business man, as a manager of large or small institutions, as a student or as employé of foreigners, as a high-class or low-class laborer, as a resident



of his own home town, or as a wanderer among other people, we find that he is ever the same stoical, easy-going, but unremitting, worker and gatherer of dollars and cents. He gives little and takes much. Wherever he goes he carries away more than he brings in, and through all conditions he never becomes assimilated: he is always a Chinaman. It requires a large measure of virility and force of character to stand the competition with all other peoples and still retain absolute individuality.

The Chinaman, however, can be led and influenced; and it may remain for America to become the chief power whose influence shall direct the Chinese people along those lines which will make them realize their possibilities among other peoples. There can be no greater danger to the United States, to the Anglo-Saxon race, and to progressive Christian influence throughout the world, than that of the vast hordes of China, directed by conditions or led by influences antagonistic to those of Europe and America, conserving their strength to be thrown upon our flanks at the weakest spot, and some day bring us to the point where the "yellow danger," as it is sometimes termed, will become the foremost enemy of civilization and progress. The United States must consider the responsibility resting upon her, so that she may use her material and moral strength in China in a way which will always enable her to exercise such influence over the mighty forces of China as will direct them along channels that shall not be destructive to her and other nations.

From the inauguration of America's treaty relations with China we have never endeavored to take the prominent position occupied by Great Britain or Russia, and we have never sought any Chinese territory. There is no reason now why we should depart from our former policy and methods; but we have certain well-defined treaty rights which we must closely watch and preserve. If we simply insist upon the carrying out of the spirit and letter of the treaties ratified in 1859 and 1869, we shall have little to fear in the future and everything to gain.

I shall not enter here into a statistical discussion of our commercial possibilities; but every one who studies the physical resources of China must become impressed with the great opportunities that there are before us. As to their development, it may be simply said that if American capital does not take matters in hand, that of other nations will. If we have capital lying idle which will not seek investment within the borders of the United States, no matter how

earnestly we might desire it, but will go into the railways, coal mines, gold fields, and general opportunities of development in China, our Government should encourage it by every legitimate process.

It may be argued that all this attention to China will teach her the more rapidly to find herself, as it were, and to enter into actual competition with the United States; but an enormous amount of purchasing from America must go on for a long period before this point is reached, which, again, will go to some other country if the exporters and manufacturers and capitalists of the United States do not improve the field. It is largely a question of the opportunity for one man to make money if another does not. China must develop, improve, and reform, whether as an independent nation or as one divided among other powers; and it is well that the United States, as a great commercial and material country, should receive her legitimate share where she can do so without involving herself in other responsibilities.

The present railways planned for China are only the beginning of what she will need when once the real movement of progress is begun. There are vast fields of coal and iron which must be opened up; there are great tracts of agricultural areas which are not cultivated to one-tenth of their capacity; and there are the multitude of other opportunities which a country that has had little material progress for thousands of years, but with tremendous latent possibilities, affords. The chief American enterprise of the present, namely, the construction of a great trunk line from Hankow through the heart of southern China to Canton, and thence to Kowloon, opposite Hong Kong, is like the construction of the first important railway from New York to Chicago or from Chicago to New Orleans. After this is once built, through a country having a population equal to that of the United States, there must necessarily follow not only the building of branch lines, but the starting of new industries, the building up of towns and cities, the rearrangement of groups of population, and, in short, a complete change in the lives and conditions of the people in the interior of China. Along with this trunk route will be others from Shanghai to Hankow and on to Chungking, from Chungking through Szechuan into northern Siam and Burma, connecting there with lines to Bangkok, Rangoon, and Calcutta. Some will reach from Peking southward to these principal points; others will extend northward through Manchuria, where Russia is already building with marvellous rapidity.



It is not merely an imaginary and doubtful picture when one describes the time when the traveller can leave Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Tientsin and go not only to any important part of the great Chinese Empire, but seek such distant points as Saigon, Bangkok, Singapore, Rangoon, Calcutta, Bombay, Teheran, Constantinople, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, along all-rail routes. The most gigantic of these enterprises is the one which is nearest completion — the Trans-Siberian Railway. England, if she would safeguard her interests, cannot long delay the construction of a railway from Burma, in India, into China, which will put her in touch with the Yangtse Valley, which she regards as her especial sphere.

The great market which all this construction will provide for American locomotives, general rolling stock, rails, timber, and a multitude of lesser supplies which accompany the greater is a most inviting possibility. If, under existing conditions, we are selling ever increasing quantities of cotton goods, flour, petroleum, food products, and a long and varied assortment of manufactures, with only a few treaty ports and a small portion of China's millions accessible, what a field of trade should be open to us when China is covered with a network of railways! The day of a network may be distant, but the carrying out of the present plans will be sufficient greatly to augment the amount of our exports to the Middle Kingdom. The Chinaman's buying capacity, which is often used as an argument against the development of China's commerce, will increase in corresponding ratio as he is provided with an opportunity to get his raw products and riches of the earth to markets which have money to pay for what he has. The world need not trouble itself about John Chinaman's capacity to get hold of the dollars if he is only given the opportunity; and no man is more ready to part with the same dollars in barter or trade, provided he sees his way clear to make more. A few cents mean more to the average Chinaman than dollars to the average American; and if one Chinaman has not the buying capacity of one American, the greater number of Chinamen will, in a measure, make up for this deficiency of capital.

American influence and capability of taking advantage of the opportunities for the extension of our commerce and trade must largely depend upon our policy at Peking. With the present prominence which we have attained in Asia, and in the knowledge of our achievements in the minds of the Chinese, there is a tempting chance to strengthen our political and commercial influence throughout China;

but the bringing about of this end is not to come through any illegitimate process of diplomatic pressure. By mingled firmness and regard for China's inalienable rights, we shall, in all this flood of duplicity, win her sincere and lasting esteem.

China knows, as all the world knows, that her future now depends more on our dictum than on that of any other nation. If we should consent to her division, or to the full consummation of spheres of influence, her integrity would immediately become a thing of the past. Legitimate material concessions and privileges, as well as the protection of the moral rights of our missionaries, will be ours if in this hour of trial we shall treat China fairly.

We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the maintenance of Chinese sovereignty over all portions of the Empire, because now our rights are guaranteed by treaty, and with their protection we shall be able successfully to compete with all other nations in commerce and trade. On the other hand, with China divided we may get something or nothing. By recognizing a policy of division of the Empire, we shall give up a bird in the hand for one in the bush. It is a singular fact that every American merchant, exporter, and manufacturer doing business with China is strong in advocacy of the American policy which will preserve the integrity of the Empire. To my mind, if Russia, France, and Germany are approached in the right way, there is no reason why they should not act with the United States, Great Britain, and Japan in insuring that integrity which we so much desire; but there are many good merchants who fear that we may wake up some morning to find that the growing market for our cotton products in Manchuria and Shantung is restricted by new conditions which will either kill it outright or provide for its slow, but none the less certain, death.

At the present moment our relations with Russia are most friendly, and she probably is sincerely desirous of trading with us and of buying what she needs from our manufacturers as well as from the manufacturers of other countries; but we must remember that Russia is preparing for a great industrial future, and means herself to become a manufacturing power of the first class. She knows that it will be difficult for her to compete in the markets of western Europe and America, and therefore she looks to Asia. She cannot be blamed in this provision for the future; but we must consider her possibilities as a competitor in countries where now there are treaty rights which give no preference to her or any other nation over us, but which



may be ignored or overruled in the course of events if the present tendency toward the break-up of China is continued. We must build up our markets in Siberia and other parts of Russian Asia, but at the same time we must protect those that have already reached large dimensions.

I am more optimistic than pessimistic as to the future of China; but I believe in carefully considering the difficulties that may confront us, and in preparing against contingencies that may arise. What greater diplomatic achievement could do honor to America's foreign relations than leading in a policy which shall make both Russia and Great Britain work in harmony for the preservation of the best interests of all three? Japan would certainly give her support, because her interests are akin to ours, while Germany and France would be forced to accept, without question, the decrees of such diplomacy.

We are now stronger than ever before, not only at Peking, but at St. Petersburg, London, and Tokio. Let us take advantage of the situation; and may no untoward event arise to lessen our influence or prevent the consummation of a policy which shall perpetually protect our interests in Pacific lands.

JOHN BARRETT.

## VACATION SCHOOLS.<sup>1</sup>

THE vacation school movement originated in the desire of citizens to provide other influences than those of the streets for children during July and August; popular observation, school reports, and statistics of juvenile arrests showing this interim in school occupation to be injurious mentally, morally, and physically. Other phases of this work are "fresh-air parties," "country weeks," summer camps and farms. Summer play-grounds also have developed into vacation schools, since it has become apparent that games have a strongly educative influence; and the play spirit carried into certain forms of instruction increases the attractiveness of play-grounds.

Within the last six years vacation schools have been opened by private initiative in over twenty cities. In Philadelphia and New York they are under municipal conduct—the final object of this movement elsewhere. They are for children under sixteen years of age, and continue six weeks in July and August, with morning sessions only. The attendance is voluntary; therefore, to be successful, their methods must be popular. The best results do not follow training "across the grain," after artificial methods. Play is the way of living of all young animals—their natural method of preparing for existence later. Therefore, the spirit of play cunningly permeating vacation school curricula secures as regular attendance and faithful work as do truant laws; the work, however, being of a different character.

The design of the vacation school is to supplement the public school, and to give the children certain advantages which parents of intelligence and means supply, by their own preference, through home environment or travel. One of the chief functions of vacation schools is that of serving as experiment stations, so that these schools exert a positive influence upon regular school methods. No books are used. The instruction is, briefly, according to the laboratory method.

<sup>1</sup>Revised from a paper read at the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Academy of Medicine, Atlantic City, N. J., June 2-4, 1900.



To encourage muscular ability manual training is prominent in the form of wood-work, such as carpentering, whittling, fret-sawing, chip-carving; or of constructive work with cardboard or flexible bands of iron; or of household arts, as cooking, care of rooms and of the sick, sewing, mending, embroidering. The use of a score of different tools for working different kinds of wood and other materials is fascinating to practically all children, even when there exists a strong liking for books. The natural creative instinct of children, their delight in seeing and owning the results of their labor, and the enjoyment of occupations that permit of free movement are all utilized, in this way, for educational purposes.

To city children nature study is partial compensation for the circumstance that their childhood cannot be passed in the freedom, beauty, and wholesome simplicity of country living. As the summer season dictates, this is the chief feature of vacation schools. Indoors, flowers and other products of the vegetable kingdom are studied from samples in the children's hands. Aquaria, window boxes, pet animals, and museum specimens encourage habits of interested observation and develop the powers of description. A school garden out of doors gives every child the supreme joy of trowelling, planting, watering, and watching development under his own fostering care. This is knowledge at first hand, the most lasting kind. Acquaintance with vines, shrubs, and flowering plants, which make the home attractive, encourages the children to develop the possibilities of their own backyards and other little corners of earth. In Germany, Russia, France, and Switzerland school gardens are numerous, and they are increasing in America.

Excursions take place at frequent intervals—a very efficient drawing card utilized to its full pedagogic possibilities. These peripatetic schools or classes, with special instructors, visit city parks, museums, art galleries, industrial establishments, and points of purely local historic or scientific interest. The excursions into the country are undertaken principally for the purpose of nature study and sketching, the event closing with free play and other forms of enjoyment. Tens of thousands of children have taken these journeys by boat or rail, and I have not yet heard of a single accident. The numerous little groups into which the school is divided, each with a teacher, go to their several study grounds—a river path, a wood road, a field hedge, or a hillside—for their class work. “Bird day” is prepared for during the preceding week by handling and studying mounted specimens

of birds native to the locality. They learn of their songs and habits, and they understand why such an excursion must be made late in the afternoon, and why they must visit a place with running water, trees, and underbrush. They taste the hunter's intensity of enjoyment in the stealthy approach and quiet waiting, and in the irrepressible delight when the game is found. Sympathetic acquaintance with the habits and beauties of living creatures may, we trust, eventually supplant the primitive slaying instinct of the race. In corresponding fashion they have "insect," "rock," "beach" and "flower" days, when the objects studied in the class room are greeted in their habitat with the delight of welcoming old friends; or the day may be spent upon a well-equipped model farm.

Art and nature study are correlated in these summer programmes. Accuracy of observation is increased by a water-color sketch. Foliage and fruit, mounted birds and butterflies, human models, and landscapes are reproduced in color. Without seeing it, one can hardly believe how much a skilful teacher can accomplish in this direction with children from eight to fifteen years of age. It means more than the present event to call attention to objects of nature. To many children these excursions are, perhaps, the only opportunities they will ever have to pass a day in the country in the companionship of an educated, refined, and sympathetic friend. The novelty of the impressions renders them most vivid and lasting. I can only mention the fact that music also constitutes part of the programme.

The advantages of outdoor gymnasia do not need demonstration. Imagine a wide-spreading American elm, with leafy shadows flitting over groups of children from hot city streets who, under the guidance of an expert, are taking keen delight in their achievements on bars, ladders, and swings. This I saw in one of the very few school-yards where the city fathers have preserved a beautiful tree. About the gymnastic games following the apparatus work I wish to say a word. It is almost appalling to think that the last stronghold of children — their play — is being invaded and utilized for pedagogic purposes. The truth is that play and play-grounds are being municipalized out of the world. With no place for play but ill-smelling streets and prison-like yards, with policemen and ordinances coercing active play chiefly into a dodging out of sight and even into criminal mischief, it has come to pass that city children are forgetting how to play, and are losing the vigor of body and character given by play. The recognition of this is behind the play-ground movement, and must



not be forgotten as school boards take up vacation work. Thoughtful citizens should be most anxious to preserve the spirit of genuine play in vacation schools.

Gymnastic games, devised for play, for exercise, for mind, and for character, have been adapted to the city conditions of small space and large numbers. The stimulation of laughter and the muscular and circulatory invigoration accompanying these active outdoor games stand in marked contrast to formal school-room gymnastic exercises, say ten minutes or less in duration, taken in narrow aisles, and in rooms filled with a vitiated atmosphere. There can be no doubt as to which of the two furnishes the more ideal form of exercise. If the same appropriation now made for gymnastic instruction should be devoted to specialists in games very much more would be accomplished for children under the limitations of time and surroundings at present necessary in public schools; besides, the children would be instructed in plays that could be used elsewhere. Under wise control these games may become an important factor in character development.

A few lower grade and vacation schools are endeavoring to harmonize the conditions of school life with democratic government. By making and administering their own laws, starting in a play experiment, children grow into an understanding of social order, and it is believed that they may thus acquire an inclination toward the upholding of community interests. They thus learn to practise a form of obedience higher than that developed by personal authority — voluntary obedience to the right, however it may be called for.

To care for less favored children during the summer months, to help to fill gaps in their training, and to connect certain currents between the school and citizenship — these are the chief purposes of the vacation school. Good teachers are needed, manifestly, to hold voluntary attendance, to give the special instruction indicated, and to conduct such experimenting efficiently.

HELEN C. PUTNAM.

## AMERICAN COAL FOR ENGLAND.

IN considering the question of American coal for the English market, it might be imagined that an article from the pen of an Englishman with interests in English collieries and English coal must necessarily be flavored, if not impregnated, with partiality, to say nothing of patriotism. Such an assumption, however, would be entirely erroneous, as business men at least must agree in accepting the principle that partiality must not enter into business, and in acknowledging the somewhat saddening fact that patriotism never does.

Starting from these premises, therefore, let us review the salient features of the new situation in the cold, calculating spirit of a business man who, having long been accustomed to buy from his brother-in-law, under the impression that he thereby gets bottom prices, is suddenly confronted by a quotation from his cousin, forty-two times removed, offering him a better article for less money. Not that the writer intends by any means to imply that the pleasing terms of this somewhat startling offer, in so far as it applies to American coal, may be swallowed whole as a preliminary to chewing the cud of reflection over the matter. Far from it. To change the metaphor, he intends to follow out the rôle of the aforesaid business man, who will assuredly allow a little verbal discount from all that is said to him as he weighs up the offer and passes it through his mental clearing-house.

As being the only fair method of dealing with the theorem advanced, the writer proposes to consider the subject under three aspects, those aspects applying to three widely divergent classes of coal, viz. : Gas coal, steam coal, and house coal. Before we enter into the matter, however, it will doubtless be advantageous to place before the general reader a résumé of the circumstances which have developed the idea embodied in the title of this article.

During past months, extending indeed to years, the prices of all classes of coal have been steadily advancing in the British market ; and coal consumers have been viewing with apprehension, increasing



to alarm and approaching panic, the persistency with which shilling after shilling has been added to the cost of each class of fuel. Gas has been getting dearer all over the country, public works have been partially closed down, railway companies have been raising rates and fares on account of the increased price of steam fuel, and householders have been groaning beneath a 50 per cent advance on their coal bills, with the situation holding forth rich promise of further advances to come.

This being the position of affairs, it follows that any prospects which may afford a possibility of holding the cost of coal in check will excite universal interest among the coal consumers of Britain; and a cue has been given to the public by certain remarks made by Mr. Livesey, the chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, at the half-yearly general meeting of the shareholders in August. In these remarks, and in a subsequent communication which he made to the "Times," Mr. Livesey hinted ominously, if somewhat vaguely, at the competitive value of gas coal from America; and a coloring of substantiality was indubitably given to these hints by the final, triumphant arrival of the "Queensmoor" with an actual cargo of real coal from that far-away clime.

Thereupon American gas coal, the first of the three classes we have set down for consideration, attracted a considerable amount of attention, if not investigation, from the general public. Then the daily press got to work, and a fine, large vein of prophecy was opened to meet the public demand. Phoenix-like, from the ashes of this famous cargo of gas coal there would arise many cargoes of all sorts of coal, and the glad news was blazoned abroad among a delighted populace for what it was worth. Apparently, it was not worth much, for on the first of October the cold-blooded announcement was made that Mr. Livesey had concluded contracts with English coal owners for 750,000 tons of Durham gas coal, at an average price of 16 shillings (\$4) per ton, f. o. b. Therefore, we shall not be doing Mr. Livesey an injustice if we conjecture that he was utilizing his epoch-making cargo of American coal not so much for producing gas as for setting up a bogie with which to terrorize the extortionate coal owner, it being, of course, an axiom — accepted by everybody with the exception of themselves — that coal owners form the most virulent and infectious type of extortionate beings in existence.

If we adopt a few obvious facts in connection with the South Metropolitan Gas Company's contract as a basis for comparison, we ob-

tain some deductions which shed considerable light upon the question in hand. Freights for the coal acquired under these contracts will probably be arranged at something like 4 shillings (\$1) per ton, which figure will bring the total cost of the coal up to 20 shillings (\$5) per ton delivered alongside the company's works. Now, it is said that the "Queensmoor" was fixed at 16 shillings (\$4) per ton freight between America and London; but it is certain that this tentative rate could not be repeated, and in all probability 19 shillings, or even 20 shillings (\$4.75 to \$5), would have to be paid. Unless, therefore, American coal owners are prepared to put their coal on board ship at a price which will be something fractionally less than 1 shilling (25 cents) per ton, they cannot expect to do much business with the London gas companies; and at that keen-cut quotation the most extortionate coal owner in America will fail to extort anything more than a very fine drawn margin with which to carry on the business of the official receiver in bankruptcy, or his counterpart in the United States.

On the other hand, however, the argument may be advanced that American coal gives such excellent results that it is worth fully 50 per cent more than English coal. Were this the case, it might be conceivable that an addition of 10 shillings (\$2.50) per ton to the price of American coal would not only be permissible, but that, as applied to gas coal peculiarly, it might actually be preferable to work a 50 per cent better coal at a 50 per cent higher price than to work the cheaper coal, on account of the saving of labor. This aspect of the case, however, would not be considered by any means an advantageous one so far as it would concern the London gas coal market, in which one of the chief requirements is a coal which will yield a plentitude of coke as well as rich results in gas, and where an increase in the yield of gas at the cost of a reduced output of coke would be counted a somewhat dubious gain.

But, in any case, the argument as to the supposed superiority of American coal would not be based on fact. Average American coal is very little, if indeed any, better in quality than average English coal; and even if we accept as a tangible basis of comparison the claim that each ton of American gas coal will yield 15,000 cubic feet of gas, which quantity has been freely cited as the prospective result, we cannot admit that the figure is exceptionally high when compared with English coals, as many of the best Durham and Yorkshire coals are fully as productive in their respective yields. This fact, therefore, places American and English coals very much on a par as regards



quality ; and, having seen that equality of price is out of the question, we fear we must put American gas coal completely out of court in respect of its feasibility and practicability for the English market.

In turning to the question of steam coal, we certainly find a much wider field for argument as to the prospects of American fuel finding a market in England. We even find, under certain circumstances and taking certain factors into account, some reasonable possibilities for such an issue being ultimately brought about. Some of these circumstances and factors have been indeed ruling for some time, and their possible continuance may afford enterprising American coal owners some excuse for making practical experiments in the matter, although under auspices which, to begin with, are not particularly encouraging.

Taking into consideration the most expensive steam fuel at present in the English market, viz., Welsh smokeless steam coal, for the purpose of eliciting the possibilities referred to, we find that prices for this class of fuel have ruled abnormally high for several months, both in regard to current quotations and contracts for future delivery ; coals on the Admiralty List having been sold at prices varying from £1 5s. to £1 5s. 6d. (\$6.25 to \$7.12½), free on board at Cardiff. Granting the very reasonable contention that Pocahontas and a few other American coals of this class are fully equal to best Welsh steam coal in quality, a considerable deduction must be made from the value of the Pocahontas class in recognizing the vast difference in the handling of the respective coals at the pithead. It must be remembered that the Welsh coal sold at the above figures is large screened coal, the small coal, or, as our Scottish colliery friends would call it, the dross, having been thoroughly screened from the coal prior to its removal from the collieries.

American coals, on the other hand, are usually sold as “run of mine,” termed in English phraseology “through and through,” or translated into pure Scotch, “triping.” This condition implies the virgin state of the coal as it leaves the miner’s tram, unscreened and deteriorating in size with each successive handling. Nor can this normal condition of American coal be very well overcome by the precautionary and expensive measure of having it screened, as American coal is so tender in its nature that even though it were to leave the colliery as “hand-picked” its condition after shipment and discharge would only be equivalent to “through and through.”

These facts, therefore, render it imperative that we should treat

the comparative merits of Welsh and American coals only on the basis of both being "unscreened," on account of which a deduction of about 4 shillings (\$1) per ton must be allowed off the high prices previously alluded to as having been paid for Welsh coal, such deduction being the actual difference between Cardiff quotations for large screened Welsh and "through and through," respectively.

The following analysis of three approximate quotations for the London market may serve to give some idea of the handicapped conditions under which American coal would be forced to compete:

	WELSH LARGE SCREENED.	WELSH THRO' AND THRO'.	AMERICAN STEAM.
Coal, f. o. b. ....	28s. 6d. (\$7.12½)	24s. 6d. (\$6.12½)	12s. (\$3.00)
Freight.....	5 0 (\$1.25 )	5 0 (\$1.25 )	19 (\$4.75)
<hr/>			
Quotation d. d.			
in Thames .....	33s. 6d. (\$8.37½)	29s. 6d. (\$7.37½)	31s. (\$7.75)

From the above table of comparison it would seem to be obvious that no advantage in the matter of price can be obtained from American coal; and on reflecting that in the question of quality we cannot assume all American steam coals to be rivals to Welsh, we believe that the disparity between the prices of lower class American steams and those of our cheaper hard steams from the midlands and north of England and Scotland would be so overwhelmingly against American coal as to admit of no serious thoughts being entertained regarding possible competition (in second-class steam coals) emanating from America.

In first-class steam coal, however, we admit, as has been shown, that America certainly possesses a chance of competing at such periods as its quotations for coal and freight may rule low simultaneously with the English market ruling high; but the juxtaposition of prices would need to incline a shilling or two more toward the situation on both sides of the Atlantic than the figures given above. Even then, with the difference of price removed, we should not say that the chief difficulty had been overcome. The conservative nature of English steam users would very probably militate severely against American fuel finding a spontaneous and abundant market in London at all events.

If, therefore, this conservative disinclination to adopt a new fuel should prove to be an obstacle to steam users, who, being business men, would surely recognize any advantageous feature of the Amer-



ican coal question, the difficulties in the way of introducing American coal to English householders, who are not likely to consider the subject from a business point of view, would be infinitely greater still. We feel disposed, therefore, to dismiss the idea of American household coal invading the English market as being purely visionary. Moreover, the present style of English grates and kitchen ranges has been designed for English coal, and no other kind of coal can be used in them. Coal of the anthracite class is chiefly used for house purposes in America, and this requires a special style of stove very different from the open grates so generally fitted in English homes. Thus, the substitution of American coal for English would involve extensive structural alterations which house owners could scarcely be expected to contemplate with equanimity.

It may be argued that as our calculations have been wholly based on the assumption that freights from America cannot be less than 19 shillings (\$4.75), a reduction of this estimate would change our conclusions. I think not. Even if American coal owners were to build their own steamers with the intention of running them at, say, 10 shillings (\$2.50) their difficulties would only be commencing. They would have to face the probability of bringing their boats home empty in ballast, seeing that the American tariff arrangements interfere with any volume of trade passing from east to west. It must also be kept in remembrance that the prices obtaining in the English market at the present time (October) are exceptionally high; the normal quotation for best Welsh steam coal being nearer 10 shillings (\$2.50) than 15 shillings (\$3.75), and for gas coal nearer 5 shillings (\$1.25) than 10 shillings (\$2.50), f. o. b. It would thus appear likely that any American coal imported into England during ordinary times would not repay the cost of working.

In the case of Continental ports American coal stands in a better position, as the difference in the rates of freight is not so great. For instance, taking Genoa as a typical port, large Welsh coal costs 25 shillings (\$6.25), f. o. b., plus 11 shillings (\$2.75) freight, totalling 36 shillings (\$9) delivered; through and through Welsh, 21 shillings (\$5.25), plus 11 shillings (\$2.75) freight, or 32 shillings (\$8), delivered; while American coal, costing \$2.50, f. o. b., plus \$5 freight, could be delivered at the lower figure of \$7.50. This advantage tends to disappear as the competition advances farther north, where English freights are relatively lower; but it is nevertheless obvious that for Mediterranean ports and coaling stations there is a very fair

chance for America competing, and competing successfully, *so long as present conditions last.*

It must not be forgotten, however, that English coal possesses such elasticity of conditions affecting price that it can fall some 10 to 15 shillings (\$2.50 to \$3.75) per ton before it reaches an unremunerative figure, and that on this account American competition must sooner or later break down. Supposing, too, that American coal is, ton for ton, fully equal to best Welsh, it will be necessary to convince consumers that such is the case; and so far the proselytizing of coal consumers to the cause of American coal has been a very difficult task indeed.

Summed up, the writer's conclusions are that there is little hope of American coal obtaining a footing in England, and that it can only secure a temporary tenure of some of the Continental markets. In these conclusions the writer has not allowed his connections with English coal markets and English sources of supply to give bias to his views, which are founded on careful analyses of figures and due consideration of reports from ship owners and others who have had opportunities of practically testing the respective merits of the coals of the two countries. The writer, indeed, feels almost inclined to express some sentiments of regret that his verdict is not more favorable to the land of the Stars and Stripes than it is, but he refrains from doing so because — there is no sentiment in business.

GEORGE L. LOCKET.



## THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN FRANCE.

THE Paris Exposition, marvellous in all its concrete detail, was still more marvellous for its revelations. It will stand eventually as the exponent of an idea, like the London Exposition of 1851, which showed England the industrial value of art training, or like the Chicago Exposition, which inspired us with confidence in our own esthetic ideals.

It was naturally supposed that France had little to fear from comparison with other nations on the industrial side; but recent events had made people skeptical as to the possibility of a favorable showing in regard to her political principles or policies. It is just here that the Exposition was a revelation: it gave the distinct impression of a national principle superior to the follies and errors of individuals. Especially was this the effect of the French educational exhibit, the most imposing exhibit of the kind ever displayed.

The system which it represented is an amazing work. It began in the hour of defeat; it was pushed with irresistible ardor; in a few years France was covered with free schools. A fund of \$23,000,000 was created for school-houses alone;<sup>1</sup> normal schools multiplied, an army of school officers, vigilant and determined, enforced school attendance; appropriations for education annually increased; in fifteen years the public expenditure for primary schools rose from twelve to thirty-four million dollars.<sup>2</sup> The work did not stop at primary schools; higher education was opened to the humbler classes; it was a campaign against ignorance and caste, in the conviction that these were the enemies that had humiliated France.

Special efforts for the higher education of women were begun cautiously, and have attracted little attention in the world at large. No part of the general movement is, however, more important, and nothing was more significant than the results shown at Paris last sum-

<sup>1</sup> Law of June 1, 1878, authorizing 120,000,000 francs for this purpose, 60,000,000 to be given to the communes as subventions and 60,000,000 to be advanced in loans.

<sup>2</sup> It was 61,640,893 francs in 1870, and 170,604,872 francs in 1895.

mer. The scholastic exhibits taken by themselves were, indeed, merely an index of the work, and scarcely intelligible excepting to one who sought their completion through the congresses and official publications. Moreover, the progress of the work cannot be fairly estimated as such progress is measured in this country, because of peculiar conditions, which have prevented its rapid growth and have imparted to it distinctive character. The movement for the higher education of women in France has not arisen as with us from the irresistible impulse of the women themselves, but from the instinct of self-preservation in a central government. To win the women to its support it was necessary first to conquer the prejudices of men, whose homage is necessary to the self-respect of French women. Hence, in this matter, social relations are a better measure of progress than the customary statistics.

The position of woman has undoubtedly changed, and the sentiment toward her has changed; and if these changes are as yet scarcely noticeable beyond the educational circle, it is because they arose there and are extending, as it were, unconsciously. Women were appointed this summer on the jury of awards; they participated freely in the congresses; they banqueted with their colleagues. There was no restraint on either side; no affectation on the part of the women, no mawkish sentiment on the part of the men. There was just that cordial fraternizing that Americans love, with a mellow touch of old-world courtesy. On the juries the judgment of the women weighed the same as that of the men; in the congresses of education they were as ready in debate; and their formal papers showed a grasp of subjects which commanded attention and led to fruitful discussion. At the general banquet of all the educational juries, comprising eighty-three men and six women, the latter were ably represented in the toasts by Mlle. Dugard, a well-known writer and professor. She expressed in a felicitous manner the spirit which the new education of woman fosters, the spirit of loyalty to the government and of international courtesy — that courtesy which is itself one of the inestimable outcomes of higher education.

This cordial recognition of women, this free interchange of ideas on a matter of public interest, is far removed from the traditional notion of woman which pervades French literature and has given a peculiar tone to French society. It indicates even in the University circle a great change since the congresses of 1889. On this point I cannot speak from personal observation; but it struck foreign dele-



gates who had the advantage of having assisted also at the earlier conferences. Is this change a mere surface ripple? The answer is not doubtful. The change has come without violence to the inward spirit of the people, and it accords with a great world movement.

The efforts of the French Republic in this matter began with the training of teachers for the public primary schools. As soon as the new government felt itself secure, it passed a law placing the training of women teachers on the same footing as that of men. This was in 1879. The age for admission to these schools (16-18), the subjects, and more particularly the method of instruction, a method which puts the mind upon reflection and comparison, justify the classification of these schools as higher. They are not classical, modern languages and science forming their programmes; but in this respect they differ little from the non-classical courses in our high schools and colleges, in which German or French is accepted as an equivalent for Latin. Moreover, the training in these normal schools is above all things ethical, because it is of first importance that the future teachers of the people should have the habit of considering all knowledge, even the most elementary, in its relation to the conduct of life and to public duty. This was in the past, and still remains, a very important part also of our notion of the functions of higher education.

For the service of the primary schools, in which about 80,000 women are employed, France now has over 8,000 who have been through the complete course of these normal schools and have passed the rigid examination entitling them to the superior diploma. The rapid increase in the number of these full graduates is a significant sign of the success of the Government policy. In 1882 they numbered all told 503, five years later 2,603, and in 1897 they had reached a total of 8,445. To understand the care which the state has lavished upon this experiment it is only necessary to visit the school at Fontenay-aux-Roses, where professors are formed for the normal schools for elementary teachers. There, on a beautiful site far enough from Paris to avoid the distractions of the city and near enough to secure the services of a high order of professors, the Government has developed its ideal of a highly specialized training school for the teachers of teachers. It is really a post-graduate institution, open only to women who have already obtained either the superior diploma of pedagogy or a bachelor's degree.

The entire equipment of the school, the spacious building and quiet courts, the ample class rooms, laboratories, library, gymna-

sium, and studios, all give the sense of liberal provision. On the domestic side, for it is a boarding-school, there is an air of dignity which conduces to the finest type of womanly character. To appreciate the sincerity and force of the scholastic work it is only necessary to recall some of the chief professors whose names have had a place on its rolls: Dupuy, Rabier, Marion, all known in the world of letters, and, above all, M. Pécaut, who from the first presided over the professional studies. This man, whose lucid mind and exalted character placed him among the master teachers of the age, was brought into world-wide prominence by the Dreyfus affair. Convinced from the first that the trial was a travesty of justice, he resigned from the public service that he might, without embarrassment to the Government, raise his voice in warning. The last energies of his life were spent in the effort to excite in his country the sense of moral honor. In the school which he so much loved, his name is spoken with fond reverence, and his memory is cherished as an inspiration to the highest conception of public duty.

Such have been the efforts and such the influences which the Republic has directed to the training of a large and ever-increasing body of its teachers. At first, however, it was working in a very limited circle. In the early days of this great movement it was made a reproach to the Government that the young women in the normal schools were drawn from the humblest families, that they were "daughters," as one wrote, "of peasants, of small merchants, laborers, and small farmers." The cause is easily understood. The people who had neither prestige nor privilege under the old régime were naturally the first to catch at the chance for both. Even the opposition of the Church, to which the majority were devoutly attached, could not prevent parents from seeking the worldly advantage of their children. Thus, one of the most powerful instincts of human nature was enlisted by the Republic in what was felt to be its struggle for existence. Said Jules Ferry in 1879, in a speech on the projected law requiring all teachers to have a state diploma: "We find ourselves face to face with a power which intends nothing less than placing over against, and above, the right of the state and of civil society a sort of inviolable religious society which recognizes neither the law nor the right of the state." In this aggressive spirit the Republic worked throughout its first decade; but in dealing with women its method was wisely and cautiously persuasive.

So far the movement considered had reached only women of the



humbler classes more accustomed to serve and follow than to lead. It was necessary that it should be extended to the superior classes; and it is in respect to these that the provision for the higher education of women in France assumed its distinctive character.

In the educational exhibits at Paris no contrast was more striking than that between the colleges for women in our country and those of France. Save for some special statistics and an album showing composite photographs of college women, the former differed little from the exhibits of colleges for men. Not so with France. Here has been achieved what is often discussed on this side of the Atlantic, namely, a type of liberal education essentially feminine. In the *lycées* or classical colleges for men the three characteristic studies are Latin, philosophy, and mathematics. The first two are wanting in the programmes for young women, and the last is present in a very simplified form. German and English take the place of Latin; and for philosophy there is an ethical course sometimes falsely named philosophy because of authoritative reference to certain philosophical writings. The laboratory facilities of the schools are generally excellent, better than in many of the older classical colleges for men. They are used, however, mainly by the teachers for illustration. Domestic economy and hygiene are made very prominent, as especially related to woman's sphere. Drawing, which is never omitted from French programmes below the specialized university courses, is, in the women's *lycées*, connected on the decorative side with the needlework. The practical results, in the form of original designs for costumes, laces, and embroideries, were displayed in the exhibits, and formed to the American eye a very novel feature of college education.

The question naturally arises, What is there in this training that answers to our ideal of higher education, what is there that disciplines the intellect, develops the judgment, and incites the mind to free initiative? It must be admitted that these qualities are not so highly prized in France as in our own country. Even men in France are moved more by sentiment than by reason. The *lycées* for women have, however, a disciplinary training in the courses of modern languages and literature and the closely allied courses in history. It is difficult for us to understand the full effect of these studies, conducted as they are in a serious and critical spirit. It is our contention that the particular value of the classics lies in their power of disengaging the mind from its surroundings and customary viewpoints and exercising it upon a great body of unfamiliar but profound ideas.

It has never perhaps occurred to us that a people like the French, formed so largely as to their institutions and their modes of thinking by Latin influences, may find just that advantage in the mastery of the language of Shakespeare and of Goethe and the intensive study of their works.

The French woman who has finished the *lycée* and passed the examination for the full diploma of letters has mastered two foreign languages. But she has done something far more important than this; she has learned to view the problems of life from a standpoint radically different from that of her own nation. She enters into the deeper moral consciousness of the Saxon, of whom Taine said, in a contrasting analysis of the Norman and the Saxon:

“ But this spirit, void of the sentiment of the beautiful, is all the more apt for the sentiment of the true. Human and moral instincts have gained the empire over him. . . . Here are the foundations and the elements of a civilization, slower but sounder, less careful of what is agreeable and elegant, more based on justice and truth.”

The law creating these higher institutions for women was passed in 1880. It was well understood at the time that the measure was not purely educational in its aim, but rather one of a series of efforts by which the state sought to break up the Church monopoly of the interest. Under the circumstances, a radical change in the scheme of women's education was not to be expected. I am assured, however, by the author of the law himself, M. Camille Sée, that as regards curriculum the measure was neither a compromise nor an expedient, but the embodiment of an ideal. This ideal he still advocates, and with added enthusiasm, inspired by its practical results.

The details of the long contest over the law interest us only as showing the spirit in which the Government pursued its purpose. Two points will suffice for illustration. Following the course which had proved effective in the Church system, it was proposed that the *lycées* for girls should be boarding schools. Twice the law appeared to be wrecked on this proposition. But new forces were added by an adroit appeal to the small towns which could not maintain a *lycée* without the patronage of the rural gentry; and with their coöperation a compromise proposition was carried making the boarding department (*internat*) optional with local authorities. As a consequence, the *lycées* of Paris, Lyons, and other large cities have day students only. The loss of influence in this direction has been compensated to the state measurably through its system of scholarships. These, awarded



upon a rigid competitive examination, give the holders a pecuniary interest in their own education, and secure an élite band of students bound to the state by a deep sense of its paternal care. Local authorities have followed the example of the state in this matter; and there are at present, on a total of 11,994 students, 863 holders of scholarships. Of these 358 are national.

A second matter on which the debate waxed hot was that of moral and religious instruction. Here the state did not waver. Moral instruction was separated from religious, and made an important feature. But, while excluding religion from the programmes, the Government that had secularized primary schools showed in respect to the higher institutions for women the most scrupulous regard for the rights of conscience. The Chamber of Deputies voted that religious instruction should be given to boarding pupils, outside the class hours, and upon the request of parents, by the ministers of their respective denominations. This provision the Senate extended to day students also.

The year following the passage of this law, that is, in 1881, the work was crowned by the creation of a normal school to prepare women professors for the new establishments. Installed at Sèvres, on the beautiful site and in the spacious building erected originally for the porcelain works, the school may be regarded both by reason of the severity of its studies and the quality of its professors as an annex of the Paris University. In the roll of its *personnel* since its foundation are found such names as Darmesteter for letters, Joly for psychology, Poincaré for physics. The entire corps, men and women, the latter forming a small minority, are university graduates, which term, it should be explained, implies a diploma above the bachelor's degree. As in all French boarding-schools, there is complete separation of the scholastic and domestic departments, save that both are under one direction.

The presiding genius of the institution is Mme. Marion, widow of the distinguished author and professor. Her husband held the chair of pedagogy at the Sorbonne from its creation, in 1887, to his death, ten years later. From this chair there went out an influence that has affected thousands of French teachers. "I cannot tell you how much we loved him," said one of his students. "We all loved him." This was a universal testimony. His teachings were as inspiring as his character. On one side, he directed his students to the careful observation of nature and of social facts as the basis of a true psychology; on the other, he emphasized before them the idea of

freedom. "Our species," he says in the conclusion of his work on "The Moral Solidarity," "is not necessarily destined to happiness or misery. It is what it makes of itself, and will have the lot it merits." Exact method, idealistic ends, these were the themes constantly recurring in his lessons and consistently illustrated in his work. He was an ardent advocate of the higher education of women, and readily accepted the task of delivering his lectures before the students of both Fontenay-aux-Roses and Sèvres. Mme. Marion entered into his views and became, as it were, the inheritor of his spirit. Possessed of a gracious presence and of active sympathies she stands before the students under her charge as a noble type of the women who are destined to bear a part in a great public mission.

Two decades have elapsed since the passage of the law providing for the higher education of women under the auspices of the state. For this jubilee year of the Republic, M. Sée has prepared an exhaustive review of the movement with which his name will be forever associated. The new establishments, he explains, are classified as *lycées* and colleges. It was the original purpose to have a *lycée* in the chief city of each of the 90 departments of France, the initial cost to be borne by the city, and the annual expenditure by the state. The colleges were to be established in smaller towns upon local initiative and with aid from the state, according to circumstances. As to the actual outcome M. Sée reports that, while before 1880 there were no institutions of this kind in France, in 1900 there are the following: The school for professors at Sèvres, 37 *lycées*, 3 provisional *lycées*, 26 colleges, 2 provisional colleges, and a *lycée* in the protectorate of Tunis.

The financial statement shows that for the capital expenditure on sites and buildings the state advanced from 1881 to 1898 the sum of 33,409,437 francs. The total receipts of the institutions, exclusive of the boarding departments, amounted in 1898 to 3,764,354 francs. Of this sum 27 per cent came from tuition fees, 70 per cent from the state, and the balance from local authorities.

It has been found necessary to establish preparatory departments in the majority of these institutions. Omitting this elementary stage, it appears that in 1882 they comprised 784 students, 4,241 in 1891, and 7,003 in 1899. The full course of study occupies five years, to which a sixth year may be added, intended particularly for students who desire to enter the Superior Normal School at Sèvres. In 1899 of the total students enrolled 388 were in the sixth year. This num-



ber represents fairly the proportion of students in any year who expect to make teaching a profession. A large part, probably the majority of the students, are from the families of the wealthy bourgeois, who are rapidly coming into control of public affairs, and whose daughters are educated with a view to domestic and social life.

The teaching force of these *lycées* and colleges in 1899 comprised 647 professors and assistants. If the staff seems excessively large as compared with the number of students, we must remember that French custom calls for a great amount of individual tutoring and supervision. I may add from personal observation that the principle of subdivision in labor is admirably maintained. Every one of these teachers is a trained specialist; but the unity of the whole work is preserved through the Directrice and her immediate assistant, the supervisor of the programmes. This policy may not be favorable to that free, sympathetic coöperation which develops in our own college faculties; but it does impart to each establishment an impressive appearance of order and repose.

Thus far I have considered the movement for the higher education of women in France wholly in the light of its relation to the Republic and to republican policies. In all essential particulars it is a creation of the Republic, and yet it has historic relation to the movement that swept over our own country between 1860 and 1870 and affected England deeply in the closing years of that period. It was in 1867 that the Bishop of Orleans made an open protest against the prevailing system of woman's education in France. "The education of women," he wrote, "is meagre, frivolous, and superficial, when it is not false." "It was limited," said Camille Sée, interpreting the protest according to his clearer light, "to elementary branches, and," he adds with undisguised irony, "the art of being agreeable." The impulse to reform did not exhaust itself in protests. The same year in which these utterances appeared university courses for women, as they were called, but to speak more exactly, courses by university professors, were created by M. Duruy, then minister of education. The prestige of his name drew patronage, and for a while the "courses" flourished. They continue in a modified form even to the present day, but their chief value lies in the fact that they prepared the way for the later and more substantial work. Omitting this somewhat desultory instruction that draws about 3,000 hearers annually, it appears that in 1897 there were 9,000 young women pursuing these studies in the institutions of collegiate grade.

The universities of France have not been considered in this survey. Nominally, these institutions which admit only graduates to their highly specialized training have been long open to women. From time to time a few foreign women entered, and occasionally a French woman. Suddenly the number of the latter became noticeable: in 1892 there were 258, to-day there are 579. The progress is remarkable: nearly 600 French women of approved capacity are pursuing graduate studies in universities noted for their high requirements. We count but 1,400 in our own country!

This movement is no surface ripple. Ten thousand young women moulded annually into the new life, brought under rational discipline, accustomed to the discussion of the grandest themes of human thought, made to realize their own moral freedom and responsibility, what influences, what transforming power, must flow from them! Already the effect is seen beyond the pale of the state schools. Girls from parochial schools are seeking state diplomas, and the Catholic seminaries for girls vied with each other in their exhibits in showing that their instruction had worthier elements than the "art of being agreeable."

Frenchmen are sometimes represented as having sentimental feelings only toward women. The view is superficial. Nowhere is the influence of mothers greater, nowhere is more chivalrous respect professed for women. It is woman's mission to inspire in man the conceptions of honor and of glory. Change the ideals of women in any nation and you re-create those of men. A deep insight into the causes of social conditions inspired the Republic to provide higher education for women founded in reason and in the sense of personal responsibility.

ANNA TOLMAN SMITH.



# The Forum

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JANUARY, 1901.

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## THE LIBERAL PARTY IN ENGLAND.

It has been said that the Liberal party has been ruined by two great Liberal leaders — that Mr. Chamberlain began the ruin by deserting to the enemy, with the plans of campaign in his pocket, and that Lord Rosebery cast his party into outer darkness, because he would throw away the old lamps and put in new lamps of his own.

The general election just completed has not annihilated the Liberal party, but it has demonstrated its impotence. In this paper an attempt is made, from behind the scenes, to make the real operative causes of the collapse intelligible to others. Mr. Chamberlain is not an adept in asking too much. He never expected to wipe out Liberalism. He wished to stop the pendulum, and has succeeded. The pessimists go further, and those who hate Liberal ideas are naturally exultant. They believe they have at last got everything their own way. They have captured the press; they have misled the proletariat; they have “rushed” the sober middle class with dazzling dreams of ever expanding markets. If free speech is not bludgeoned to silence, as in the crisis of the war fever, men are still being cowed into insincere compromise with conscience. Parliamentary independence has been crushed to order. Parliamentary morality has been dulled to lower standards of personal honor. A scene such as that last February, when Mr. Chamberlain was solemnly whitewashed by his party after declining to face the inquiry or to produce the documents which would establish his guilt or innocence, left the worst impression on those who love the House of Commons.

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The manipulation of "world-politics" by great financial "bosses" seems assured. At no period since the Stuart Restoration has reaction achieved such victory over the freedom and sincerity of thought and action. From the current press, and from the chatter of club smoking rooms, the dodo is not more extinct than the Englishmen of the days of Kossuth or Mazzini, or the Englishmen who rose in their might to denounce the Bulgarian massacres of 1876, or even the Englishmen in whose hearts five years ago the almost dying appeal of the greatest Englishman of the age aroused an echo of the old sentiments over the ghastly horrors of Armenia. The cynicism of Rudyard Kipling seems to rule supreme; and in such an atmosphere Liberalism cannot thrive.

May not the South African war have been a "wire-puller's" as well as a "capitalist's" war? According to our witty diarist, Mr. George Russell, this very trick was foreseen five years ago by an old parliamentary hand. "It is always difficult for an opposition to oppose a government conducting a war; and our friend Chamberlain is the very man to take advantage of that."

There was motive enough. People forget that fifteen months ago speech after speech from government benches admitted a Liberal victory to be more than probable. No such overwhelming evidence of growing distrust of a ministry had been known for half a century. The great Unionist victory of 1895, with its majority of 152 seats, had been won, the London "Times" calculated, by the conversion of about one Liberal in every nineteen to Unionist views. But the votes given between 1895 and 1899 in forty-three constituencies in Great Britain — not including Ireland — that had been contested at the general election of 1895 and at by-elections subsequently showed a transfer not of one in nineteen, or 5 per cent, but of one in thirteen, or 7.5 per cent, from the Unionist to the Liberal side. And the biggest gains had been in the great urban and suburban constituencies, where Liberalism had been weakest for years. A wave like this spread over the whole country would have meant a Liberal majority over both the Unionist and the Irish. Its rushing volume increased the popular dislike of a ministry that forgot the Old Age Pensions in their election addresses of 1895, and emptied the national till into the pockets of the privileged classes.

Mr. Chamberlain knew what it meant, and that a "frontal attack" on a disappointed people, visibly preparing to belabor a discredited Ministry, as a South Sea islander whips his gods when



things go wrong, was out of the question. A diplomatic triumph, a war which stirs the blood and adds to the possessions of England, and an election snapped while the fever still raged formed the congenial strategy. To make assurance surer, Mr. Chamberlain added to the issue the disfranchisement of about 10 to 15 per cent of the electorate, taking the election in the very last month of the old register.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the Liberals two points are plain. The party, as a whole, failed ignominiously to play the strong cards as to the war. Petty details as to hospitals and commissariat and such episodes as the Spion Kop despatches were taken up instead of the deeper issues of national policy. The fact is that contradictory conceptions of right and duty paralyzed action. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gave an intelligible lead which three rank and file Liberals out of four throughout the country would have followed if Sir Edward Grey and Sir Henry Fowler had not thwarted him by diametrically opposite teaching.

At the beginning of the session of 1900 the opposition front bench came together over Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice's amendment to the address condemning both the policy and the conduct of the war, only to have the logical bottom of their fighting formula knocked out by Sir Edward Grey. The great meetings of the National Liberal Federation at Nottingham, in March, saw the splendid triumph of the anti-war Liberals on the first day, and the subsequent betrayal of the party to the jingoes.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who succeeded the late Thomas Ellis as chief Opposition whip, and was then hailed as the coming savior of his party, has been successful in nothing except in getting candidates who are better capitalists than politicians. Instead of organizing his party to fight the Tories on their war policy, he has been out of tune with his leader, and out of tune with himself. For the first time in political history the chief whip of a great party opened the campaign with an apology for its existence, with the singular plea that it expected no majority, and that it had no alternative ministry and no policy to offer to the country.

But, and this is my second point, with such divisions and such tactics, with the whole press of the country — with two or three exceptions — against them, and with the old Liberal journals reducing the

<sup>1</sup> Note that the new register in Scotland came into force on November 1. If, like the English register, the Scotch came in force in January, can we doubt that the election might have been at the end of November, instead of two months earlier?

Liberal position to a logical *impasse*, in the impossible task of at once approving and condemning the Chamberlain policy, the wonder is that Liberals did even as well as they did. The pluck and pertinacity of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the fiery invective of Sir William Harcourt, and the dash and sound logic of candidates who fought, not to lose, but to win, gave some chance. The result and figures are an eloquent testimony that, after all, there is a staunch army of Liberals in the country who might have done better, might conceivably have won victory even at this election if led on intelligible principles and for intelligible objects.

The summary of the London "Times" shows that the totals for Great Britain were 2,055,951 Liberal votes as against 2,360,852 Unionist votes, or a majority of 304,901 votes. The similar totals of 1895 had been 2,019,755 Liberal votes, as against 2,266,948 Unionist votes, or a majority of 247,193. In the metropolitan area the increase of the Unionist majority was more striking, but the general result was a drawn battle. In 1895 and in 1900 the distribution of political force was such that a wholly disproportionate number of seats went to the winning side. In 1895 the Unionists should have had a majority of 14 instead of 152, in strict proportion to their voting strength, and in the present election the strict proportion would have given the Unionists a majority of 22 instead of 134. Though this unexpected operation of the Redistribution Act seriously handicaps the Liberal party, it is clear that the tendency here, as in the United States, is to an equilibrium, and the problem of the present and of the future is how to draw in the floating vote.

What is it that wins or loses with the British democracy? Reviewing the past fifteen years, sentiment still counts for much; criticism, unceasing, mordant, corrosive, disintegrating, counts for more; and programmes of tangible boons count for much less than either. Thus, in 1885, criticism robbed the Liberals of their old borough supporters, while in the counties the sentiment of the new voters carried all before it. They voted Liberal not to get "three acres and a cow," but in the mere joy of freedom.

In the Liberal rally of 1892 the real motive power lay in the generous altruism of giving Home Rule to Ireland roused by the fervid eloquence of Mr. Gladstone, and in the longing for free self-government, for the emancipation of labor, for the popular control of education. It was the victory of a democracy fully conscious of hopes and duties, and instinct with sympathy for brother democrats.



For such a creed a majority not of 40, but of five times 40, was wanted. Stubborn loyalty kept up the struggle even for a year after the great mainspring — Mr. Gladstone's personality — was withdrawn. But it was a hopeless struggle. Privilege and class interests are too strongly entrenched. Things are now even worse than they were. The monopolies are banded together as never before. The Church, the gin palace, and the Stock Exchange are the eager instruments of the most selfish and inaccessible oligarchy that has ever ruled England. It is idle to point to the alleged unpopularity of Home Rule as a cause of this state of things. Home Rule has been a pretext, just as Krugerism has been a pretext, for the better organization of the rich and powerful to get their own way and appropriate everything.

So, in the Parliament of 1892–1895, what mattered it whether Tory criticism was honest or dishonest? They held the key of the House of Lords. Their tactics were ready to hand. They could give point to their criticism with facts. They could taunt the Liberal Ministry with “bringing in bills they never meant to pass,” and prove their point by obstructing the bills in the Commons and killing them in the Lords. And this political dynamite won the victory of 1895 far more than the pitiful and unmeaning items of Mr. Chamberlain's “social programme,” not one of which had a grain of influence except old age pensions. The people lost faith because they saw that the Liberals were helpless against the Lords.

And the most effective stimulant to this Tory criticism was the ill luck — to himself as much as to the party — which thrust Lord Rosebery into Mr. Gladstone's vacant place in 1894. Lord Rosebery has not the faith which moves mountains. He is no cynic, but he is almost morbidly sceptical. No one could see more distinctly the real mischief which was paralyzing Liberalism. Few men could have blundered so badly in setting about its mitigation. In summing up at Scarborough, in the autumn of 1895, the causes of the Liberal defeat at that general election, Lord Rosebery, naturally enough, did not include his own leadership. Others have not been so lenient.

Lord Rosebery has been unlucky enough never to have had the wholesome discipline of up-hill fighting. Whether from distrust or distaste, he has held aloof from party work in bad times. To the marvellous efforts of Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Morley to build up a new Liberal majority after the defeat in 1886 Lord Rosebery's contributions were few and insignificant. A de-

lightful speaker at non-political gatherings, animated by the spirit of Imperial responsibilities, still more delightful as a critic, handling with sympathy and insight the strong and playful humanity of Burns, or the breadth and intellectual ascendancy of Pitt, or the passive, relentless, and sensitive power of Cromwell, his strictly party speeches, though in many instances forcible, in some cases more than forcible, have as often as not struck a note which has puzzled and weakened his party. If Cromwell as an irresistible force attracts Lord Rosebery, he has always found something uncongenial in that grim Cromwellian earnestness which, after all, has been far more the real lever of Liberalism than the active intervention of the great Whig fanatics who think they made Liberalism as well as their own fortunes.

Half a dozen versions have been given of Lord Rosebery's advent to power. The real story was frankly told by Lord Tweedmouth after the Rosebery resignation in 1896. Lord Rosebery was not suggested by Mr. Gladstone, or imposed by a Court intrigue. He was compelled "against his own better judgment" by the "pressure of the majority of the Cabinet" to accept the Premiership.

The secret of the failure of his great *coup* was that he saw that his chance was gone before he set to work. The real chance for scoring against the Lords was at the end of 1893. The Lords had just rejected the Home Rule bill, had struck the linch pin from the Employers' Liability bill, had mangled the Parish and District Councils bill out of recognition, and had even been rash enough to defy the House of Commons in its most precious constitutional prerogative by claiming a joint right to decide questions of local taxation. Doubtful as was the popularity of Home Rule even then, the Lords had gone some way toward "filling the cup" by these cumulative challenges to the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone, with unerring instinct, pressed on his colleagues the wisdom of instant dissolution. He might have won. At worst, a commanding Liberal minority would have beaten down the Tories and regained power long before now. And such an election would have given actuality to Lord Rosebery's war cry.

An impetuous preference for bold tactics wrecked Mr. Gladstone and his party in 1886, when he staked all on carrying Home Rule by a *coup de main*, and lost. But in 1893 he alone kept his head. His cabinet, like limpets, clung to place. Frequent elections are ruinous to poor men. Besides, there was the young "leader," with his



group of admirers. And so the Liberal party lost at one stroke its biggest force and its fairest chance.

In that wise and beautiful speech in March, 1894, before he gently and silently passed behind the Speaker's chair, and was seen no more in Parliament, Mr. Gladstone naturally dwelt on the power of the Lords as the issue on which the Liberal future depended. But he left no orders, open or sealed, for a "forlorn hope." That unwisdom, like many others, was left to Mr. Labouchere, an incisive and sarcastic speaker, but an infelicitous tactician, a man who will leave behind him the reputation of having weakened more than one good cause by maladroit advocacy. And the irony of the situation has been that, without perceiving it, Lord Rosebery in 1894 took his cue, not from Mr. Gladstone, but from the man who has never left off lampooning the peer premier.

Lord Rosebery did exactly what he was not expected to do. He was to be the strong man to rally the social forces to the Gladstonian creed, broad in sympathy, cautious in action. But instead of recalling the words, "their strength is to sit still," he showed from the outset of his short and brilliant career as Prime Minister a sensitiveness and an impulsiveness almost electric. He could not let events ripen. He must forthwith strike his one distinctive note. So, within four months, he "plunged" and staked everything at Bradford in declaring war, and a war instant, unrelenting, traceless, against the Lords. He pledged his party to a fight that put aside every other question, and a fight that must be fought to a finish. Unhappily, it was not fought to a finish. Hearty support came only from the very Radicals who had opposed his selection.

Why was the Bradford campaign so ludicrous a fiasco?

It was attributed by press apologists, like all other evils, to the malevolence of Sir William Harcourt. It would be fairer to say that the smash would not have been so great if Lord Rosebery's colleagues as a body had staked their all with him, and gone straight to the country on the issue.

The real trouble was not only that the occasion had flown, but that Lord Rosebery had never clearly thought out his campaign. It has been his frequent ill luck to have to explain his own speeches. When the leader of a great party attempts what he admits to be a "revolution," he is doubly bound to be intelligible. But from one great meeting to another, till the catastrophe in June, 1895, there was a zigzag of apologies, reaffirmations, shiftings of ground, till the campaign was

lost in a chaos of confusion, and the central idea, which was to emancipate Liberalism and Progress, was smothered like a damp squib, unilluminated and unilluminating. Such a campaign filled the quivers of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour with pointed shafts. It was all a great pity. Lord Rosebery hoped to rescue his party. He and the party paid the penalty of his effort to do the right thing at the wrong time and in the wrong way.

Some people will always think Sir William Harcourt might have done better. The "young and energetic stage manager," in Mr. Balfour's pungent phrase, "meant to hiss the old pieces off the stage." To Irish Nationalists and English Radicals the ousting of Harcourt meant the ousting of the advanced policy. Sir William stood for continuity in the ideas the men of 1892 had fought and won for. Anyhow, the split between the new leader and the old lieutenant who had lost his promotion has done as much as anything to wreck the party. Sir William was lukewarm about the Bradford manifesto. Lord Rosebery, it is rumored, circularized his Cabinet against the graduated taxation of the Finance Act of 1894. It is a pity that each did not help the other, and it is a pity that the split cost us both.

Even now it is worth while, for our purpose, to measure the potentiality of Harcourt as a factor in the future. His Finance Act was the only big thing done by a Liberal since the county franchise. And, in the striking speech at the dinner given him at the close of that session to commemorate the budget, Sir William Harcourt stands out as the logical and moral iconoclast of privileged interests:

"The rich and noble clamored for big navies and vast expenditure, but whined at having to pay their share. Landlords would not pay, because they were too poor; brewers, because they were too rich. The great land owners claimed a divine right of exemption from the load of ordinary mortals. The Duke of Devonshire might threaten to shift his new burdens to his poor dependents; he might threaten to reverse the Finance Act! But reforms like that are never reversed."

And, again:

"The real motive for the running away of the Liberal Unionists was the dread of progressive ideas; they shrank from the advent of equal justice; they went away sorrowing because they had great possessions. It was the whole gamut of the Liberal creed that jarred on their nerves."

Again, Sir William's effort in 1896 to rally a broken party struck the same note. Liberal principles have rarely been stated with more daring force and concentrated precision than in his unanswered and unanswerable exposure of the "Doles" policy and of the unjust working of the English land system. These are some of his good



points. His defects and blunders are as easy to find as those of Lord Rosebery or any other leader. If Lord Rosebery failed against the Lords, did not Sir William equally fail in his tilt against the brewers?

Both men are handled here without reserve, because their differences did not lie merely in a feud between rival ambitions, but sprang from vital and essential divergencies in national policy.

After the resignation of Sir William Harcourt, in 1898, and the letters which passed between him and Mr. Morley, so much became public property that the real facts can now be fairly given, and are essential to our purpose, as they go to the root of Liberal difficulties.

Before 1895 incompatibility of temper is all that need be noted. The real mischief began after the general election, when the Liberal leaders were invited to meet at Lord Spencer's to discuss future policy. Lord Rosebery's reply (communicated to Sir William as well as to Lord Spencer) was that he could never again be associated with Sir William Harcourt on political action. Their relations had long been merely official, and the essential differences between them as to general policy were so profound that the attempt to work together must be abandoned, if Lord Rosebery was to take any further part in Liberal politics.

This step has led to all the rest. Sir William was in possession, and, naturally, would not be "warned off the course." As Mr. Morley wrote, there was not an "unworthy insinuation" as to his action which he could not have "blown to atoms" at any moment. But there was friction, if not active disloyalty, on the front opposition bench. Sir William's Radical speeches on the land question in the debates of 1896 were boycotted by the Liberal Publication Department, then, as now, under Rosebery influence.

But Sir William gave a fighting lead which was enthusiastically followed by the Liberal rank and file in the House. His striking success, and the growing agitation to rescue the Armenians, culminating in Mr. Gladstone's passionate appeal for intervention, were the direct precursors of Lord Rosebery's sudden resignation in October, 1896. The arguments of the brilliant resignation speech at Edinburgh are irreconcilable with the protests Lord Rosebery himself had made a few months before against Lord Salisbury's inaction. It occurred to many that Lord Rosebery had snatched at an excuse to escape from an irksome position. The chief interest of the Edinburgh apology was the frank admission that a peer premiership was unworkable.

Incessant attempts — some generous and open, others interested and underhand — have been made to get Lord Rosebery back. He has given no clear sign, but has kept friends and critics in suspense. What is more noteworthy is that those behind the scenes have again and again appealed to Lord Rosebery to withdraw the letter of “proscription.” But it would appear that, so far, Lord Rosebery has proved an irreconcilable. And, when the veil has been lifted slightly — as at a dinner last year at the City Liberal Club — it would seem that, if he ever comes back, it must be with a clean slate, from which the old ideas and policies have been sponged off. Now, no man is necessary. To be of use, the best and strongest must understand his environment, and work through and by and not against the forces that make his work possible at all. Will Lord Rosebery ever be allowed by his fervent but unwise admirers to learn this simple lesson?

As it is, the bottom facts of the Liberal deadlock have been that Lord Rosebery’s return to the party in any capacity — by his own admission his return as Prime Minister is out of the question — has been put out of reach, and that the leaderships of Sir William Harcourt and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman have been, each in turn, gravely weakened by the persistent intrigues of a small clique and by an insidious campaign of detraction, while Parliamentary discipline has been shattered by acts of frequent disloyalty, in which even some of the recognized chiefs of the opposition have shared.

The general body of Liberals, in the House and in the National Liberal Federation, were ready to give Sir William hearty and loyal support. If he had ignored the transparent intrigue which deprived him in 1897 of the full recognition of his leadership, which organized Liberalism was ready to accord him at the Norwich meetings, and if he had played a strong game for the democratic policy of which the Finance Act and his Land Reform speeches had made him the spokesman, he might, in the opinion of the present writer, have made himself the irresistible leader of the greatest wave of Radical sentiment this country has ever seen. The real reasons for his failure throw the clearest light on the things that handicap Liberal action.

First stands the poverty of the party. To have tackled the intriguers would have alienated Liberal capitalists, most of whom clung to Lord Rosebery. These men did not love Sir William after his budget. Next, the advanced Radical and labor movement was tinged with a socialism of which Sir William, the best equipped economic reasoner in the House, instinctively fought shy. Again, Lord Salis-



bury's blunders in China seemed to give a new weapon to Liberals, and popularized for the moment the arguments of an impatient imperialism, with which Sir William had no sympathy, and so weakened his hold on many members. And last, but far from least, the disheartening fiasco of the South African Committee appointed to inquire into the Jameson raid — a betrayal of constitutional duty still unexplained, for all the apologies are visibly insufficient — knocked the heart out of his leadership by apparently severing him for the moment from his warmest friends and supporters. How was it that the telegrams ordered to be produced were allowed to be suppressed, and that the plain duty of punishing those who suppressed them was ignored, with some sort of assent from Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and other Liberals? Many conjectures have been made as to the secret which is behind this action of the committee, and the failure of the Liberals to challenge the decision.

But there are some points in this connection which at least suggest further investigation by Liberals. Mr. Rochfort Maguire, Mr. Rhodes's right hand man, and a man of vast wealth, suddenly became a Parnellite member in 1890. In the present election he was suddenly sprung upon the electors of East Leeds as a brand new Liberal Imperialist candidate. That is one point, but there are others. Mr. B. F. Hawksley, Mr. Rhodes's solicitor, not only became a member of the Reform club and the "Eighty club," where he could influence the opinion of the party, but is actually, it is now stated, one of the executive committee of the Central Liberal Association in Parliament street, or one of the inner circle which manages the party fund and controls the party candidatures. Adding to this the fact that Mr. Cecil Rhodes himself wound up his recent visit to England at the Durdans as the guest of Lord Rosebery, there is some material ready to hand for those who may hazard further conjectures.

Anyhow, Sir William Harcourt lost heart, and so lost his chance. The climax came in the Soudan expedition and Lord Rosebery's eager intervention in the Fashoda episode. Sir William, in his turn, seized on the occasion to withdraw from "a position, the duties of which it was made impossible for him to fulfil." There was no visible outlet. The letter of "perpetual proscription" shut the door, and the place was diligently made too hot to hold him by feeding the burning, fiery furnace of Imperialism. He was glad at last to set himself free to strike once more — with Mr. John Morley, its most brilliant and consistent advocate — that note of self-restraint and con-

science in public affairs which had made the great period of Liberalism. The struggle thus passed from persons to principles, and it is significant to note that while the bye-elections of 1898 were fought mainly on the issue of Lord Salisbury's weak and nerveless foreign policy, the great wins of 1899 were got on the old programme of peace and retrenchment, and home reforms, like the taxation of ground values and the housing of the people.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, a shrewd man, combining Scottish "pawkiness," sound judgment, high culture, and sincere loyalty to the Gladstonian traditions, was selected as leader, it is supposed on the suggestion of Lord Spencer, with the obvious intention of making bridges for everybody and of arriving at a *modus vivendi* between the men of economy and peace and the Imperialist section of the party. The sound, kindly, loyal Liberals welcomed his lead. They hated the feuds of the past few years, and have done their best to have the party weapons turned against the common enemy. The new spirit ran like wildfire from the House to the constituencies, and contributed to win the great victories of June and July, 1899, in the bye-elections in Edinburgh and Oldham. A Liberal majority and a Liberal Ministry, with the genial and just Sir Henry at its head, daily came more within range.

But this very success set the intrigues going again. Sir Henry was pounced upon for daring to vote with Mr. Morley in condemnation of the Soudan policy, though he was acting with absolute consistency with former votes. His criticism of Mr. Chamberlain's diplomacy and Transvaal policy has, from the outset, been eagerly seized upon by the Imperialists to try to elbow out the new leader as they had elbowed out his predecessor. Two of his own whips have voted against him, some of his colleagues have tried to overrule him. In fact, more has been done, if possible, to weaken his position than in the case of Sir William Harcourt. The gossip of Edinburgh gives a clue. It is rumored that hope has run high, among Lord Rosebery's friends, that a clean sweep might be made at the general election of the "Radical rump," and that when they were disposed of all would go well for their ideas. To this, force is added by the fact that the Central Liberal Association has tried to press Imperialist candidates on the constituencies, and is reported, in one or two cases, to have fomented shabby intrigues to set local associations against sitting members who had dared to think for themselves and oppose the South African war.



These schemes have been frustrated. Sir Henry never stood higher than after his services in the recent campaign. With one or two notable exceptions, the more decided anti-war Liberals have got back, in some cases with increased majorities. Mr. Perks, a recent addition to the wealthy Nonconformists in the House, who knows more about company promoting than politics, with one or two unknown lieutenants have erected themselves into an "Imperialist Council" to prescribe a policy and to "drum out" everybody who does not bow the knee to Jingo. They have been promptly snubbed into silence by Sir Henry, who clearly means to have no nonsense in the party if he can help it. It is hard to see why Mr. Perks and his friends should have done Lord Rosebery this sorry unkindness, when he is still smarting under the sting of having his own manifesto set aside, and his chosen Imperialist candidate, Captain Hedworth Lambton — the man who had saved Ladysmith and was now to save the Liberal party — promptly "snowed under" at Newcastle by a Conservative majority of 4,609!

This, then, is the present situation. The Liberal party has been deprived of a great victory, at one time nearly within reach, partly by Mr. Chamberlain's Khaki election and grand disfranchisement juggle, and partly through the dislocation of normal party action, by the erratic course of Lord Rosebery, and by the ceaseless intrigues of his Imperialist friends to cripple and destroy any other possible leader. Unity of action must, the figures of the polls demonstrate, win a Liberal victory in the end; but unity of action is still "proscribed," like Sir William Harcourt. *Aut Cæsar, aut nullus!*

It is to be feared that the Liberals will return to the House next February more intent on a trial of their own strength than on trying conclusions with the enemy. It is hard to predict the result. On the one hand is a graceful, imposing personality, a brilliant writer and speaker, a man of immense wealth, who has attached to him a circle of wealthy men, who is backed by the press of both parties, supported in the House by a few men of striking ability, with a creed all the more attractive because it is so imperfectly understood, with dreams of places, power, and promotion for young and ambitious Liberals in the House and country, and with the unpleasant, sordid side of commercial imperialism wrapped out of sight by a sympathetic though autocratic strain of socialism. That looks like winning, and it has vast and somewhat brutal forces for its support.

On the other side, though some of the leaders are way-worn and

broken, and the creed of austere self-restraint seems an anachronism in modern society, there are two vast groups of forces which have to be reckoned with, and which look like a formidable counterpoise to the Jingo cult. There is the one great, undeniable law of Liberal thought that there is a national conscience, and that the secret of Liberal triumphs in the past has been the assertion that morality holds for the nation as well as for the individual. No one who has really worked among the stalwarts of Liberalism in the Midlands or the north of England or in Wales can doubt that this is the cornerstone of the faith which makes Liberal victories possible by keeping these stalwarts what they are.

Then there is the law of reaction, of the common prudence of the people against financial extravagance. This law will operate with tremendous force in the coming months of rising taxation and falling trade, and will stimulate a wave of exasperation against this government and all its ways.

The simplest and most obvious reason why the scales must turn the Liberal tactics against the Imperialists is that the Ministry must be fought, if Liberals are to do anything, and that it can best be fought by a direct challenge of the Jingo spirit, which has brought with it this enormous and unbearable waste of national resources. The Liberal Imperialist stands on an illogical and slippery footing. The facts will fight him down little by little, and a rational Liberalism, welcoming the close attachment of the Colonies, but steadfastly opposing further expansion, and demanding the concentration of policy and revenue, alike in completing the equipment and in insuring the solid welfare of the British people at home, will win its way to victory at the next election.

There is no reason why Lord Rosebery and other brilliant men who now seem opposed to this solution should not join heartily in the work and its results. But they will have to learn the conditions under which this union and this triumph can be won with the forces available. Whether Liberals, then, will be able to roll away the great stone Lord Rosebery tried to roll away in vain, and whether they can hold power when they have got it, is a far-off problem.

AN ENGLISH LIBERAL.



## PANAMA AND NICARAGUA CANALS COMPARED.

THE problem of connecting the oceans by a waterway across the American isthmus has attracted the attention of the world ever since the existence of the isthmus became known. Various routes have been advocated from time to time, but none has been surveyed except the two known as the Panama and Nicaragua routes.

The Panama route, though not the narrowest part of the isthmus, has a natural harbor on each coast, with a depression in the backbone of the cordillera only 363 feet above sea level. These natural advantages led to the construction, in 1851, of the Panama Railway, from Colon on the Caribbean to Panama on the Pacific, to accommodate the heavy traffic induced by the discovery of gold in California. In 1878 De Lesseps inaugurated his celebrated attempt to cut a sea-level canal through here, without having made any adequate estimate of the cost, or even of the physical obstructions to be overcome. A large amount of work was actually done, the canal having been practically completed for seven miles on its northern end, and quantities of heavy excavation were made in the upper and southern portions of the route. The sums actually subscribed and put into this work are variously stated at more or less than \$260,000,000, not more than one-fifth of which is represented by actual construction, the balance having been squandered in corruption and reckless extravagance. The scandals occasioned thereby led to the bankruptcy of the company and the suspension of the work.

On the reorganization of the company a balance of about \$20,000,000 remained available for surveys and construction. The new company very wisely sought the advice of a committee, known as the Comité Technique, composed of fourteen eminent engineers, of whom seven were French, the others being selected from Germany, England, Russia, Colombia, and the United States. Our own country was represented by Gen. Henry L. Abbot, U. S. A., and Alphonse Ftelley, chief engineer of the New York Aqueduct Commission. Under the direction of the Comité Technique more complete surveys were made;

the sea-level plan was abandoned ; and plans were drawn up for a lock canal, to be supplied with water from reservoirs to be constructed on the Chagres River. A small force is, and has been for several years, at work on construction.

The same influence which prompted the construction of the Panama Railway led to the establishment of a transit route across Nicaragua, partly by water and partly by stage road, and surveys for a ship canal along this route were made by the transit company, and afterwards by the United States Government, under Commander Lull. Later the Maritime Canal Company modified the plans, extended the surveys, and began construction on a ship canal. Financial difficulties, however, stopped the work before it was fairly under way, and agitation was carried on for some years to induce the United States Government to finance the project.

In 1895 Congress provided for a board of engineers to ascertain the feasibility, permanence, and cost of the canal, and appropriated the sum of \$20,000 for the purpose. Col. William Ludlow, of the Army ; Civil Engineer M. T. Endicott, of the Navy, and Mr. Alfred Noble, were appointed by President Cleveland to constitute it. Considering the time and funds at their disposal this board made a very thorough examination of the route. They reported that while the canal was feasible, the information possessed by the company was entirely inadequate to serve as a basis on which to make final estimates of cost, or even to determine approximate plans. They recommended, therefore, that an appropriation of \$350,000 be made for further surveys and investigation. Accordingly, a commission was appointed by President McKinley, consisting of Rear-Admiral J. G. Walker, Col. Peter C. Hains, and Lewis M. Haupt, for the further survey and examination of the canal route.

This commission inaugurated thorough surveys, which demonstrated the impracticability of certain features of the company's plans. In 1899, before the commission's work was completed, Congress provided for increasing it, and appropriated funds for the thorough examination, survey, and comparison of *all* the possible routes for an interoceanic canal across the isthmus. The engineering portion of the commission was reinforced by Colonel O. H. Ernst, Alfred Noble, George S. Morison, and William H. Burr. Prof. Emory R. Johnson and Hon. Samuel Pasco were appointed as experts on the commercial and political aspects of the problem, respectively. Explorations were made of the lower isthmus, east and south of Panama,



which added largely to the topographic information there, but failed to reveal any favorable canal route; so that the problem was finally narrowed down to a comparison of the Panama and Nicaragua routes.

The route adopted by the Nicaragua Canal Commission in 1899 starts near Greytown, on the Caribbean, runs in a general south-westerly direction across the swamps and lowlands, north of Lake Silico, along the San Juanillo, through two locks, reaching the left bank of the San Juan River above the head of the San Juanillo, about twenty miles from Greytown. It then follows near the left bank of the river, but not in it, to a point about a mile above the mouth of Rio San Carlos. A high dam near this point will raise the waters of the San Juan to the level of Lake Nicaragua, and the canal will enter the basin through two locks and follow the course of the river for the most part to Lake Nicaragua. Several cut-offs on the natural course of the river will be made. Above Castillo a large amount of dredging will have to be done to secure the required depth, and this will be continued far out into Lake Nicaragua. West of the lake the line runs by way of the valley of Las Lajas, cuts through the divide, and follows the Rio Grande valley through four locks to the Pacific, where a harbor is to be constructed. The total length is about 190 miles, of which 59 miles are in deep water in Lake Nicaragua, leaving 131 miles of canal proper. It is to have ten locks. The level of Lake Nicaragua, and of all the canal between Boca San Carlos and Bueno Retiro, the extremities of the summit level, are to be controlled between the limits of 104 to 110 feet above sea level. Twenty per cent of the surplus water will be discharged through the canal into the Rio Grande, and thence into the Pacific, and the remaining eighty per cent into the Caribbean by way of the Rio San Juan.

The Panama Canal follows the line originally adopted by the old company from Colon to Panama, is about 47 miles long from deep water to deep water, and is to have four locks on each side, on the project recommended, with summit level at 98 feet. There is to be a large storage reservoir constructed at Alhajuela, on the upper Chagres, 12 miles from the canal line, and a large aqueduct is to convey feed water from the reservoir to the summit level. Surplus waters are to be stored until safely discharged.

There are many heads under which to compare these routes, in some of which the Panama is preferable, while in others Nicaragua has the advantage. The only practicable method of making the

comparison is to reduce all advantages to a basis of cash, and this will be here attempted. It is not possible to give exact or final estimates on any of these points, in advance of the report of the present commission, and the following estimate can be considered as only roughly approximate, intended rather to indicate the nature of the problem than to draw exact conclusions. Data will be drawn, as far as possible, from the published reports of the American Commissions and the Comité Technique, as well as from other official sources, comprising the latest and most reliable information available.

**Cost.** The cost of completing the Panama Canal on the plan with summit level at 98 feet, as recommended by the Comité Technique, is estimated at \$98,836,000. The United States Commission of 1899 estimated the cost of the Nicaragua Canal, on the route and plan recommended, at \$118,113,790, but one of the three members gives his estimate as \$134,818,308. This, however, provides for single locks in Nicaragua, while double locks are estimated for Panama; and to arrive at a basis of comparison we must deduct the cost of the second lock from the Panama figures. The Comité Technique states that its estimate "would be reduced by about \$7,720,000 if the building of a second chamber in all the locks were temporarily postponed." This deduction would reduce the estimate to \$91,116,000, but still this would include the excavation and preliminary work on the second chamber, and the Panama locks are planned 88 feet longer than those at Nicaragua. We will assume that these differences will be covered by adopting the larger estimate for Nicaragua, and we have in round numbers: Cost of Nicaragua Canal, \$134,800,000; cost of completing Panama Canal, \$91,100,000; difference, \$43,700,000.

**LENGTH.** The length of the Panama Canal is 47 miles, and the Nicaragua route, as adopted by the commission in 1899, is 190 miles, of which 59 miles are in Lake Nicaragua, where vessels can travel at full speed, so that only 131 miles can be fairly considered as part of the canal, which leaves a difference of 84 miles in favor of Panama. To reduce this difference to cash, we have recourse to the basis adopted by Mr. E. S. Wheeler, Chief Engineer of the Nicaragua Canal Commission, in his report (page 64):

"It is assumed that the business through the canal will be ten million tons annually; that the tolls will be adjusted so as to produce the maximum revenue, and that the rate of interest upon the capital to be invested in the canal is four per cent annually. The average rate for carrying freight over ocean routes of 3,000 miles or more is usually assumed by statisticians to be one mill per mile-ton. Of this about



one-half is for shore expenses, . . . leaving one-half mill per mile-ton for moving freight through the water. It is assumed that vessels move at half speed in the canal. Then the cost in the canal would be one mill per mile-ton, and the cost of moving ten million tons one mile would be ten thousand dollars. Therefore, if the canal could be shortened one mile, ten thousand dollars additional tolls could be collected annually. At four per cent this would pay interest on one-quarter of a million dollars. Therefore, under these assumptions one-quarter of a million dollars could be borrowed and expended without loss in shortening the canal one mile."

On this basis the advantage in shortness of the Panama Canal adds \$21,000,000 to its comparative value. For the sake of uniformity the comparison will be made on the above basis of ten million tons traffic.

**HARBORS.** It is often said in advocacy of the Panama Canal that it has a "good harbor" at each end, while the Nicaragua has none at all. This statement is hardly fair, since the estimate of cost, separately considered, includes the construction of harbors at Nicaragua. Both the Panama harbors require some improvement, which is also included in the estimates. When both plans are completed the harbors at the Panama route, especially on the Pacific side, will be larger and better, but the utility of Lake Nicaragua as a fresh-water harbor probably compensates for this difference.

**ALIGNMENT.** The shortest radius of curvature on the Panama route is 8,200 feet. On the published plans of Nicaragua radii of 3,000 feet are frequent. These short curves will be eventually eliminated and the minimum radius increased to possibly 5,000 feet, leaving the advantage still largely with Panama. The disadvantage of the shorter curvature would manifest itself both in the slower navigation necessitated thereby and in the difficulty of steering vessels round the curve. It would, perhaps, be fair to allow \$2,000,000 as the difference in the value of the two canals from this cause.

**MAINTENANCE.** The cost of maintenance, so far as it depends on the length of the canal, is included in the comparison under the heading of length. The bottom of the bay of Panama consists largely of semi-liquid mud, in which the regular steamers always sink at low tide without injury, and it will doubtless require considerable dredging to maintain satisfactory channels through it. This is offset by a similar condition on the east shore of Lake Nicaragua. The moving sands at Greytown will also require the use of a dredge to preserve the necessary depth at the entrance of the harbor. There is, also, more structural work, as distinguished from excavation, about the Nicaragua canal and its harbors; and it is necessary to allow the Panama route the advantage on this point of, say, \$2,000,000.

OPERATION. The project recommended for the Nicaragua Canal provides for ten locks. Mr. E. S. Wheeler (Report of Nicaragua Canal Commission, page 80) estimates the annual cost of operating a lock at \$40,000. This increases the value of a canal \$1,000,000 for each lock eliminated. As the Panama Canal has only eight locks, it is entitled to an advantage of \$2,000,000 for this reason.

CONCESSION. No concession exists for the construction of a canal across Nicaragua, but it is understood that the Government of Nicaragua is willing to concede the privilege on reasonable terms to the United States. [Since the above was in type, it is reported that the Secretary of State has secured a favorable concession from Nicaragua.] The cost of this concession cannot be known, but it may be inferred from the following articles in the concessions granted to the Nicaragua Canal Association in 1887:

The concession from Nicaragua provided:

“Art. L. In consideration of the valuable privileges and concessions granted to the company by this contract, the Republic shall receive in shares, bonds, certificates, or other securities which the company may issue to raise the corporate capital, six per centum of the total amount of the issue. . . . The six per centum shall in no event be less than \$4,000,000. . . .”

The concession from Costa Rica provided:

“Art. XLV. In consideration of the valuable privileges, franchises, and concessions granted by virtue of this contract to the association, the Republic shall receive in shares, certificates, or other value representing the capital stock of the final company, an amount equal to one and one-half per centum of the total amount of the issue of said capital stock, in shares or certificates of \$100 each. This sum shall in no event be less than \$1,500,000.”

These agreements were made on an estimated cost of the canal of about \$65,000,000, or about one-half the present estimate, the difference being due mainly to enlargements of the plan, which make it the more desirable to the Central American government, while the cost is to be paid by the United States. They ought, therefore, to be willing to accept the same total amount of stock, but it would be well to allow at least \$6,000,000 for this item.

The concession for the Panama Canal belongs to the New Panama Canal Company, and this company also owns the unfinished canal, right of way, buildings, machinery, &c., and is supposed to control the majority of stock in the Panama Railway. What it would be willing to take for all these, or whether it would be willing to sell outright, is not known. One of the objects of this inquiry is to learn how much the United States could afford to pay for them. In other



words, this is the unknown quantity, the value of which is sought by the solution of the present problem.

**RIGHT OF WAY.** In Panama this is now owned by the Canal Company or is included in estimate of cost, as above stated. No estimate is available for right of way in Nicaragua; but the concession would presumably convey right of way across public lands, and but few private estates would be required, except on the west side, where the Government agreed in its concession to the company to procure right of way for \$50,000. An allowance of \$300,000 ought to be ample for the total, including terminals.

**PERMANENCE.** The structures as planned are all of a permanent nature, and would succumb to violent earthquakes only. Both localities claim preference in this respect, but there is little choice. Earthquakes have occurred in recent years on both routes, but not of destructive violence, and the best authorities agree that there is little danger of damage from this cause in either locality. Neither route can establish any important advantage in this respect.

**CLIMATE.** So far as climate affects cost it has been included in the above estimates of cost. Its effect on health is included under that head. There is not much difference in temperature; that of eastern Nicaragua being slightly cooler, while that of western Nicaragua is about the same as at Panama. The constant trade winds with which Nicaragua is blessed greatly relieve the tropical heat; but sufficient allowance has been made for this under the head of local commerce.

**WINDS AND CURRENTS.** These are detrimental to the navigation of a canal in all cases, retarding progress when dead ahead, and more seriously interfering with steering when in any other direction. At long intervals there will be currents of water on both routes strong enough to be annoying; but these will be somewhat stronger in Nicaragua when they do occur, owing to the great area drained by the San Juan River and its relatively narrow channel. In dry years the evaporation in Nicaragua exceeds the supply of water, so that in such years there will be no outflow and storage will be necessary. In ordinary years the excess is comparatively small, so that annoying currents will be very rare. In Panama there is always an excess in the rainy season, and in years of unusual precipitation the excess is very large. But as these floods traverse the canal only in Lake Bo-hio, they will not create very high velocities, and will seldom seriously annoy navigation. The frequency of currents at Panama may

be assumed to balance their higher velocity in Nicaragua. Winds are far more constant in Nicaragua, as stated under the head of "Relative Position." It must not be supposed, however, that there are no winds at Panama. Breezes frequently blow there, also, and are fully as strong as in Nicaragua, though calms are frequent and sometimes prolonged. The greater curvature in Nicaragua aggravates the effect of the winds, but this has been allowed for under the head of "Alignment." Still, an allowance of \$1,000,000 under this heading is due to Panama.

**TIME OF CONSTRUCTION.** The Comité Technique estimates ten years as the time necessary to complete the dams and locks at Panama, and has adopted a depth of cut at Culebra corresponding to this time of construction. The Maritime Canal Company estimated the time of constructing its project at six years. So far as the dams and locks are concerned, those in Nicaragua are certainly as difficult as those in Panama, and will occupy as much, if not more, time. In addition to this, the heavy work in Panama is easily accessible by rail from the seacoast, while in Nicaragua a harbor must be made at Greytown and at least sixty miles of railway must be built through difficult country before the heaviest structure, the dam at Boca San Carlos, can be commenced. Laborers' quarters, machine shops, etc., must also be erected, while these are partly supplied at Panama. Work at Boca San Carlos is also more likely to be delayed by rain and floods than at Panama, and regarding the structures only, Panama may hold the advantage in point of time; but the excavation of the Culebra cut will doubtless require as much time as anything at Nicaragua.

**ALTERNATIVE PLANS.** Numerous routes have been considered in Nicaragua, and choice has been made of the more desirable ones, but all with the same summit level, Lake Nicaragua. This is the only scheme practicable in Nicaragua, while at Panama it is possible to fix the summit level at any elevation between 60 and 130 feet. The Comité Technique formulated three distinct plans, with summit levels at 126.5 feet, 98 feet, and 62 feet, respectively, not differing greatly in cost, but differing considerably in time of construction, and they selected the project with summit level at 98 feet as being the one requiring the same length of time to excavate the great Culebra cut as that required for the structural works near Bohio, namely, ten years.

This is the project considered in the above estimates. Its selec-



tion need not be final; for, if after a few years it should be found that the excavation can be accomplished more rapidly or more cheaply than estimated, the lower level can be adopted with as great economy as though it had been adopted at first. This possibility is fortunate, as it is impossible to make exact estimates regarding a work as great and as unique as the Isthmian canal. If the lower summit level were adopted, the number of locks would be reduced from eight to four, and according to estimates previously used the value of the canal from this cause would be increased \$4,000,000; the feeding aqueduct would be avoided, the Chagres flowing directly into the summit level; the cost would be increased \$3,650,000; and the time of construction would be extended about two years. Whether the reduced time of passage, cost of maintenance, and the general simplicity thereby attained will or will not justify this delay may be questioned; but the writer is inclined to favor the lower level. The possibility of radically altering the plans after several years of actual experience, without sacrifice of time or money, but rather in the interest of economy in both, is a distinct merit in the Panama Canal scheme, and not a reproach to it, as is sometimes represented. An allowance of \$1,000,000 will be accordingly made.

RELATIVE POSITION. The chief uses of the canal will be for vessels passing from Atlantic and Gulf ports of the United States to the west coast of America and to ports of northern Asia and return, and for vessels passing between Europe and the west coast of America north of Valparaiso. The distance from Atlantic ports to Colon is slightly shorter than to Greytown, but from Gulf ports the reverse is the case; so there is little choice on this side. On the Pacific side, the Panama route is the shorter by about 400 miles for all South American ports, and the Nicaragua by about 500 miles for all others, except ports between the two, which may be neglected. To determine what these differences are and to estimate the traffic in each direction are among the most important, as well as the most intricate, problems involved in this comparison. We must, of course, assume the same volume of traffic used in the comparison of length, namely, ten million tons. The same cost of ocean transportation, one-half mill per mile-ton, will be used for steam vessels; but for sailing vessels we must make other assumptions on account of the difference of wind conditions.

The Nicaragua route is in the zone of trades, which blow almost constantly most of the year, calms being exceptional; while Panama

is in the region of calms or doldrums, which are often so protracted as very seriously to interfere with wind navigation. In fact, Lieut. Maury once expressed the opinion that a canal at Panama could not be wisely used by sailing vessels, owing to the difficulty and uncertainty involved in approaching and leaving Panama. He later showed that by working southward to the equator the southeast trades would be reached, and that the average loss of time would be far from prohibitory. Using these data, a comparison of the two routes for sailing ships bound to and from San Francisco was made in 1880 by Lieut. Frederick Collins, U. S. N.; and for present purposes his estimate, which follows, will be adopted:

Comparing the distance and times on the two routes, we get the following:

	MILES.	DAYS.
Panama to San Francisco.....	5,350	37
Nicaragua to San Francisco.....	3,240	23
Difference in favor of Nicaragua.....	2,110	14

On the return from San Francisco the difference is less, but still worthy of notice. The average distance to be sailed will vary somewhat with the season, being considerably longer in the summer than in the winter. Following is the comparison for the return during both seasons:

#### OCTOBER TO APRIL.

	MILES.	DAYS.
San Francisco to Panama.....	3,600	26
San Francisco to Nicaragua.....	3,000	22
Difference in favor of Nicaragua.....	600	4

#### APRIL TO OCTOBER.

	MILES.	DAYS.
San Francisco to Panama.....	4,000	31
San Francisco to Nicaragua.....	3,400	26
Difference in favor of Nicaragua.....	600	5

We will assume nine days as the average advantage of Nicaragua. Vessels to and from Asia will follow so nearly the same course as those from San Francisco that they will be considered together.

The total ocean tonnage<sup>1</sup> of the world in 1899 was 27,580,901 tons, of which 8,693,769 tons were sailing vessels, and the others steam. To ascertain the "effective" tonnage, we multiply the steam tonnage by 5 and add it to the sailing tonnage, on the assumption that steamers make five times as many voyages per year as sail-

<sup>1</sup> "Engineering News," Vol. XLII, p. 348.



ing vessels. The result for the principal nations, together with the percentage carried under sail by each, is given in the following table :

SAIL AND STEAM TONNAGE, 1899.

REGISTRY	SAIL.	STEAM.	TOTAL EFFECTIVE.	PER CENT SAIL.
Great Britain.....	2,910,555	10,993,111	57,876,110	5.0
United States.....	1,285,859	810,800	5,339,859	24.1
Germany.....	535,937	1,625,521	8,663,542	6.2
France.....	279,412	952,682	5,042,822	5.5
Norway.....	1,144,482	628,493	4,286,947	26.7
Italy.....	463,767	420,880	2,568,167	18.1
All others.....	2,073,757	3,455,645	19,351,982	10.7
Total.....	8,693,769	18,887,132	103,129,429	8.4

This table shows that about 8.4 per cent of the carrying trade of the world is done in sailing vessels, and this percentage will be assumed for the canal traffic.

It is assumed that the annual traffic through the canal is ten million tons, of which seven million appertain to the west coast of America north of the isthmus and to Asia, and three million to South America. It is probable that the effect of the calms near Panama will balance the advantage in distance which the Panama route affords to sailing vessels bound south, and they are, therefore, eliminated from the problem. All other sailing vessels are affected by approximately the same conditions as those bound for San Francisco; and with respect to these Lieutenant Collins, above quoted, gives the Nicaragua route the advantage of nine days, on an average. This difference, under the above assumptions, affects a traffic of 588,000 tons. Assuming the average speed of vessels to be that given by Lieutenant Collins between Nicaragua and San Francisco, 140 miles per day, we have the equivalent of 1,260 miles, which, at the rates already assumed, gives an advantage to Nicaragua of \$370,440, which capitalized at 4 per cent corresponds to \$9,261,000.

For steam vessels the difference in distance gives Nicaragua the advantage in northbound traffic of \$1,603,000 per annum, and Panama in southbound traffic of \$549,600, Nicaragua thus having a net advantage of \$1,053,400, which, capitalized as before, corresponds

to \$26,335,000, making a total advantage in favor of Nicaragua, in round numbers, of \$35,600,000.

**HEALTH.** This question is of great importance, especially in view of the great mortality at the time of the construction of the Panama Railway, and also during the work by the old company at Panama, which has made a great impression upon the public mind regarding the unhealthfulness of the Panama region.

The comment on these facts made by advocates of Panama is well expressed in the following from the pen of General Abbot, of the Comité Technique, written for the "Monthly Weather Review," but not yet published :

"The following facts are based on an official statement of Doctor Lacroisade, the physician in charge of the hospital of the company at Panama, where all our serious cases are treated, and who has resided for many years on the isthmus.

"His statistics cover three periods: (1) From January 1, 1881, to January 1, 1889, during which the old company was prosecuting its works; (2) from January 1, 1889, to January 1, 1895, the period of liquidation, when only the force needed to care for the property was employed; and (3) from January 1, 1895, to July 1, 1898 (date of his report), when the new company was actively at work.

"During the first period the clearing away of the virgin forests, and the disturbance of the surface soil, often in marshes, rendered exposure to the worst forms of malaria unavoidable. During the second period much of the land bordering the canal had been cleared and improved by drainage and cultivation. In the third period the excavations had been carried below the soil impregnated with decaying matter, and the general occupation of the country had much improved the conditions. These facts explain the marked reduction in disease and mortality shown by the following table.

"Dr. Lacroisade also classifies his statistics according to the nature of the disease — whether common in Europe, or indigenous to the isthmus. The latter include malarial types (intermittent, remittent, bilious fevers), cachexia, congestive chills, liver troubles, dysentery, and imported epidemics, such as yellow fever, small-pox, beriberi, etc.:

YEARS.	EFFECTIVE FORCE EMPLOYED.	PER CENT OF DISEASE.			PER CENT OF MORTALITY.		
		Diseases of Europe.	Diseases of Climate.	Total.	Diseases of Europe.	Diseases of Climate.	Total.
1881.....	928	21.02	42.02	63.04	1.94	4.74	6.68
1882.....	1,910	18.85	47.64	66.49	2.21	4.39	6.60
1883.....	6,287	23.24	42.62	65.86	2.20	4.46	6.66
1884.....	17,615	27.58	36.95	64.53	2.58	4.08	6.66
1885.....	15,215	11.93	49.14	61.07	1.73	3.79	5.52
1886.....	14,935	14.01	43.88	57.89	1.67	3.43	5.10
1887.....	16,217	21.82	39.25	61.07	2.22	3.99	6.21
1888.....	13,725	12.17	40.46	52.63	1.81	2.54	4.35
Means.....	.....	18.83	42.75	61.57	2.05	3.93	5.97



Further statistics in the same table show that for the six years from 1889 to 1894, inclusive, the total mean for diseases had fallen to 49.68 per cent, while that of total mortality had been reduced to 2.88 per cent, and that these figures had remained about the same until the middle of 1898 — the close of the period given in the table.

Continuing, General Abbot says :

“The high percentages in 1887 were due to epidemics of smallpox and beriberi, which were overcome by vaccination and the discharge of the Chinese and native African laborers. Yellow fever has nearly disappeared since 1889, but a mild return in 1897 caused ten cases and six deaths.

“Doctor Lacroisade’s conclusions as to the effect of the climate on different races are the following: The Central American negroes, and especially those of the West Indies, resist its effects best, owing to their better endurance of the direct rays of the sun, to their relative immunity from malarial influences, and to their absolute immunity from the yellow fever. Hindoos, Chinese, and native Africans suffer more, and, engaged in hard work, yield readily to beriberi of which they have brought the germs. Europeans can resist the climate, on condition of abstaining from severe manual labor. Of 254 officers and agents sent by the old company between January 1, 1881, and August 31, 1883, 40 died, indicating a percentage per annum of 7.20. Of 89 agents sent by the new company, only 3 have died. Doctor Lacroisade attributes the undoubted improvement of health on the isthmus to better accommodations of the laborers, to better drainage, and especially to the fact that the excavations have reached a level below the poisonous emanations of the decaying organic matter.”

The obvious inference is that the Panama Canal, having passed through the stage of clearing forests and excavating vegetable mold, may expect to be exempt from great mortality in future, while this dangerous stage has yet to be passed through in the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, and may produce results there similar to those experienced at Panama. There is much merit in this argument, medical authorities appearing to agree as to the deadly tendency of such works. But the bad discipline and lack of sanitary regulations have been largely responsible for the high death rate at Panama, and it is not to be expected that these will be repeated at either place. Besides, Nicaragua is a healthier locality than Panama, which fact will have its effect both during construction and afterwards. Yellow fever is almost unknown in Nicaragua, while Panama is occasionally visited by epidemics of this disease, and seems also to be more favorable to the propagation of other tropical ailments. The advantage in this respect is clearly with Nicaragua, and an allowance of \$2,000,000 in its favor is not too much for this fact.

**WATER SUPPLY AND CONTROL.** Provisions for storing water for use in dry seasons and provisions for controlling floods are included for both routes in the estimates of cost. If either should prove to be insufficient, it would be easy to make further and adequate pro-

vision for any possible contingency. No material advantage on this point is possessed by either route.

**LOCAL COMMERCE.** This is a point emphasized by some advocates of Nicaragua. On this route, though now a wilderness, there are large and fertile areas which would be developed by a first-class waterway; and the traffic in bananas, rubber, cacao, coffee, and other tropical products would, it is claimed, yield an important revenue for which there is no corresponding advantage at Panama. The argument is a good one, but the prospective development is largely conjectural. To arrive at an idea, let us consider how much could be wisely spent on such a waterway if no traffic were expected except to and from points in Nicaragua and Costa Rica. A railroad is projected from San Ubaldo, on Lake Nicaragua, to Rama, on the Bluefields River, to connect with seagoing vessels of 13 feet draught. Such a railroad is estimated to cost about \$2,000,000, and good judges regard it as a paying investment if only a stable government were assured. This, however, does not permit connection with the best paying ocean vessels of over 20 feet draught, as there is no harbor of that depth anywhere within reach. In view of the great capacity of the ship canal, its value as a revenue producer is estimated as double that of the railroad for the eastern outlet, and equal to it for the western, making its total value \$6,000,000.

Assembling all these facts, we have the following table, showing balance of advantages reduced to cash:

TABLE I.

Comparison of Panama and Nicaragua canals on a basis of ten million tons annual traffic:

	ADVANTAGE IN FAVOR OF	
	PANAMA.	NICARAGUA.
Cost.....	\$43,700,000	.....
Length.....	21,000,000	.....
Alignment.....	2,000,000	.....
Maintenance.....	2,000,000	.....
Operation.....	2,000,000	.....
Concession.....	6,000,000	.....
Right of way.....	300,000	.....
Winds.....	1,000,000	.....
Alternative plans.....	1,000,000	.....
Relative position.....		\$35,600,000
Health.....		2,000,000
Local commerce.....		6,000,000
Total .....	\$79,000,000	\$43,600,000
Less.....	43,600,000	
Excess in favor of Panama..	\$35,400,000	



Many of these estimates depend upon the volume of traffic, and this is assumed at 10,000,000 tons per annum, because that figure has been taken as a basis for other estimates recently made. But that is a heavier traffic than the Suez Canal receives after twenty-nine years of operation. That canal had been in operation twelve years before its traffic reached five million tons per annum. It is on the route between western Europe, with 250,000,000 civilized inhabitants, and the ancient empires of the Orient, having more than double this population, with no competing route except by way of the Cape of Good Hope. On the other hand, the traffic through the American canal will consist only of commerce having one or both of its termini at American ports; and for this traffic it must compete not only with the route by the Straits of Magellan, but with no less than twelve railway routes across the continent, each of which will be much shorter and more convenient for its particular locality; and not only may other railways be built in the future, but there is a tendency to lower railway charges. In view of these facts, then, it would not be surprising if the traffic should never exceed 5,000,000 tons, and it is, therefore, important to compare the two routes on this basis.

Inspecting the above table, we find that the items which are independent of through traffic are cost, maintenance, concession, right of way, alternative plans, and local commerce; and, for convenience in considering different cases, we will consider them under one head, "Cost." The sum of these is \$53,000,000, which, deducting Nicaragua's advantage of \$6,000,000 for local commerce, leaves \$47,000,000 in favor of Panama. The other items which are credited to Panama, depending on traffic, are length, alignment, operation, and winds, which may be combined under the head of "Operation," and aggregate \$26,000,000 (see Table I). The advantages of health and relative position, which are with Nicaragua, vary with the traffic, and may be combined under the head of utility, aggregating \$37,600,000. We then have:

TABLE II.

Comparison of Panama and Nicaragua canals on a basis of ten million tons traffic:

	ADVANTAGE IN FAVOR OF	
	PANAMA.	NICARAGUA.
Cost.....	\$47,000,000	.....
Operation.....	26,000,000	.....
Utility.....	.....	\$37,600,000
Total.....	\$73,000,000	
Less.....	37,600,000	
Panama's advantage.....	\$35,400,000	

We may express the problem in the form of an equation, denoting the present worth of the Panama works by the symbol  $W$ , and the traffic in tons by  $T$ , the co-efficients of  $T$  being found by dividing the terms depending on traffic by 10,000,000 :

$$W = \$47,000,000 + 2.6 T - 3.76 T, \text{ whence}$$

- (1)  $W = \$47,000,000 - 1.16 T$
- (2)  $W = \$41,200,000$ , when  $T = 5,000,000$  tons.
- (3)  $W = \$35,400,000$ , when  $T = 10,000,000$  tons.
- (4)  $W = \$29,600,000$ , when  $T = 15,000,000$  tons.

These equations exhibit the apparent paradox that the work now done at Panama is more valuable for a small traffic than for a large one. This would be absurd if it were considered alone ; but the conclusions were drawn from a comparison with another route more favorable to commerce, but more expensive to build. The case is analogous to the decline in the value of horses as the traffic reaches a point where steam can be used.

It is interesting to inquire at what volume of traffic the value of the Panama works would be greatest and at what point it would be least.

We have seen that the present worth of the Panama Canal increases as the traffic decreases ; but there is, of course, a limit to this, namely, at the point where the traffic will just pay interest and cost of operation.

Assuming a traffic of 4,000,000 tons, we find from equation No. 1 that  $W = \$42,360,000$ . Let us suppose that this amount would be paid for the canal, and that it would be completed at a cost of \$91,100,000, making a total cost of \$133,460,000. Four per cent on this sum is \$5,338,400, to which we add \$1,000,000 for operation, about that of Suez, and \$661,600 for maintenance, and we have a total of \$7,000,000, which must be collected from tolls, an average rate of \$1.75 per ton on the assumed traffic. This is as heavy a toll as the traffic would be likely to bear, on an average, and we may, therefore, assume the above figures to represent the maximum value for the present works at Panama.

Few advocates of either canal would be willing to admit the possibility of the canal traffic remaining permanently below 5,000,000 tons, and most authorities place the figure higher. On the other hand, there is no probability that the traffic would ever exceed fifteen million tons, at least within any time that should be now considered. Therefore, we may conclude that :

If the Panama works and rights can be purchased for less than



\$30,000,000, the United States ought to purchase them and complete this canal.

If the Panama works and rights are held at more than \$40,000,000, the United States ought to construct the Nicaragua Canal in preference.

The question is sometimes asked, "Irrespective of cost, which would be the more desirable canal if constructed?" To answer this question we must eliminate from the comparison those quantities due entirely to first cost, namely, construction, concession, right of way, and alternative plans. We then have from Table I:

TABLE IV.

Comparison of value of Panama and Nicaragua canals, irrespective of cost, and on a basis of ten million tons annual traffic:

	—ADVANTAGE IN FAVOR OF—	
	PANAMA.	NICARAGUA.
Length.....	\$21,000,000	.....
Alignment.....	2,000,000	.....
Maintenance.....	2,000,000	.....
Operation.....	2,000,000	.....
Winds.....	1,000,000	.....
Relative position.....	.....	\$35,600,000
Health.....	.....	2,000,000
Local commerce.....	.....	6,000,000
Total.....	\$28,000,000	\$43,600,000
Less.....	.....	28,000,000
Advantage in favor of Nicaragua.....	.....	\$15,600,000

Expressing this in the form of an equation, we have, denoting advantage of Nicaragua by A,

$$A = 1.56 T - 2,000,000.$$

The 2,000,000 representing the advantage of Panama in the matter of maintenance, which is not variable.

Then, when  $T = 5,000,000$ , we have:

$$A = 7,800,000 - 2,000,000 = 5,800,000 \text{ and}$$

$A = 15,600,000 - 2,000,000 = 13,600,000$  when  $T = 10,000,000$  tons. That is, irrespective of cost, Nicaragua would furnish a route better than Panama by \$5,800,000 to \$13,600,000.

The writer does not claim exactness for any of these figures, as some of them will probably be changed by investigations now in progress, while some are matters of opinion on which experts may differ. The effort has been to indicate the nature of the problem and its solution, and to give the facts and the authorities on which the fig-

ures are based. The figures then stand or fall on the merits of their authority.

In conclusion it may be stated that :

1. The American people are determined to have an Isthmian canal owned and controlled exclusively by the United States Government. Having refused partnership with an American company in the enterprise, they will not consent to such partnership with any foreign company.

2. If both canals were constructed and operated on the same tariff schedule, the Panama would secure only the traffic to and from South American ports between Valparaiso and Panama, and Nicaragua would secure all the rest, nearly three-fourths. Therefore,

3. It would be financially disastrous to construct and operate a canal at Panama in competition with the United States. This is so obvious that funds to construct a competing canal could never be raised.

Therefore, it behooves the Panama Canal Company to place a price on its works, such that the American Government can afford, economically, to pay, and then complete the Panama Canal. Otherwise, the Nicaragua Canal will be built, and the work now accomplished at Panama will be a dead loss.

ARTHUR P. DAVIS.



## THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA IN ITS CENTEN- NIAL YEAR.

ON the 12th of December, 1900, the District of Columbia, with the assistance of the nation, celebrated, in an appropriate manner, its one hundredth anniversary. It was in 1800 that the young nation established its Government in the District of Columbia and for the first time had a capital of its own. Seventeen years before, the last Congress of the Confederation had been frightened away to Princeton by the attack of the ill-requited Revolutionary veterans in Philadelphia; and the framers of the Constitution, taking warning from this, provided for a national capital, in a Federal district, ten miles square, to be ceded to the exclusive control of Congress. After much wrangling over the claims of different places offered by the States for the Federal district, including two State capitals, during which the sectional feeling between the North and the South broke out strongly, even to the point of provoking threats of secession, the famous compromise was made, under which the new capital was to be placed upon the Potomac River, to please the South, while the Revolutionary debts of the States were assumed by the nation, to please the North, and Philadelphia was made the seat of the national Government for ten years, from 1790, while the Federal district was being selected and prepared.

Fortunately, the selection and preparation of the Federal district were left to President George Washington, who had taken more interest in the matter than anyone else. He chose wisely the ten miles square which became the District of Columbia, securing from the nineteen original proprietors, without cost to the Government, the site of the Federal city which the Commissioners, appointed to prepare it for the reception of the Government, inevitably called the city of Washington. Congress had made no provision for a Federal city, except to authorize the reception of donations toward it. It was very glad, however, to ratify afterward the sagacious arrangement which President Washington made for getting the Government

all the land it needed for buildings, streets, parks, and to sell for building lots, practically for no other consideration to the original proprietors than the speculative profits which might accrue from what was left to them. Then, with the proceeds of sales of lots and the money obtained from Virginia and Maryland, its Commissioners marked out a few of the streets and put up a few of the public buildings required by the plan which Washington had given them. This plan, primarily the work of L'Enfant and Ellicott, was inspired by Washington's idea that preparation should be made for a great capital of the nation that was to grow greater and greater through centuries to come.

While others feared that the nation might go to pieces within ten years, Washington believed that it would last for hundreds of years, and planned the Federal city in the Federal district accordingly. But Washington died, untimely, in December, 1799, and left no one to carry out his great purpose. The Commissioners had spent about \$1,000,000, chiefly on the White House, the Capitol, and the other public buildings, when the national Government moved slowly over, from May, 1800, when the executive departments began to arrive, until February, 1801, when the Supreme Court came. President Adams and the Congress had met together in November and again in December. From that time on, for nearly three-quarters of a century, the District of Columbia was little more than a geographical term. It had no form of government, except a judicial system provided for it in 1801. The cities of Washington, Georgetown, and — until the retrocession of Virginia's contribution in 1846 — Alexandria had their municipal governments, and the rest of the District was governed by justices of the peace — all, of course, under the legislative control of Congress.

Nor was there much indication on the part of Congress of a desire to assist the people of Washington in improving the Federal city or in bearing its municipal burdens. In a period of about seventy years Congress spent in the District of Columbia some \$90,000,000, chiefly in erecting and maintaining Federal buildings and in beautifying their surroundings; but while the Government owned over one-half of the real estate of the city of Washington, and paid no taxes, it left largely to the citizens the great task of transforming Washington's paper city into a reality; and, at the same time, of maintaining efficiently the police, fire, and other services of a municipality. This was beyond their power to accomplish, although they worked manfully and



self-sacrificingly, in peace and in war, to do their full duty. So the national capital, which had been ridiculed from the first by those who could not see its possibilities, became less, rather than more, attractive, although it grew in population and in wealth with the growth of the nation and its government.

It is not strange that the talk of removing the capital west of the Alleghanies, if not of the Mississippi, which began with our expansion under Jefferson, should have continued until the Civil War made the capital so precious to the country — after battles had been fought and men had died for it — that its removal ceased to be possible. The Civil War brought so many people to Washington that it became better known to the country, and its needs began to be appreciated so that it could no longer be neglected by Congress. President Grant, who was one of those who had just come to be interested in it, used all his influence to raise it out of its forlorn state. At his instance, Congress, for the first time, gave the District of Columbia an executive form of government, with a Governor and a Legislature, and power to make public improvements. This power was exercised wisely, on the whole, largely through the energy and enterprise of Alexander R. Shepherd, first as a member of the Board of Public Works, and then as Governor. He made mistakes, he made enemies, he made expensive contracts, but he made Washington a new city in the likeness of that which its great founder had planned. The indebtedness, about \$21,000,000, which was large for the District, was small absolutely, and no official corruption could be proved.

The panic of 1873, the natural reaction against the long Republican rule, and other causes induced Congress, in 1874, to abolish the Shepherd régime, and with it the territorial form of government, and to substitute a provisional government by three commissioners. In 1878 the latter gave way to what the act of Congress described as the “permanent form of government for the District of Columbia” — an act which the Supreme Court has said is “the Constitution of the District of Columbia.” In brief, it abolished the electoral franchise theretofore exercised; it placed all executive authority in three commissioners, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; and it provided that half of the expenses of the District of Columbia should be paid by its citizens and half by the United States.

This compact of 1878, between the national Government and the people of the national capital, was the first equitable legislation for the government of the Federal district which Congress had enacted,

Under it, and supplemental legislation improving the judicial system, the District of Columbia has enjoyed prosperity such as it never knew before. The abolition of the suffrage has troubled many good men, who dislike, for sentimental reasons, to see the inhabitants of the national capital submit to taxation without representation; but it is still more troublesome to bad men, who, for practical reasons, would like to take part in such politics as have made most of our great cities a scandal to the country. Theoretically, it does seem strange that Nevada, with 43,000 inhabitants, should have two Senators and one Representative in Congress, besides the privilege of electing all her State and local officers, while the District of Columbia, with nearly 300,000 inhabitants, has no representative in Congress, and cannot vote for anybody, or on any proposition. But in practice the District of Columbia is better governed — more economically, more efficiently, and more honestly — than, perhaps, any other division of the United States; and it is governed, too, more steadily and completely by public opinion.

In no other place in the country do the citizens, who are the leaders in everything else, take such an interest and exert such an influence in the government of affairs as in the District of Columbia. One of the interesting and important developments during the last decade has been the organization of hundreds of citizens into voluntary associations devoted to the improvement of the conditions of the District, and working in coöperation with the District government. The District is now so well organized in this way that it is comparatively easy to ascertain the sentiment of its citizens on any question respecting its affairs. The District is fortunate, also, in its newspapers, which are conducted with unusual ability, discretion, and courtesy; and they both influence and represent public opinion intelligently and faithfully.

There has been a very marked increase in public spirit under the present form of government. The natural leaders have, in many cases, served the District in various capacities without compensation, and sometimes at a sacrifice of money as well as of time. Most of the men of this class, who in other cities hold aloof from municipal affairs, have shown a willingness to assist without money reward in the government of the District, when called upon to do so, besides giving their time and money freely in the exercise of that civic hospitality which is constantly increasing as Washington becomes more and more attractive. Many conventions, large and small,



meet in Washington every year, and their entertainment falls, primarily, and sometimes heavily, upon the citizens of the District of Columbia. Every four years the people of the District provide for the inauguration procession, the inauguration ball, and everything else connected with the inauguration of the President and Vice-President, except the purely formal ceremonies at the Capitol. This means three months of hard work on the part of a large number of committeemen, under the direction of some prominent citizen, who, like the others, receives no compensation. It means also the contribution of a large sum of money, which, however, may be recouped from the proceeds of the admission tickets to the inauguration ball. The tax assessment and the tax rate are both low, and the quality of the municipal service is high.

There has never been a breath of suspicion against the integrity of the successive Boards of Commissioners. There are no bosses, no rings, and no corrupt practices in the government of the District of Columbia. As Congress makes the appropriations, which now amount to about \$7,000,000 a year, upon estimates submitted by the Commissioners, and as the Treasury Department audits the expenditures, in addition to the audit of the District government, there is little opportunity for dishonesty; but there has never been a Commissioner who could be suspected of wanting such an opportunity. The administration of the executive affairs of the District of Columbia has been as pure and faithful as the administration of justice, which has been proverbially admirable. It has maintained a merit system without the protection of the civil service law, and has stood for all that is best and most progressive.

This good government has had as much to do as the belated full participation of the national Government in the tasks of the District with the transformation which has taken place, since 1878, in the physical appearance and the moral conditions of the national capital. It has brought here from all over the country, in increasing numbers, people of refinement, cultivation, and wealth, who have found Washington so delightful that they have made it their home. They have built beautiful residences, which have added to the adornment of the city, while all over the District the national Government and the District government, working together, have been carrying out the scheme which Governor Shepherd roughly began of extending, improving, and beautifying the streets and parks according to Washington's plan; and the national Government continues to add to the national

buildings. Tree planting on an unparalleled scale in number and in taste has been a unique feature. In the estimation of those who have travelled extensively Washington is already regarded as one of the most beautiful cities in the world, and it is growing more beautiful every year. Since it is now practically coterminous with the District of Columbia—for it is spreading fast over the sixty-nine square miles of land left by the retrocession of 1846—it has become a great city in area and appearance. Men who saw it during the Civil War and had not seen it since until the present year can hardly believe their eyes as they note the contrasts.

Washington has always had a very interesting society, cosmopolitan in character, and distinguished by refinement and culture. Members of the Government and other officials, good families from the neighboring States, and the members of the Diplomatic Corps formed the society of Washington at the beginning, and similar elements have contributed to give it distinction ever since. Until Jackson began to give the "victors" the "spoils," there was stability in the civil service, in accordance with the views of the fathers; but this was not the case again until the civil service law was enacted in 1883. Since then every President has, in the execution of that law, made the tenure of office in the executive departments more and more stable, and this has had a marked effect upon the life of the District of Columbia.

Col. Carroll D. Wright, in a recent address before the Washington Academy of Sciences, indicated certain aspects of this effect when he said :

"There are employed under the Federal Government in the District of Columbia in round numbers 20,000 persons, to whom is paid more than \$23,000,000 annually. These 20,000 persons represent, with themselves, 80,000 of the population. The industry of government, therefore, is at the basis of our economic conditions and social well-being. The expenditure of this vast sum annually preserves the commercial stability of the city. Industrial depressions, except in their moral effect, do not seriously cripple the business affairs of Washington. The body of citizens to whom this large sum is paid is safely the most intelligent group of employes that can be found in the United States. So large a group, too, representing intelligent men and women reflects the highest civilization and insists upon the best moral and intellectual conditions. So the churches of Washington flourish, and its schools rank with the first in the land."

In this company of office-holders are now numbered a larger number of men of science than can be found in any other American city. They have come here to fill places in the increasing and enlarging scientific bureaus of the Government, and form a distinctive and important class. They maintain half a dozen scientific socie-



ties, and furnish the largest element in one of the three most important clubs. The new institutions of learning which are being founded in Washington, namely, the Catholic University of America, and its sister, Trinity College for women, the American University, commonly called the Methodist University, that the schools affiliated with the proposed cathedral of the Protestant Episcopal Church, together with the old institutions which have taken new life, Georgetown College, Columbian University, and the National University, which are especially rich in their schools of law and medicine, besides Howard University, the Alma Mater of so many colored men, are drawing to Washington, in constantly increasing numbers, scholars and students. There are many good private schools. The public school system is an admirable one. The recent improvements in it — made by the new Board of Education, appointed by the Commissioners, under the act of Congress passed at the last session, as the result of an investigation of the methods of teaching and the curriculum — have removed causes of adverse criticism.

Another gain from the last session of Congress was the creation of a Board of Charities, designed to bring into coördination and coöperation all charitable institutions maintained in whole or in part by public funds, for which over \$750,000 has been appropriated annually. The outdoor relief of the poor has been efficiently organized within recent years. The Associated Charities makes the inquiries and keeps the records, while the Central Relief Committee raises and disburses the funds which the Associated Charities shows to be needed. This system greatly reduces the expenditures while increasing the effectiveness of the service. Washington is a most charitable and generous city and has every kind of charitable institution or society. But there has been great need of making the philanthropic efforts of the city systematic, and this is now being met. One of the results is a plan for a municipal hospital of modern type, for which the Commissioners, with an appropriation of \$100,000, have purchased recently a beautiful tract of thirty-six acres on the hills above the city, but easily accessible from its center, for which they paid \$65,000; and Congress will doubtless authorize that the expense of a model plan, to be prepared by a commission of experts, shall be defrayed out of the remainder. The principles of the best modern public charity work are being applied in all that is being done in the District of Columbia.

Washington is a church-going city and might well be called a city

of churches. The influence of the churches appears in the life of the city in many ways. The latter is remarkably orderly, free from violent and gross crimes and from any public appearance of vice, notwithstanding the fact that Congress has not provided enough policemen, so that at most hours of daylight there are only seventy-five men on the beats, or a little over one to a square mile. The Fire Department, like the Police Department, is fine in quality, but inadequate in quantity.

Washington has never had a public library worthy of the city; but through the munificence of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who has given \$350,000 for the purpose, a fine building will be opened in March, 1902, in Mount Vernon Square, a small park in the heart of the city, which will be the home of a free library. The nucleus of this library, brought together by the efforts of public-spirited citizens, has been used by the people, in its temporary quarters, with an avidity which shows how great is the need for the public library. The library of Congress loans books to members of the Government only, and the libraries of the different executive departments loan them to the officers and employes of those departments only; so that the general public of Washington has had nowhere to turn for library facilities.

The Corcoran Gallery of Art furnishes the one public collection of paintings and sculpture, although there are several fine private collections. The trustees of the Corcoran Gallery are as hospitable as the rest of the people of the city, and entertain the distinguished guests of the District in the gallery's beautiful building, at evening receptions. There is a strong artistic element in Washington — painters, sculptors, and musicians — and there are several good theatres. The American Institute of Architects has its headquarters in the old Octagon Mansion, where the Madisons lived after they were driven out of the White House by the British, and where the treaty of Ghent was signed.

Although Washington will never become the "greatest commercial emporium" of the United States, which President Washington thought it might, every census reveals, rather to the astonishment of Washingtonians, a marked increase in its commercial wealth; and although manufactures have been discouraged rather than encouraged, they have increased until, in 1890, products to the value of nearly \$40,000,000 were recorded. Col. Carroll D. Wright has pointed out that the "per capita wealth of the District has kept in ad-



vance of that of the whole country " since 1860. Colonel Wright has also said :

"The District is one of the most industrious places in the country. In the United States at large nearly 48 per cent of the population over ten years of age are engaged in some remunerative occupation. In the District of Columbia over 53 per cent of its population over ten years of age are so engaged. This is the more remarkable, because the great body of colored people residing here constitute one-third of the total population. They have a few representatives in the clerkships of the Government; they have their professional men and old families of means and standing — in fact, an aristocracy which is commendable for its intelligent and progressive ways — but the great body of colored people is excluded in a large degree from the higher lines of service."

The population of the District of Columbia in 1800 was 14,093. It increased over 70 per cent in the following decade; but after that the percentage of increase gradually fell off, until in the fourth decade it was less than 10 per cent. Since then it has increased — abnormally during the Civil War decade, but normally before and after — until it was reported, as the result of the Census taken on June 1, 1900, to be 278,718, which is probably some ten thousand less than the real population, as at least that many people would be away at that time of the year. The total valuation of real and personal property in the District of Columbia was \$14,018,074, in 1850, and \$343,596,733, in 1890. These figures tell the story of the economic growth of the national capital. As Colonel Wright says :

"With stable economic conditions, with the cessation of retarding influences through the agitation of the removal of the capital, with a well employed constituency, with the best street car service in the United States, with excellent markets and sources of supply, with ample banking facilities, with strong local insurance companies and opportunities for savings through savings banks and building and loan associations, with the general cost of living as favorable as in other localities, with the attractive suburban developments that are going on, with the extension of streets and the beautification of squares and circles, the District of Columbia, it may be said, now has few, if any, economic problems demanding solution."

But the District of Columbia has real and pressing needs as it enters the twentieth century. First, it needs to see its water supply made sufficient and safe. Again, it must have a complete modern system of sewage disposal. The miasmatic marshes running along the Anacostia River, the eastern boundary of the city of Washington, which is commonly called the eastern branch of the Potomac, must be turned into either wholesome land or water, and the improvement of the old Potomac flats south of the city must be completed. All this is imperatively demanded by the health of the District. The abolition of railway grade crossings is provided for in bills acceptable to the railway companies traversing the streets, bills

now pending in Congress, with a prospect of early enactment. The improvement of park lands, and the reservation of additional land for parks, in view of the fact that the population will soon cover the entire District, and that in another quarter of a century it will amount to half a million people, are also most important considerations.

Both the dignity and the large and growing business of the government of the District of Columbia, require that it should be provided with an appropriate public building for its offices. It has never had any other than a rented building, and has moved around from one makeshift to another, until it is now paying over eleven thousand dollars a year in rent for inadequate, unattractive, and uncomfortable quarters, not fireproof, in which all the District archives and the only records of the underground constructions of the District are hourly exposed to destruction by fire. The extension of streets and avenues beyond the old city limits is a large undertaking, and ought to be prosecuted more rapidly than has been done in the past. The proposed Memorial Bridge, connecting the southwestern corner of the city of Washington with Arlington Cemetery, "a memorial to American patriotism," is greatly desired, and it ought to be followed by the construction of other suitable and beautiful bridges across the Potomac, in place of the poor and ugly structures that now span the river.

A codification of the laws governing the District of Columbia, which are derived from old Maryland and Virginia statutes, as well as from the enactments of Congress and some local legislation, has been long desired. After the failure of repeated attempts the latest effort seems likely to be successful. Justice Cox of the Supreme Court of the District, with the coöperation of his associates and the Bar Association, has prepared a code which Congress is considering and may adopt.

HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND.



## NEW PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRATION.

ABOUT three years ago<sup>1</sup> I called attention to the alarming deterioration in the quality of our immigration. The number of immigrants arriving had for several years been much smaller than previously; but, arguing from the well established relation between immigration and industrial activity in this country, it was perfectly safe to predict a speedy increase in arrivals at our ports. In the fiscal year 1898 the total immigration was 229,299; in 1899 it was 311,715, an increase over the preceding year of 36 per cent; in 1900 it was 448,572, an increase over the preceding year of 44 per cent. The Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York for September last takes note of this remarkable increase in the following words:

"A distinct idea as to the magnitude of immigration at the port of New York for the recent fiscal year may be formed when it is considered that in the past eighty-one years, or since the statistical record began, there were but seven other twelvemonths in which the arrivals exceeded those reported between July 1, 1899, and June 30, 1900. In the latter annual period the importations numbered no less than 341,712, and these figures were surpassed to a nominal extent only in each of the other years referred to."

In discussing the character of this recent increase I shall confine myself chiefly to the port of New York, the statistics for the whole country not being yet at hand; yet this is by no means a handicap, because not only does a very large proportion of the total immigration land at New York, but the most significant factors in the problem of immigration are more conspicuous there than elsewhere.

When the matter of immigration is being discussed the average citizen immediately thinks of those of foreign birth with whom he has come in contact. Unless he is engaged in some special trade or business in which the hiring of manual labor is involved, his mind will revert to the Irish or Germans, or, perhaps, to the Scandinavians or Canadians, or possibly he will think of his Italian fruit-seller. Such a man is very much surprised to learn that more than twice

<sup>1</sup> "North American Review," Vol. 163, p. 252, and Vol. 165, p. 393, October, 1897.

as many Croatians and Slovenians entered New York last year as English, three times as many Syrians as Scotch; as many Slovaks as Irish; three and one-half times as many South Italians, and twice as many Hebrews, as Germans. If you speak of Croatians, Slovenians, Lithuanians, Magyars, and Ruthenians, he will probably ask where in the world they came from and say he had never heard of them before.

The three largest elements in the total immigration of 1900 were South Italian, 84,346; Hebrew, 60,764; and Polish, 46,938. The next largest were the Irish, 35,607; Scandinavian, 32,952; and Germans, 29,682. Contrast this state of things with 1869, when the immigration from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Scandinavia constituted three-quarters of the total, or even with 1895, when it was still more than one-half. In 1898 it was about one-third of the total, in 1900, one-quarter, and it is rapidly approaching the point where, as a prominent immigration official says, it may be considered a "negligible quantity." Indeed, if it were not for the large numbers of Irish and Scandinavians who come here to enter domestic service immigration from northwestern Europe might be said to have well-nigh ceased.

A new factor of growing importance is immigration from Asia. Last year Asian races sent us 18,044 immigrants, or nearly 4 1-2 per cent of the total, and half as many again as England, Scotland, and Wales combined. Most of these were Japanese and Syrians. There were also 3,773 Greeks, who might, from their characteristics, properly be classed with Asiatics from Asia Minor. The United Charities of New York report that these persons, accustomed to peddling and begging, are a great burden upon the hospitals and charitable societies to which they constantly appeal. Like many southeastern Europeans, they almost invariably practice fraud when obtaining relief, in order to prevent their being returned by the United States authorities as having become public charges within a year after landing. So successful is this method of deception that of immigrants admitted to the Boston City Hospital in a recent year barely 35 per cent could be identified so as to be handed over to the United States authorities for deportation. The unidentified in this instance were Poles, Slovaks, and Italians, and the deception consisted in giving false names, dates of arrival, and names of steamers, together with such inventions as would help to conceal their identity.

With the spread of railroad and steamship lines through Asia, and



the increasing contact with Europeans through the efforts of the latter to extend their political influence in Asia, it is inevitable that immigration of these teeming populations will shortly increase. China and Japan, for example, have been isolated for centuries; and even since the comparatively modern opening to trade, China, at least, has held aloof from Western life as far as possible. But how will it be in the future? What will happen if sections of China pass under the control of European powers, and the Chinese become German, Russian or British citizens, and entitled as such to the benefits of our immigration laws? For it is not to be supposed in such a case that any treaty made by snail-like Chinese policy will be tolerated by a European power. Indeed, it may be seriously questioned whether many of the Chinese are not superior to some European immigrants who have come to us recently; but the point is that the good and the bad are likely to come whether we want them or not, and it behooves us to get our immigration laws into proper shape before the stream wears a deep channel.

Whenever a marked change in the character of immigration takes place it challenges the earnest study of all citizens, who, through their representatives, make the immigration laws. In the previous article, above referred to, I called attention to the importance of educational characteristics as a test of general desirability, and to the close connection which we find to exist between illiteracy and other objectionable qualities. Undesirable immigration was therein defined as "that which is destitute of resources, either in money, or, still more, in ability and knowledge of a means to support itself; which is generally ignorant; which has criminal tendencies; is averse to country life, and congregates in our city slums; which has a low standard of living and little ambition to seek a better, and which has no permanent interests in this country."

One objection which was frequently made to inductions from immigration statistics has recently lost its force. Formerly, immigrants were classified according to the political state in which they were domiciled prior to emigration; and the illiteracy or per capita wealth of any class of immigrants was accordingly the average of all from a given political unit. This was manifestly unscientific and objectionable, yet no more accurate information was available. Beginning with July 1, 1898, a classification by race was substituted for that of nationality, on the sound principle that racial characteristics are much stronger than national ones. Where the race of an immigrant

is in doubt he is classified with those of the same mother tongue or religion. Italy is furthermore divided into Northern Italy and Southern Italy; Northern Italy including Tuscany, Emilia, Liguria, Venice, Lombardy, Piedmont, while Southern Italy includes the rest of the provinces. This also is based on well-known differences of type and habit. Indeed, so marked are racial characteristics that one purpose of the change in classification was to enable the authorities to predict and verify the occupations and destination of some of our future citizens; it having been found in the past that certain races tended to follow certain occupations and to settle in certain localities.

Now that we have the more accurate classification it is interesting to find that it bears out and strongly reinforces the inductions made from the less accurate figures. Under the old system, the illiteracy of all immigrants from northwestern Europe was 3.7 per cent, from southeastern Europe, 40.1 per cent. In 1899, under the new classification, the figures for all immigrants in the two groups were 3.6 per cent and 42.4 per cent, respectively; the average illiteracy for all immigrants being 19.7 per cent. Hebrew illiteracy has appeared for the first time as 20.3 per cent. The inverse ratio between illiteracy and the average amount of money brought by immigrants was already dwelt upon in the article referred to; but a most striking example is furnished by the last report of the Commissioner at New York, and is instructive with regard to the races showing recently a great increase:

RACE OR PEOPLE.	PERCENTAGE OF ILLITERATES.	MONEY BROUGHT PER CAPITA.
Portuguese .....	45.73	\$7.57
South Italians .....	46.56	8.79
Lithuanians .....	28.05	8.18
Ruthenians .....	45.83	9.53
Syrians .....	41.22	13.95
Polish .....	28.39	10.37
Slovak .....	26.22	12.82
Northern Italian .....	11.00	22.00
German .....	4.43	29.18
French .....	3.53	31.97
English, Scotch, and Welsh .....	2.43	29.51

The above table shows, first, that in a general way, even among illiterate races, the more illiterate bring the less money; and, second, that taking examples from various parts of Europe, the races having a very small illiteracy bring a relatively large amount of money. Perhaps as striking an instance of the material results of education



as can be found is the fact that the Northern Italian, with an illiteracy of 11 per cent, brings \$22 in money, while the South Italian, with an illiteracy of 46.5 per cent, brings only \$8.79. The report calls attention to the oft-repeated fallacy of considering the money actually brought in — about 4 1-2 millions — as a clear gain to this country, because it is estimated that nearly two-thirds of all immigrants come over on tickets purchased here or with money sent from here.

The need of some test for immigrants, in addition to those at present provided by law, is emphasized by the fact that during the past year only four individuals were debarred from entrance by reason of crimes of which they had been convicted abroad. It stands to reason that out of 341,000 immigrants of the general character we received last year there must have been more than four with a criminal history. The difficulty is with the proof. Our government some time since made an agreement with Italy by which the latter country was to furnish certificates of good character to intending immigrants; but this has not been done, and the Commissioner at New York is of the opinion that hundreds, if not thousands, of lawless and other undesirable characters have come to this country with the knowledge, if not the connivance, of the local Italian authorities. The Roman correspondent of the New York "Times," in the issue of May 13, 1900, stated that there were 18,000 persons scattered through Italy engaged solely in trying to promote discontent and to encourage immigration by means of all sorts of trickery. That such information has much truth in it is confirmed not only by the report above referred to, but by the testimony of many immigration officials, interpreters, and even by Italian immigrants themselves.

This artificially induced and unnatural immigration has always existed to some extent, but for the last fifteen years or more we have been told by foreign governments that it had been stopped. It is interesting to see what can be done by those who have a pecuniary interest in forcing immigration when the foreign government has no desire to interfere. The Commissioner at New York says:

"Such a class of immigrants is necessarily made up of disgruntled, fanatic, and ignorant persons, whom the local authorities would be but too glad to get rid of, and which we should be very careful not to admit. This immigration is not spontaneous, but forced, and unless drastic measures are taken to check it, we shall soon find that this country is a harboring place for the malcontents and criminals of the world."

The complaint has been frequently made by immigration officials

that the inspection barrier is no stronger than its weakest point, and that there is no object in trying to keep out criminals and other objectionable persons at New York and other ports when they can come right in over the frontiers, especially the Canadian frontier. As some readers may not be familiar with the status of immigration through Canada, I shall briefly explain the present arrangements in regard to it. The Act of March 3, 1891, gave the Secretary of the Treasury authority to prescribe "rules for inspection along the borders of Canada, British Columbia, and Mexico, so as not to obstruct or unnecessarily delay, impede, or annoy passengers in ordinary travel between said countries, *provided* that not exceeding one inspector shall be appointed for each customs district." Under this act there are at the present time about forty ports of entry on the Canadian frontier at which intending immigrants can be examined. Immigration of native Canadians does not amount to any considerable number, although there is a large floating population which comes over the border for part of the year and attracts notice from labor unions in the northern States by reason of its competition with native Americans or foreign-born laborers residing in this country. Aside from this special feature of annual migration — which was, however, indirectly one cause of the defeat of the Lodge immigration bill in 1897 — the problem of Canadian immigration is that of European immigration through Canada.

On September 7, 1893, an arrangement was made between the United States Government and the Canadian railway and steamship lines by which it was provided that all immigrants arriving in Canada destined for the United States should be landed at the ports of Halifax, Quebec, Point Levis, and Vancouver, and there be inspected by the United States immigration officers. Victoria and St. John have since been added to the list of ports. The immigrant, if admitted, is given a certificate which grants admission to the United States at the frontier without further examination. The transportation companies also agreed to pay head money upon such immigrants as if they had been brought directly to the United States; and by a supplementary agreement of March 25, 1896, the companies agreed to return to a point as remote from our borders as he is willing to go any alien who attempts to enter this country within thirty days after being refused a certificate by the examining officer. It should be noted that these persons cannot be returned to Europe. The



volume of immigration dealt with in this manner has been as follows :

1894.....	5,031	1897.....	10,646
1895.....	5,988	1898.....	10,737
1896.....	8,921	1899.....	13,853

Before passing on to consider what the effect of this inspection has been, a word may be said as to the immigration laws of Canada; for the arrangement above mentioned as to inspection by United States officers is a purely private one between the American Government and the transportation companies, and does not apply to immigrants whose destination is Canada. In brief, it may be said that Canada has no laws restricting immigration. She has hitherto been only too glad to welcome immigration of any kind, and, according to the report of her Department of the Interior for 1899, she distributed during the year nearly half a million of pamphlets with the object of inducing immigration; and the report itself, some two inches thick, is very largely taken up with communications from various agents engaged in trying to encourage immigration into the Dominion. In spite of these exertions the total immigration for the year 1899 was only 44,543, being about one-third more than in 1898. Of these, one-quarter came from the United States, one-quarter from the United Kingdom, and one-quarter were Doukhobors and Galicians. The Doukhobors were from Russia and Cyprus, and constituted the largest single element of immigration, except that from the United States.

Such being the desire to obtain immigrants, the restrictive measures, if so they can be called, are entirely potential. Thus, the Governor in council may levy a head tax of two dollars upon every immigrant over one year old, and may prohibit the landing of pauper or destitute immigrants "until such sums of money as are found necessary are provided and paid into the hands of one of the Canadian immigration agents by the master of the vessel carrying such immigrants for their temporary support and transport to their place of destination." The Governor-General may also, by proclamation, whenever he deems it necessary, prohibit the landing in Canada of any criminal or other vicious class of immigrants, except upon such conditions as will insure their immediate return to the place whence they came or their transport elsewhere.

Of these provisions the one as to paupers only is now effective, an order in council covering the matter having been issued July 23, 1900. It should be observed, however, that the Canadian law

is entirely different from that of the United States; for the former is intended to help paupers to their destination, while the latter excludes those who are even liable to become paupers within a year after landing, and, in theory at least, causes the return of such as become public charges within the year.

It is apparent, therefore, that the Canadian laws are no protection to the United States, and that the latter is obliged to rely upon its frontier inspection. For if an immigrant intending to enter the United States fears the American inspector at Halifax, for example, all he has to do is to give his destination as Canada, in which case he is not inspected by our officers at the port of entry, and practically is not inspected at all. He can then watch his chance and sooner or later slip across between two ports of entry at almost any point of our 3,000 mile frontier line.

This point seems to have been somewhat overlooked at first. For example, the report of our Commissioner-General of Immigration, for 1896, says, p. 13:

"Such an inspection upon arrival at the docks appears to be more effective and less expensive than the attempt to guard against immigrants' subsequent entry at the numerous points on our frontier. It is, therefore, judicious to continue the system."

The report for 1899, however, says, p. 31:

"Evidence too voluminous to reproduce here, accumulated from day to day, tends to confirm the views expressed in the last report, and no room remains for reasonable doubt that under the present system efforts to enforce the laws and regulations are in a great measure nullified by the open door through the Dominion and across our northern boundary lines. The Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York reports as a frequent occurrence the recognition of aliens on the streets of that city by the officials who had assisted in their deportation. Repeated instances have occurred of deportation of aliens, who, after rejection at a port of this country, had secured entrance by returning through Canada, and, becoming public charges after such entrance, have been returned to their own country at the expense of the immigrant fund. There are practically no rejections of diseased persons at Canadian ports, and entirely trustworthy information comes to the Bureau from time to time through official sources that both immigrants and agents of transportation companies regard the route via the Dominion ports as devoid of every obstruction to the easy entry of the United States by even the most diseased, pauperized, or other objectionable immigrants."

The report for 1900 is equally forcible and to the same effect.

Such being the problem, what can be done about it? In the nature of things there can be two remedies only. The first is in some way to induce Canada to adopt our immigration laws. This is the only really satisfactory solution, and ought not to be an impossible one. The Joint High Commission, appointed some time since to consider all the questions arising out of our relations with



Canada, discussed this matter, and, it is said, arrived at a satisfactory arrangement; but disagreement upon other matters has prevented any practical results as yet along these lines.

The second possible remedy is a more rigid inspection on the Canadian frontier. When it is considered that the length of the Canadian boundary line is over three thousand miles, it seems hopeless to prevent persons getting across who are determined to effect an entrance. In individual instances the local authorities or labor unions of the place where the immigrant settles may be able to trace his history; but in general there is little chance of his detection, and even if found out and returned there is nothing to prevent his coming in again at some other point on the frontier.

In view of these conditions, it is somewhat remarkable that the Commissioner-General in two consecutive reports — for 1898 and 1899 — has advocated the following plan:

“The Bureau, therefore, cannot too strongly reiterate its recommendations of a year ago and urge that the immigration officials now stationed at Canadian ports be withdrawn and located at certain designated points on our northern boundary, through which alone should aliens be admitted. This would concentrate the available officers now distributed at the ports of our northern neighbor and scattered along the border, and, without causing an unreasonable delay of travel, enable the Bureau to establish border stations which would be as efficient as those at our principal seaports.”

A bill embodying this idea was introduced into the House and Senate at the last session of Congress (Senate No. 4,780, House No. 11,715), but it has not been reported as yet. The bill applies to all aliens not citizens of Canada or residents thereof for at least two years prior to their emigration to the United States. It is being strenuously opposed by the railway companies, on the ground that if certain ports of entry are designated the railways passing through such ports will be favored as compared with the others. But in truth it is difficult to see what gain the proposed change would be. Immigrants who wish to escape inspection could slip across between the few points designated for entry from Canada, just as they do now between the more numerous points. On the other hand, inspection at the two ports of landing in eastern Canada — Quebec and Levis, in summer, Halifax and St. Johns, in winter — can be as efficient as at two or three designated points on the frontier, and the quality of immigration can be more satisfactorily watched there in bulk.

Under the proposed bill, the question of citizenship and length of residence in Canada might be raised by any person wishing to come

in, and apparently could be raised at any port of entry other than designated ones. At any rate, if the proposed course does no harm it is difficult to see that it does any good. What is really needed is more inspectors upon the border; and, as was said above, it is a question whether any patrol can be efficient, or whether any system can be devised, to keep out objectionable immigrants, without the coöperation of Canada. The latter cannot seriously desire a class of immigrants who would be rejected by the United States, and, indeed, most of the immigration to Canada has been of a desirable kind — British, Scandinavians, and Americans. Even the Russians and Galicians have had some means. They are said to be self-supporting and desirous to learn English and to assimilate with the bulk of the people. It is to be hoped, therefore, that some arrangement may be made with our northern neighbor which will protect us without injuring her.

A word may be said as to the present status of legislation regarding immigration matters. It will be recalled that the Lodge bill, embodying a reading and writing test for immigrants, in their own language, passed both houses of Congress in 1896, by heavy majorities, but was vetoed by President Cleveland. The same bill was passed by the Senate in 1898 by a large majority, but failed of consideration in the House, owing largely at first to political considerations, and afterwards to the pressure of matters connected with our war with Spain. Senator Lodge has again introduced the bill into the present Congress, where it is now pending. The first vote in favor of this bill in the House in 1896, namely, 195 to 26, shows that until political agitation entered into the matter reasonable men, irrespective of party, were nearly of one mind. President McKinley in his inaugural message recommended very strongly the enactment of this measure, as did the Republican platform of 1896. The Democratic platforms, not merely of 1896 and 1900, but for quite a number of years, while not alluding in terms to this bill, have recognized the need of laws to exclude undesirable immigrants.

It cannot be too often repeated that the reading and writing test is advocated, first, because, as a matter of fact, it will exclude those who are undesirable for other reasons, and will exclude very few who are fit for citizenship here; and secondly, because it is a test not depending upon the testimony of the immigrant or the decision of the inspector, as do all other methods of exclusion, except the plan of increasing the head tax. Why any foreign-born citizens here should



object to such a measure is a mystery ; for the countrymen of those who would be chiefly excluded under such a bill are, as a rule, not voters, and take little interest in this country except as a place in which to earn more money than they could at home. The Germans and Scandinavians have practically no illiteracy, and immigrants of these races, therefore, would not be affected by the measure.

I have spoken of the certainty and precision of this test regarding the matter of admission ; but there is another advantage about it which I have not seen mentioned hitherto, namely, as helping the identification of immigrants who come in violation of law. Some of these may possibly learn to read and write after being here some little time ; but they must either learn within a year after coming in or run a great risk. For, upon applying to a hospital or an almshouse, or upon being brought to trial in any court, the test could be applied then and there, and the fact established whether the immigrant came, through Canada, for example, in violation of law, so as to be liable to deportation.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that before long Congress may find time to give this subject the attention it deserves. Every year of delay means an additional expense to the community, by reason of the numbers of the unfit who now find an entrance, and who increase our expenses for police, prisons, hospitals, law courts, almshouses, and private charity.

But, while most students of the immigration question agree that an educational test is a very desirable addition to the present laws, there are several other measures which need attention. These may be roughly divided into two classes : first, those designed to prevent deception and evasion on the part of immigrants ; and, second, those tending to increase the efficiency of the inspection. There is not space to discuss in detail all the suggestions which have been made along these lines, so I shall take up only a few of the more important ones. Under the first head come :

(1) Additional information on the manifests to show how often the immigrant had been here before, how much money he had taken away on each return home, by whom passage had been paid, etc.

(2) Giving officials the power to administer oaths and take testimony ; making all false evidence at any stage of the inspection process perjury ; devising some practical punishment for the frequent perjury known already to exist ; and preventing and punishing the " coaching " of immigrants.

(3) Extending the contract labor laws to cover cases where the contract is not complete before landing and to punish the soliciting of persons to come.

Under the head of increasing the efficiency of the service may be mentioned :

(1) Power to debar anarchists and suspicious characters unless they can establish their good character.

(2) Extending to two or three years the period within which public charges may be returned, and including in this arrangement all those who within the period fall into the present excluded classes of immigrants. Inasmuch as there is now no express provision for the deportation at any time of some of these classes of persons, such a provision is implied in the above. Thus, those who become insane or are convicted of crime within three years after landing should be deported quite as much as those who come upon the state for support ; and in the case of the latter the mere becoming a public charge should be a ground for deportation, whereas at present the government is obliged to show that the pauperism is due to causes existing before admission. It has been suggested that an order of court might be obtained for such deportations. This would guard against hardship ; but, considering the expense and delay of legal proceedings, it is a question whether an executive order of the Commissioner-General of Immigration or the Secretary of the Treasury would not be more practicable, if proper power to enforce it were given.

We come now to the most important reforms :

(3) The matter of uniformity in respect to decisions upon appeals to Washington regarding the exclusion of immigrants. It is obvious that inspection cannot fail to become lax when an appeal from the decision of the board of special inquiry excluding an immigrant is at one time sustained and at another time reversed on practically the same state of facts. In the customs service, in all departments where civil law governs, there is some consistency and uniformity in the rulings ; but in this branch of the service there has been no clear and intelligible evolving of the principles of decisions.

(4) There are few branches of government depending so largely as does our immigration inspection upon the individual discretion of the lowest grade of the service. The credibility of the immigrant, the question whether he is likely to become a public charge within a year after landing, and countless other matters, involving not merely a thorough knowledge of foreign languages and dialects, but also a



keen and judicial habit of mind, are passed upon finally as to over 85 per cent of all immigrants by inspectors who receive only \$1,200 per year. The interpreters who are essential in the examination of a large portion of immigration are paid only \$1,000 per year, or just one-half of what is paid to court interpreters in New York city.

The private watchmen who guard the material interests of the people in the large buildings of our cities are well paid. Should not the public watchmen who guard the nation's doors be adequately compensated and be the best men that can be obtained? The needed change can be easily brought about by increasing the head-tax from \$1 to \$2, which would not be an excessive burden either upon the steamship companies or the immigrants; and such an increase would provide for additional inspectors along the Canadian frontier. The need of better inspectors at higher salaries was fully brought out in the testimony before the United States Industrial Commission, which recently examined some twenty-two witnesses on the subject of immigration.

These are some of the problems of immigration at the present day. The tide is again setting toward our shores, which proves that industrial depression, and not the Act of 1893, was responsible for the falling off in numbers from 1896 to 1898. Whenever business conditions are favorable in this country immigration increases. It is, therefore, desirable to make the law as perfect as possible before the number reaches another maximum. The people, regardless of political parties, demand an efficient and thorough regulation of immigration. Congress at the coming session should make this demand effective.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

## THE NEW CONGRESSIONAL APPORTIONMENT.

ON June 1, 1900, the Census Office announced the population of the United States as 76,295,220. This includes the population of the States, the Territories, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Hawaii, but not of Porto Rico or the Philippines. It includes all human beings in the country; thus differing from previous statements of the population, which included what is commonly regarded as the "constitutional population" only. Since the determination of who are to be included in the constitutional population may become an interesting and somewhat complicated question, the Census Office evidently prefers that Congress shall decide it rather than assume the responsibility itself.

I propose to point out, in the course of this article, some of the possible differences between the gross population and the constitutional population.

The primary purpose of making an enumeration of the constitutional population is to determine the representation in the lower house of Congress and the number of presidential electors. The Territories and the District of Columbia have no representation in the lower house, nor do they take part in the election of a President; therefore, their population may be excluded from consideration. This restricts the number under consideration to the population of the States.

The Constitution expressly provides that Indians "not taxed" shall not be included in the representative population. This provision is in the following terms in the Constitution, Article I, section 2:

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

The meaning of this expression is not clear, but it has been generally construed to signify that Indians upon reservations or under tribal relations are not to be regarded as of the constitutional population;



and it has been practically construed accordingly in recent censuses. Indians found living among the whites off of reservations and those who have taken lands in severalty have been included in the constitutional population, while those living upon reservations have been excluded. Exception has been made, however, in the case of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, who have been regarded as citizens by the tenth and eleventh censuses, and of the Moqui Indians of Arizona and the Mission Indians of California, in the tenth census. These exceptions were made in accordance with the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico, under which all Mexican citizens in the annexed territory were accepted as United States citizens. No other classes have been heretofore excluded from representation, except two-fifths of the slaves, as above described.

The total number of Indians not taxed living in the States in 1900 was only 44,617. These were scattered among twelve States, the largest number in any one State being 10,932 in South Dakota. Montana had 10,746, New York 4,711, and North Dakota 4,692, those in the other States being much fewer in number. As will be seen, the reduction in population on account of Indians not taxed is trifling, not being sufficient in any State to affect the number of representatives.

In 1890 there was in the country a large class of non-constitutional population which was included within the constitutional population without apparent question. These were aliens — people owing allegiance to other governments, but residing in this country. That this class should not be included in the constitutional population requires no argument, since it is self-apparent. The number of aliens in the country in 1890 was large, the males of voting age numbering 1,189,452. Assuming that the alien family was as numerous as that of the average of foreign birth, the total number of aliens, including women and children, numbered about 2,500,000. While the number may be somewhat reduced at present, owing to a diminution in the immigration during the past ten years, it is probably not greatly lessened, and doubtless still forms a considerable element of the population. The distribution of the aliens followed that of the foreign born very closely. Nearly four-fifths of them, 79 per cent, were in the Northern States, *i. e.*, north of Mason and Dixon's line, the Ohio River, and the south boundary of Missouri and Kansas; 15 per cent of them were found in the Western States, *i. e.*, those of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast; while

only 6 per cent were found in the Southern States. In certain of the Northern States the number was very large. New York contained 400,000, Pennsylvania 294,000, Massachusetts 250,000, California 227,000, and Illinois 202,000, other Northern States containing less than 200,000 each. The subtraction of these aliens from the population would have a marked effect upon the representation of many Northern States.

The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution provides, in section 2 :

“ But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.”

Several States restrict the suffrage in one way or another. Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina, Mississippi, North Carolina, Louisiana, Wyoming, and Washington deny suffrage to illiterates. Under the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution it appears to be the duty of Congress to reduce the representation in these States in the proportion in which males of voting age are disfranchised. Let us see, now, what effect this will have upon the representative population of these States.

The latest statistics of illiteracy are those of the eleventh census. It is probable that during the past decade the proportion of illiteracy, especially in the South, has somewhat diminished ; but an approximate result can be reached by the use of the figures of this census. In Massachusetts 6 per cent of the males of voting age were unable to read and write. This, applied to the population of the State, would result in withdrawing from representation 168,000 of its inhabitants. In Connecticut 1 per cent only were illiterate ; in Delaware 4 per cent only ; in Wyoming and Washington 1 per cent each. The reduction in the representative population on this account in these States would therefore be trifling. In North Carolina 34 per cent of the males of voting age were illiterate, and the result of the recent amendments to its Constitution would be to deprive the State of a representation of 643,000 persons. In South Carolina the percentage was 27, and the consequent reduction would be 362,000. In



Mississippi 43 per cent were illiterate, and the corresponding reduction in its population would be 667,000. In Louisiana 44 per cent of

TABLE I.

STATE.	TOTAL POPULATION.	INDIANS NOT TAXED.	ALIENS.	ILLITER- ATES.	TENTATIVE CONSTITU- TIONAL POPULATION.
Alabama.....	1,828,697	.....	4,000	.....	1,825,000
Arkansas.....	1,311,564	.....	3,000	.....	1,309,000
California.....	1,485,053	2,000	227,000	.....	1,256,000
Colorado.....	539,700	1,000	26,000	.....	513,000
Connecticut.....	908,355	.....	59,000	.....	849,000
Delaware.....	184,735	.....	5,000	.....	180,000
Florida.....	528,542	.....	8,000	.....	521,000
Georgia.....	2,216,329	.....	4,000	.....	2,212,000
Idaho.....	161,771	2,000	8,000	.....	152,000
Illinois.....	4,821,550	.....	202,000	.....	4,620,000
Indiana.....	2,516,463	.....	11,000	.....	2,505,000
Iowa.....	2,251,829	.....	55,000	.....	2,197,000
Kansas.....	1,469,496	.....	17,000	.....	1,452,000
Kentucky.....	2,147,174	.....	10,000	.....	2,137,000
Louisiana.....	1,381,627	.....	16,000	608,000	758,000
Maine.....	694,366	.....	33,000	.....	661,000
Maryland.....	1,189,946	.....	23,000	.....	1,167,000
Massachusetts.....	2,805,346	.....	250,000	168,000	2,387,000
Michigan.....	2,419,782	.....	124,000	.....	2,296,000
Minnesota.....	1,751,395	2,000	78,000	.....	1,671,000
Mississippi.....	1,551,372	.....	2,000	667,000	882,000
Missouri.....	3,107,117	.....	46,000	.....	3,061,000
Montana.....	243,289	11,000	17,000	.....	215,000
Nebraska.....	1,068,901	.....	32,000	.....	1,037,000
Nevada.....	42,334	2,000	9,000	.....	31,000
New Hampshire.....	411,588	.....	27,000	.....	385,000
New Jersey.....	1,883,669	.....	88,000	.....	1,796,000
New York.....	7,268,009	5,000	400,000	.....	6,863,000
North Carolina.....	1,891,992	.....	1,000	643,000	1,248,000
North Dakota.....	319,040	5,000	20,000	.....	294,000
Ohio.....	4,157,545	.....	82,000	.....	4,076,000
Oregon.....	413,532	.....	28,000	.....	386,000
Pennsylvania.....	6,301,365	.....	294,000	.....	6,007,000
Rhode Island.....	428,556	.....	43,000	.....	386,000
South Carolina.....	1,340,312	.....	2,000	362,000	976,000
South Dakota.....	401,559	11,000	12,000	.....	379,000
Tennessee.....	2,022,723	.....	5,000	.....	2,018,000
Texas.....	3,048,828	.....	45,000	.....	3,004,000
Utah.....	276,565	1,000	14,000	.....	262,000
Vermont.....	343,641	.....	17,000	.....	327,000
Virginia.....	1,854,184	.....	7,000	.....	1,847,000
Washington.....	517,672	3,000	35,000	.....	480,000
West Virginia.....	958,900	.....	4,000	.....	955,000
Wisconsin.....	2,068,963	2,000	80,000	.....	1,987,000
Wyoming.....	92,531	.....	6,000	.....	87,000

the males of voting age were illiterate, and the resulting decrease of the population would be 608,000.

In Table I, on page 571, are set forth in figures the results of the above discussion, showing the total population, as given by the census; the several deductions above suggested; and finally, a tentative constitutional population.

In the early censuses the basis of apportionment, *i. e.*, the number of inhabitants corresponding to each representative, was first fixed, and the number of representatives was obtained by dividing the population by it, giving an additional representative for each fractional remainder greater than one-half. In later years, *i. e.*, including and since 1850, the practice has been different, the number of representatives being first fixed, and the basis of apportionment being derived therefrom. The following shows the basis of apportionment and the number of representatives at each census since the beginning:

	BASIS.	REPRESENTATIVES.
First apportionment, by Constitution.....	30,000	65
1790, by Congress.....	33,000	105
1800.....	33,000	141
1810.....	35,000	181
1820.....	40,000	213
1830.....	47,700	240
1840.....	70,680	223
1850, by Secretary of Interior.....	96,423	234
1860.....	127,381	241
1870, by Congress.....	131,425	283
1880.....	151,911	325
1890.....	173,901	357

The first apportionment was prescribed in the Constitution. Subsequent ones, with the exception of those based upon the censuses of 1850 and 1860, were made by Congress, the two mentioned having been made by the Secretary of the Interior. It is seen in each case that the basis of apportionment has been increased by each successive census, excepting in the case of 1800, when it was the same as in 1790; also that in every case the number of representatives has been increased, with the exception of 1840 and 1850, in each of which the number of representatives was less than that in 1830.

Table II, on page 574, shows in the first column the number of representatives assigned to each State, under the present apportionment. The second column shows the number which may be appor-



tioned to each State under these two assumptions : first, that all the inhabitants, as given by the recent census, will be regarded as constitutional population ; and, second, that the basis of apportionment will be 200,000 persons. The next column shows the number of representatives to be assigned to each State under these assumptions : first, that the Indians not taxed, aliens, and illiterates in States where literacy is made a condition of suffrage, are subtracted from the total number of inhabitants ; and, second, that the representation is 200,000.

The figures in the first two columns are obtained by the method used by the last census in obtaining the number of representatives, *i. e.*, after deciding upon the basis of apportionment the population of the State is divided by it, and one representative is added for every majority fraction, *i. e.*, every fraction remaining greater than a half. This method is the one which has been used in most cases in determining the representation. But in determining the representation from the census of 1880 a different method was employed, which, in the following description, will be called the “new method,” as distinguished from the other, which will be called the “old method.”

A criticism has been made upon the old method in the fact that in certain small States which possess a bare majority fraction over the number required for one or more representatives the addition of another representative reduces the average representation of that State greatly. For instance, in the case of North Dakota, which by the recent census has a population of 319,040, the addition of a second representative on account of the majority fraction makes the average representation only 159,520. It was to prevent such cases as this that the new method was devised. This is as follows : The constitutional population of each State is divided by a number one greater than the number which is fully contained in it, under the basis of apportionment determined upon ; *i. e.*, in the case of Maine, under the recent census, it is divided by 4 instead of 3 ; in New Hampshire by 3 instead of 2 ; in Vermont by 2 instead of 1, etc. The resulting quotients are set down, and those States whose quotients approach most nearly this predetermined basis of apportionment are given one additional representative, or in some cases perhaps two additional representatives each, until the predetermined number of representatives is completed. A little reflection suffices to show that the result of this is to reduce the representation of the smaller States below that given by the old method and to increase the representation of the larger States.

TABLE II.

STATE.	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.				
	IN PRESENT CONGRESS.	UNDER THE COMING APPORTIONMENT.			
		BASIS 200,000 INHABITANTS.			BASIS 194,346 NO EXCLUSIONS. OLD METHOD.
		No Exclusions Old Method.	With Exclusions Old Method.	No Exclusions New Method.	
Alabama.....	9	9	9	9	9
Arkansas.....	6	7	7	6	7
California.....	7	7	6	7	8
Colorado.....	2	3	3	2	3
Connecticut.....	4	5	4	4	5
Delaware.....	1	1	1	1	1
Florida.....	2	3	3	2	3
Georgia.....	11	11	11	11	11
Idaho.....	1	1	1	1	1
Illinois.....	22	24	23	25	25
Indiana.....	13	13	13	13	13
Iowa.....	11	11	11	12	12
Kansas.....	8	7	7	7	8
Kentucky.....	11	11	11	11	11
Louisiana.....	6	7	4	7	7
Maine.....	4	3	3	3	4
Maryland.....	6	6	6	6	6
Massachusetts.....	13	14	12	14	14
Michigan.....	12	12	11	12	12
Minnesota.....	7	9	8	9	9
Mississippi.....	7	8	4	8	8
Missouri.....	15	16	15	16	16
Montana.....	1	1	1	1	1
Nebraska.....	6	5	5	5	6
Nevada.....	1	1	1	1	1
New Hampshire.....	2	2	2	2	2
New Jersey.....	8	9	9	10	10
New York.....	34	36	34	37	37
North Carolina.....	9	9	6	10	10
North Dakota.....	1	2	1	1	2
Ohio.....	21	21	20	21	21
Oregon.....	2	2	2	2	2
Pennsylvania.....	30	32	30	32	32
Rhode Island.....	2	2	2	2	2
South Carolina.....	7	7	5	7	7
South Dakota.....	2	2	2	2	2
Tennessee.....	10	10	10	10	10
Texas.....	13	15	15	16	16
Utah.....	1	1	1	1	1
Vermont.....	2	2	2	1	2
Virginia.....	10	9	9	9	10
Washington.....	2	3	2	2	3
West Virginia.....	4	5	5	5	5
Wisconsin.....	10	10	10	11	11
Wyoming.....	1	1	1	1	1
Total.....	357	375	348	375	387



In the second and third columns of Table II the old method is followed; in the fourth column of that table the new method is followed, and the differences between the two will be pointed out.

The last column has been made under the old method, using 194,346 as the basis of representation; this being the largest number which will allow each State to retain at least its present representation.

The present number of representatives in Congress is 357, with a basis of representation of 173,901. Under the recent census, if the basis of apportionment be placed at 200,000 and the number of representatives be not limited, the total number will be 375, an increase of 18. If the representation be limited by the elimination of Indians not taxed, aliens, and illiterates, as above, from the constitutional population, the number will be 348, a reduction of 9 from the present House, and a reduction of 27 from that given by an unlimited representation. The number of representatives, computed by the new method, as shown in the fourth column of Table II, has been made on the basis of unrestricted representation, and is, as by the old method, 375.

Comparing the present constitution of the House of Representatives with that obtained from an unrestricted representation, by the old method, as shown in the second column of Table II, we find, among the States which gave a Republican majority at the recent election, that Maine, Nebraska, and Kansas would lose 1 seat each, while Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, West Virginia, North Dakota, and Washington would gain 1 seat each, and New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Minnesota, two each; making a total gain of 14 seats, and a net gain in the Republican States of 11 seats. Among the Democratic States, Virginia would lose 1 seat, while Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Colorado, would each gain 1, and Texas would gain two seats; making a net gain in the Democratic States of 7 seats. Hence, under this scheme of apportionment the net result would be a gain to Republican States of 4 seats.

Now, comparing the present representation in Congress with that under restricted representation, as shown in the third column of Table II, it appears that Maine, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Nebraska, Kansas, and California would each lose a seat, while New Jersey, West Virginia, Illinois, and Minnesota would gain 1 each. The net loss to the States which gave a Republican majority at the

recent election would therefore be 3 seats. On the Democratic side, Virginia would lose 1 seat, Louisiana and South Carolina each 2 seats, and North Carolina and Mississippi 3 seats each; while, on the other hand, Florida, Arkansas, and Colorado would each gain 1 seat, and Texas would gain 2. The Democratic States would therefore sustain a net loss of 6 seats, and the net gain to Republican States under this system of apportionment would be 3 seats.

Comparing the results under the old and the new methods, as shown in the second and fourth columns, it is seen that fourteen States are differently affected by the two different methods, while in all the others the results are the same. Vermont, Connecticut, Florida, Arkansas, Colorado, North Dakota, and Washington each gain a representative under the old method, while under the new method none of these gains, but the gains are given to New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Texas. It is easily seen by the enumeration of these States that the populous States are the ones which gain under the new method, at the expense of small States. It is to be noted, furthermore, that while the basis of apportionment by this new method is not reduced in any State much below the assumed basis of 200,000, it is in some cases allowed to run far above. Thus, by the new method, the basis of representation in Vermont becomes 343,641, and in North Dakota, 319,040. It seems, therefore, that by adopting the new method we should be imposing greater hardships on the small States than were imposed under the old method upon the other States, and involve even greater inequalities. These inequalities may be summed up easily. If we multiply the basis of apportionment, 200,000, by the number of representatives assigned to each State, subtract the product from the population of the State, and then add up the remainders without regard to sign, we find that the sum total of these differences, by the old method, is, in round numbers, 868,000 less than by the new method.

Comparing the last column with the first, it is seen that the gains in the Republican States, under unrestricted representation, and on a basis of apportionment of 194,346, number 20, and in Democratic States 10, showing a net gain in Republican States of 10 seats. Summing up the results in detail, classifying the States politically, as shown at the recent election, the following appears: In the present Congress the representatives from Republican States number 236; from Democratic States 121 — a total of 357. The representatives from Republican States in the present Congress form 66.1 per cent of all.



Upon a basis of apportionment of 200,000, with unrestricted representation, computed by the old method, the number of representatives from Republican States will be 247; from Democratic States 128 — a total of 375. Under these conditions the representatives from Republican States will form 65.7 per cent of all.

Upon the same basis of apportionment, but with restricted representation, and by the old method, the number of representatives from Republican States will be 233; from Democratic States 115 — a total of 348. Under these conditions the representatives from Republican States will form 66.9 per cent of all.

Under the same basis of apportionment, with unrestricted representation, but computed by the new method, the number of representatives from the Republican States will be 248; from Democratic States 127 — a total of 375. Under these conditions the representatives from Republican States will form 66.1 per cent of all.

Finally, on a basis of apportionment of 194,346, with unrestricted representation, computed by the old method, the number of representatives from the Republican States will be 256; from Democratic States 131 — a total of 387. Under these conditions the members from Republican States will form 66.2 per cent of all.

From the above it would appear that of the various conditions illustrated a basis of representation of 200,000, with restricted representation, computed by the old method, would give the Republican States the greatest advantage, while upon the same basis of apportionment, with unrestricted representation, computed by the old method, the Democratic States would reap the greatest advantage. It would appear, however, that the advantages in any case would be but trifling.

HENRY GANNETT.

## THE FALL OF PEKIN.

EVER since the *coup d'état* in the autumn of 1898, when the Dowager Empress resumed the direction of the affairs of state, China has drifted with startling rapidity, inconsistent with ancient conservatism, into chaos, intrigue, catastrophe, war. The declaration of war against the whole world made by the Imperial Central Government in Peking was the outcome in large part of the anti-reform movement and the plot to overthrow the Emperor.

The occasion for a collision with foreign Powers was the Boxer movement. This movement originated among the turbulent people of southwestern Shantung. The official friend of the organization was a Manchu official, who last year was Governor of the province. The cause of the movement was spite against foreigners; first, as due to dependence of Catholic converts on German protection; secondly, as due to German territorial aggressions; and thirdly, as due to the ambitious designs of nearly all countries to acquire territory.

The claim for the recognition of the Boxers was their aim at self-preservation, being organized as a kind of local militia. Another reason for dealing leniently with the Boxers was their motto, "Down with the foreigners; up with the dynasty." People who for many years had been noted as insurrectionists against Manchu rule now stood forth as models of loyalty. This impressed the Manchu rulers at Peking, and made them hesitate to offend their professed friends.

Furthermore, the Government, as well as the Boxers, had become more and more suspicious of foreign designs, and at heart was eager to expel foreigners and wipe out all vestige of their presence. When the Boxers became threatening in the province of Shantung, they were merely guilty perpetrators in incendiarism, pillage, assault, and intimidation. They seldom demeaned themselves to the crime of murder. They also contented themselves with attacks on Christian converts as a sure method of weakening the foreigner's power and inducing him to withdraw to the ports.

As the Boxer movement swept like a torrent nearer and nearer



to Peking it became more and more fierce and relentless. For the first time the capital itself was in danger of one of these "little local disturbances." To other crimes was added wholesale massacre. Not only Chinese, but foreigners were attacked and killed. Not only Christian missions, but railways, the telegraph, foreign machinery, foreign goods, and foreign learning were objects of the Boxers' wrath. The surging mass of excited fiends, becoming more bold, defiant, superstitious, as success was added to success, at last rolled in on Peking.

The foreign ministers stormed, threatened, plead, argued, but to no avail. Certain Manchu nobles believed in the mysterious strength of the Boxers and their loyal professions, and, with honest hatred, they hated the foreigners. Many others of high standing were actuated by the same error. Prince Tuan was father of the newly selected heir apparent, and was anxious to overthrow the Emperor. On June 17 occurred a full meeting of the princes and ministers. Only three dared to criticise the Boxers and recommend peace with foreign nations. These men failed to convince the throne, and were beheaded on August 11, just three days before the allied forces rescued the besieged foreigners in Peking.

The Dowager Empress did not dare to oppose the Boxers and favor foreigners. Her advisers were against such a policy. Her soldiers were in sympathy with the Boxers. She had, in the final crisis, none to carry out a better plan. Henceforth, Boxers were recognized as good allies, were placed under command of an imperial prince, and were fed, clothed, paid, applauded, honored.

War was declared and war was begun, with a determined spirit, though the United States tried to hold to the dream of "continued peaceful relations." On June 16 came the *casus belli* in the ultimatum from the foreign admirals to surrender the Taku forts. The Chinese commander at Taku accepted the challenge and began war by opening fire on the 17th. The Viceroy at Tientsin at the same time accepted the challenge, and the well-trained Chinese soldiers, with finest modern guns, poured shot and shell into the foreign settlement. The soldiers up the river began to join the Boxers in attacking the relief force under Admiral Seymour. All this was in harmony with a secret edict issued months before, that in case of any foreign aggression the provincial authority, without waiting for further orders from the throne, should proceed to resist and fight.

The central government, as dominated by the Dowager Empress,

with the advice of Prince Tuan and the cabinet, determined on war the morning of June 19, when another full meeting of the Manchu princes and high ministers was held. Li San emphasized the point that, even if war was to begin, they must respect the sacredness of the persons of the foreign ministers. His suggestion was ignored. War must begin at once.

In the afternoon of the same day Princes Ching and Tuan and the Ministers of the Foreign Office sent a despatch to each of the foreign representatives urging that, in consequence of the ultimatum issued for the surrender of the Taku forts, passports must be given the foreign representatives, and they would be allowed one day's time to leave Peking. Notwithstanding rioting in the city and country by Boxers, and the hostility of Chinese soldiers, there was given no safe escort — a thing, moreover, which, under the circumstances, was an impossibility.

On June 20 and 21 appeared two edicts declaring war. In the second, after recounting the faults of foreigners and the favors extended them by the dynasty, the following language was used :

“Yesterday a despatch was sent by Du Chaylard (doyen of the consular body at Tientsin) calling on us to deliver up the Taku forts into their keeping; otherwise they would be taken by force. These threats showed their aggressions. In all matters relating to international intercourse we have never been wanting in courtesies to them, but they, while styling themselves civilized states, have acted without regard for right, relying solely on their military force. . . . With tears have we announced the war in the ancestral shrines. Better to do our utmost and enter on the struggle than seek some means of self-preservation involving eternal disgrace. All our officials, high and low, are of one mind, and there have assembled without official summons several hundred thousand patriotic soldiers (Boxers), even children carrying spears in the service of the country.”

The very day the first declaration was issued the Imperial troops began firing, killing first the German Minister and an unarmed Englishman, Francis Huberty James. We who struggled in the defense for nearly two months, during which time we never with safety crossed the lines, had no doubt that war was raging around us, and a war that was conducted contrary to all rules of war. When before has any country dared to attack a legation while still occupied by its Minister? When before have innocent non-combatants been under fire, as were nearly five hundred foreigners in the legation section, and the many hundreds of missionaries and converts congregated in another part of the city, at the North Cathedral? Some of the guns pointed at both places were inside the imperial city, not far from the palace of the Emperor and the Dowager Empress. Cabinet meetings were still held, and by day and night Manchu and Chinese soldiers, aided for



a time by the Boxers, planned some device for our total extermination. Defending the legations were only 400 men, from eight different countries, while around them were gathered not less than 5,000 of the enemy's soldiers. Nearly one-half of our defenders were either killed or wounded. Every legation was attacked. The Belgian, Austrian, Italian, and Netherlands legations were destroyed. The French was nearly destroyed, and all had shells burst through their walls or in the open courts. If the ministers had not been careful they would all have joined the company of Baron von Ketteler. Such warfare places China, or the usurping régime, outside the pale of civilization. Such as it was it had the countenance of the Manchu Court.

The relief to the besieged was long in coming. If the Russian officers had decided, the relief would not have left Tientsin till early September, and the tragic story of our massacre, as told in the papers, would have been no longer thrilling fiction. The allied forces entered the city gates, and, amid intense jubilation, the grounds of the British legation, where persons from eighteen nationalities were anxiously waiting, on the 14th of August. While the troops were pouring in, sharp shooting was kept up by the enemy. The Netherlands Minister, a Sikh, and a French lady were wounded within the grounds of the British Legation.

The arrival of the allied forces was a surprise to the Imperial Court. Prince Tuan had maintained the impossibility of foreign troops entering the city gates or surmounting the city walls. The Emperor and Dowager Empress were still in the palace when the foreign legations were relieved. Early the next morning, comfort, luxury, authority, palatial residence, and wealth were forsaken by the Court and the nearest advisers, and flight was taken, with only a small military escort, to the north and thence to the west.

The city was left without any government whatever. In a remarkably short time order was established under the military rule of Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy. Certain sections of the city had been destroyed by the enemy; all shops had been deserted or closed; homes had been forsaken; desolation and doom rested over the Imperial capital.

The fall of Pekin was the fruit of folly and madness, no greater in the Boxers than in those who ruled — rather misruled — the Empire. Hatred of foreigners, the mysterious incantations and magnificent claims of the Boxers, palace feud and fear of the Emperor's

restoration, a fatalistic sentiment that doom was coming anyway, united with a strong confidence in China's military preparations — all these blinded the eyes of those who held the helm, so that war against the world seemed sensible, necessary, righteous, and full of the promise of victory.

The fall of Peking may mean the fall of the Manchu dynasty. And yet this may not be the meaning. Now more than ever do all the Powers shrink from the partitioning of China. The larger part of China has held aloof from war. The Emperor grieved as he saw it coming; and were he to come back, submit, and plead for leniency, he might retain his throne, the dynasty would continue, and with a regenerated China there would rise a new, a cleaner, a stronger, and more prosperous capital than the Peking of to-day.

GILBERT REID.



## IS THE COLLEGE GRADUATE IMPRACTICABLE ?

THE late Mr. C. P. Huntington disapproved of colleges because, he said, their training resulted in a dreamy idealism which unfits its victim for practical life. He held that the heritage of culture put the student out of step with the nineteenth century and discounted his chances of becoming a money king. These charges do not square with other accusations laid against the quality and result of college life. At this time of cane-rushes and of class suppers, with their genial abductions, you can hardly take up a paper without finding items headed "College Ruffianism," "Academic Sluggers," etc.; and old-fashioned people are at a loss to discover the connection between liberal education and the horse play reported. There is certainly little "dreamy idealism" about the phases of college life which bring so much grist to the sensational reporter's mill. Academic distinction has become a matter of brawn and bulldog courage, rather than of Greek and calculus. The literary ambitions of the collegian of the fifties are no longer entertained; the freshman, it is said, cannot write English; and every college president meditates an article on the increasing illiteracy of college students. Mr. Huntington's dreamer is rarely met with; he is not a customary college product; he was born that way. No amount of hazing cures him, and the reporter's "academic slugger" is more often found. Idealistic culture is not an inevitable result of matriculation.

I am not sure that either the multi-millionaires or the newspaper reporters are such competent critics of college life as to make their indictments conclusive; but some degree of failure on the part of collegians to get into good relation with the working world must be confessed. The alumnus of five years' standing scoffs at the codes and conventions of college life. "You will soon get all that knocked out of you," he says to the undergraduate who expounds the notions of "the men," his fellows. The discipline of business sends a man back to his Alma Mater to assure the faculty that he has come to their opinions, which he once opposed. He hints that the college is

“a lotos-eaters’ land,” and that success depends upon ridding oneself of its modes of thought.

But is this failure to connect with life the result of devotion to classics, mathematics, and philosophy, as Mr. Huntington imagined? An answer may be arrived at by asking: “What does the business man find to be the faults of the fresh graduates he takes into his office?” Failures of accuracy, punctuality, strenuousness, and reliability. Their lack of prompt obedience and their facility in making excuses excite his wonder. It takes hard knocks to teach them the value of time and money and the subordinate place of pleasure. They have to be “waked up” to the facts of life.

Boys who have followed science, mathematics, and literature to their best results are not, upon graduation, anxious to be brokers’ runners or bank clerks at five or ten dollars per week, and do not exhibit a dawdling inaccuracy, whatever their pursuits. The fresh graduate Mr. Huntington complained of has usually “skinned through college” and has been unsatisfactory there also. The railroad king never found one of those “idealists” neglecting business to dream over Shelley, Horace, or Herbert Spencer. Football reports are more enticing: their shortcomings are evidently not the results and handicaps of scholarship. The student that Mr. Huntington had in mind comes to college at nineteen, with the tastes of a clubman and the scholarship of a child. He indulges in all sorts of foolish pranks and demands to be treated like a man. He could not earn five dollars a week, and he holds extravagance a venial thing. He combines entire dependence with defiance of control.

Confessedly preparing for life, the question whether his present codes and courses can be carried forward into it never enters his mind. His world is a topsy-turveydom, where everything stands on its head, and the appropriate result does not follow. He is sure that the universe and society will forgive him all shortcomings, because he is such a charming fellow, as indeed he often is. Nor is he without encouragement. The public mind surrounds the college with an aura of romance and sentiment. It calls its course “four golden years, full of genial companionship, generous rivalry, and ideal aims.” Responsibility has not begun, and the gusto of enjoyment is at its height. It is like Tennyson’s “island-valley of Avilion,”

“Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,  
Nor ever wind blows loudly,”

except the college yell. The burdens and realities of the world are



alike excluded. All this is injurious nonsense. No man of eighteen can afford to dwell in any "lotos-eaters' land," however fair. If the college does not leave its graduate at the gates of life with the password on his lips which shall cause those gates to swing open, it has deeply wronged him. Academically, in respect of their teaching, our colleges are quite satisfactory; but, in respect of their social tendencies and their prevailing theories of life and conduct, they are wide of the mark. Mr. Huntington's idealists are commercially inefficient because of their failure to grasp and obey the fundamental laws of human intercourse and daily duty. The collegian's characteristic faults spring from false notions in the social and economic field, and point to social and economic perversions in college life rather than to any tendency in cultural study to throw its devotees out of relation with the working world.

Most of my readers would here reply: "You are arraigning the general irresponsibility of youth. We see it in our school-boys, and the happy-go-lucky collegian is but a school-boy of a larger growth, and must be borne with: sympathetic patience is the only remedy." This is also the position of the non-studious student himself. His expectation of "sympathetic patience" from his instructors is quite appealing; a failure to extend it seems to him sheer brutality of nature; and his almost pathetic disappointment causes great searchings of heart to all officers of discipline who are not case-hardened. But the college cannot commit itself to "sympathetic patience" unless it is also willing to confess itself unable to modify for the better the irresponsibility of youth; that is, unless it intends to abandon its effort at education.

What is the function of a college? What must it accomplish in order to earn its right to live? The characteristic function of a college is no longer the purveyance of erudition. Perhaps it was once, before the organization of genuine universities. The higher education, the cultivation of rigorous scholarship, now belongs to the graduate school. The college should concern itself with the final stage of secondary education, aiming to stimulate general culture and to train character. The amount of learning which it succeeds in imparting is insignificant. It can only justify itself by furnishing sound and successful training in the laws and arts of life by ridding its pupils of their boyish irresponsibility. If the college has to leave the task of "waking up" the graduate, of compelling him to take sane and manly views of life, to the business office, it is a useless thing.

Why is the college necessary at all? Many think it would be better to follow the German precedent by adding four years to the high school course, letting such graduates as have a call to scholarship or the professions proceed to the university, while the remainder go into business. The college is necessary, because when adolescence is well established awakening individuality demands more autonomy than can be accorded in the home, where the remembrance of infancy is always strong upon the parents. The residential college gives a larger measure of freedom just when it begins to be needed. Even at the risk of some error, it throws the student upon his own resources at the time when minute guidance prolongs childhood, and finally provokes a violent revolt. With all its faults, the college community is a more faithful transcript of the world and its ways than the best ordered home. The curriculum and the general life of a residential college are intended to carry the student from childish irresponsibility and domestic subjection to manly self-reliance.

Graduation from a German gymnasium is a guarantee of much knowledge and training. What college can say as much for its pass diploma? And yet for boys of from sixteen to twenty-one the American college is much better suited. It is psychologically fitted to the last stages of adolescence. The gymnasium is an apron string too long drawn out. The college has primary regard to character; it is essentially transitional, and must stand or fall by its success in conducting its pupils to mental independence and social common sense. The college renders its best service by introducing the growing boy to the world and its ways; by putting him into good relation with society; by dispelling boyish illusions, and replacing them with social common sense. If it leaves this task to the business office, the few scraps of learning which it imparts cannot cover its nakedness.

The college finds its justification not in any unique power of imparting specific instruction, but in its social and moral training. Its claim for continuance rests upon its success in leading its students from boyhood to manhood, naturally and safely. Its domain is character rather than scholarship; and the touchstone of its worth is the fitness of its sons to take useful places in the working world. With all its faults, the traditional American college largely succeeded in doing all this; it graduated men. Its ideal aim was measurably realized. Can our colleges to-day say as much? In some respects they possess more psychological intelligence. Their class-room methods better assist the transition to mental independence than the old ones



did. The elective system has introduced elements of larger intellectual liberty than the old curriculum offered ; and the partial substitution of lecturing for reciting contributes to advancing emancipation from schoolboy subjection. A combination of prescribed subjects with free electives and of individual recitation with lecturing is indicated by the essentially transitional character of college work. The old curriculum, fixed throughout, was psychologically wrong. Rigidity is not favorable to growth. But the new system of unregulated and entire election is equally mistaken. The latter assumes that intellectual competency is already fully attained ; it ignores transitional needs ; it is the extreme opposite of the old system of prescription, but is equally intelligent. From the nature of its characteristic service the college must combine academic guidance and the progressive granting of autonomy ; and since it does so in the class-room it need not fear the application of practical tests to its strictly academic work.

The unofficial, *i. e.*, the social side of college life cannot so successfully challenge examination as that of the college life of fifty years ago. Devotion to the ideal aim of college life compels us to acknowledge that it is not complied with. The college is ideally and actually capable of organizing social capacity and training character, and it becomes a duty to point out any tendencies to forget or defeat this purpose. I propose to point out some things on the social side of current college life which are not educationally or practically useful, and which, if unchecked, will go far to rob the college of its distinctive right to live.

We can intelligently criticise any detail of college life by asking, "What is its educational effect?" Does it fall in with the principles governing similar situations in actual life? Does it mislead the student as to what the world expects of him? Any notion which must be "knocked out" of the graduate is a serious handicap. In respect of his social and economic ideas, our institutions let the undergraduate go his own way, and are responsible for his practical unfitness. I shall call up a few points of this indictment.

*Take the housing of the students.* The freshman comes from his well-regulated home or boarding-school and is turned loose in a dormitory unsupervised by night or day. Provided he does not burn it down he may there do what he likes. His goings out and comings in are unremarked, and the public opinion of his fellows is not intolerant. So long as daylight restores decorum, no reprobation follows

any outbreak. The critic interjects, "When the student goes out into the world he will not be under residential rules." Imagine the hotel or boarding-house which should tolerate the ordinary doings of a college dormitory! The police would soon rate it as "disorderly." The abandonment of all restraint and observation is not essential to liberty. There should be as much self-control in college quarters as in public lodgings elsewhere. The English college gathers all within its gates by 10 o'clock. Some escape by the back windows, but this is better than to let the roisterer have "all seasons for his own." Parietal regulations are difficult to enforce; but some effective supervision of dormitories is a crying necessity. The present plunge from domestic regulation to a license which has no counterpart in outside life gives the student the idea that for him all laws are abrogated, that he is a man apart. The class-supper brawler assures the policeman that long-standing custom grants him immunity from arrest, however noisy he may be. This theory of non-responsibility is thoroughly artificial and cannot be carried outside. Though the conduct of "single men in barracks" has never been quite saintly or urbane, yet it is the duty of the college to minimize the dangers of dormitory life and to prevent it from bringing forth grave educational evils.

Another matter is more fundamental. *The freshman brings with him habits of financial dependence and irresponsibility, and the present tendency of college life is to confirm him in them.* The boy is not to blame; his every want has been so far supplied. There is in his mind no relation between desire and personal effort. All this is a part of boyish immaturity; but the college is at fault if it does not try to teach him manly self-dependence and a willingness to go without that for which he cannot pay. That it does so teach him will hardly be asserted by the boldest. The increasing luxury and extravagance of American college life, its richness of enjoyment, out of all proportion to the age, attainments, and producing power of its beneficiaries, are a menace to culture and the public welfare. A state of dependence should be a state of contentment with simplicity and the supply of fundamental wants, a period of preparation for conquering the success which has luxury for one of its minor rewards. Unearned luxury is enervating; it is positively corrupting to those still adolescent. Varied self-indulgence is at war with the ideal of education. The college press reports a whirl of spreads, theatres, dances, athletics, and card parties. Fashionable dress and equipages are



quite indispensable. Club-houses costing \$50,000 are too common for remark; and a sum sufficient to support an average family is absorbed by a single student who does not study.

The greater part of this injurious luxury is parasitic. It is paid for directly by parents, alumni, and fraternity friends, and indirectly by the faculty. Alumni subscriptions are as thick as blackberries. Many of us contribute yearly toward the maintenance of fraternity houses which our undergraduate brothers say they cannot themselves keep up; but we observe little ascetic self-denial in their personal habits. Skill in "pulling the governor's leg" is an admired academic accomplishment; not only the governor, but the alumni and all elderly female relatives being afflicted with a chronic limp. How to compass pleasures and possessions which he cannot pay for is the undergraduate's problem. Much of this ill-timed luxury is indirectly supported by the faculty; college professors, for the most part, being miserably paid.

It becomes significant in this connection that college tuition, which runs from \$100 to \$150 a year, covers but a fourth of the cost of teaching each individual. Endowments and annual gifts make up the deficiency. The raising of the tuition fee to a sum approaching the cost of instruction has been discussed, but never tried. The professor is annually assured that the state of the treasury will not permit an increase of his salary, while the undergraduate, who cannot be made to pay for good instruction, is lodged like a prince, indulges in expensive pleasures, and wastes far more than would suffice to give his instructor the livelihood which he deserves. We cannot blame the professor when he feels that he indirectly supports undergraduate extravagance.

It is an evil lesson to allow the undergraduate to waste on superfluities money which should be spent in fuller payment for the fundamental necessities of intellectual life. Fraternity houses costing \$100,000 in colleges which pay hardly more than \$2,000 a year to a full professor are not calculated to impress the real values and just proportions of things upon the undergraduate. College luxury is parasitic and non-educational. It prevents the growth of manly self-dependence, and makes its victim "a little brother of the rich," finding his joy in the unearned sharing of their flesh pots. An acquaintance with luxury which on any self-respecting basis will not be continued beyond the college doors is injury rather than education.

In a third particular current college methods fail to fit for life.

*They follow the line of least resistance*, and teach implicitly that unpleasant or protracted labor is a violation of the order of the universe. The needless hardships of old-fashioned college life have disappeared; the procrustean curriculum has been adjusted to individual aptitude; and training of the will has been almost entirely discontinued. In our reaction from academic rigor we have gone to the other extreme, and have made education a lax, sentimental, and nerveless thing. I believe in the elective system; that is, in an election between groups of related studies, each of them containing difficult disciplinary subjects; but I am forced to confess that elections are largely made on the basis of the "softness" of the subject or the laxness of the instructor. Any course disappointingly "stiff" is dropped for another occupying the same number of hours, but which is easier. "When they persecute ye in one city flee ye to another" is an injunction well laid to heart by those otherwise quite indifferent to the Scriptures; and sudden migrations from the Jerusalem of Calculus to the Jericho of Economics are not without their humorous aspects. They prove an unexpected knowledge of the Old Testament also. A batch of unrelated "snap courses" may at last secure a diploma, but it cannot qualify its taker for "a manly part in the wars of the Lord."

Upon his introduction into business many a young graduate exclaims, "I never knew before what work meant." The college course should be an intellectual and moral "setting up drill." It fatally unfits for life to remain four years in a false and delusive transcript of the larger world, to dwell where there is no consciousness of inexorable duty, and of unwelcome but faithfully accomplished toil. I am in sympathy with young men, and I rejoice in the genial atmosphere of our colleges; but when I see the undergraduate clad in a lounging suit, slouching, hands in pockets, and briar-wood pipe in mouth, just a trifle late to a recitation imperfectly prepared, the erect, trim figure of the clear-eyed West Point cadet, who knows nothing of snap electives, voluntary chapel, and 10 o'clock breakfasts, rises in my mind, and I am not so sure about modern education. What kind of soldiers could West Point train if it also followed the line of least resistance?

Happy-go-lucky college codes and the minimizing of academic labor effectively teach that life is mainly "beer and skittles." In the students' club-house of a great university, I found the billiard and card tables and the bowling alley all in use at 11 o'clock in the morning. Here was proof of failure to instil strenuous industry and ap-



preciation of the value of time. Not one of those young triflers at the billiard table could afford to be thus employed. The elegant club-house put those boys on the wrong track, and a side track at that. Any "wild and woolly" Western college, whose whole life is poverty stricken, but vigorous and ambitious, better complies with ideal educational standards than the wealthiest university which thus encourages idleness.

It could be easily shown that many other details of college practice unconsciously deflect from social common sense and produce modes of thought and action which effectually defeat good relationship with plain people who have not been so elaborately and subtly misled; but it is not necessary to pursue the obvious.

The first step toward betterment is the reassertion of the aim and nature of college life. When certain definite results are demanded of the college, anything inherently at war with them will finally be discarded. It is not until the prevailing confusion as to what colleges are and should accomplish is dispelled that we shall have a return to simplicity and sanity. The legitimate characteristics of a college and its social life, already set forth, are deduced from a few simple propositions.

*First.* The university, demanding for entrance a bachelor's degree, is the crown of our educational system. Its province is higher education, the cultivation of advanced scholarship and research.

*Second.* The college conducts the final stage of secondary education. It should bring mental, social, and moral adolescence to an end, coincidently with the conclusion of physical immaturity. It is concerned with the transition from youth to manhood, and its final aim is social common sense. The work of the college is training for citizenship, a training which bases itself not so much on political history and theory as upon social integrity, sanity, unselfishness, and efficiency. If these propositions are accepted the pathway of reform is clear upon these premises:

*The college should give itself no airs.* It should not pretend to be a university, or allow any student to imagine that the world will accept prodigious learning as a substitute for social usefulness. Unreality and pretense are foes of culture.

*The college should so frame its social life that its tendency shall be healthy,* invigorated by the moralities which rule society at large. It should apply ordinary civil standards to its unavoidably somewhat artificial conditions. In this time, when increasing numbers go to

college not for learning, but for the social life, the sound and sane quality and tendency of that social life is of profound importance. The college must make its beneficiary a master of the greatest of all arts, the art of living.

*Its buildings and material equipment should assist in an unconscious education.* No genius or devotion of instructors can defeat the evil influence of a structure educationally wrong. The new-fashioned separate entrance dormitory, composed of buildings practically isolated, housing not more than a dozen men, is abating the idleness and horse-play created by the old barrack dormitory—with long corridors and a central stairway connecting the whole—as no amount of supervision ever succeeded in doing.

*The college must insist on common honesty.* Financial responsibility and integrity are fundamental; without them the paths of life open to the college graduate lead the wrong way.

*The college must not always follow the line of least resistance.* The intellectual life also has its athletic exercises, and mental slouchiness is no less to be regretted than physical insufficiency. The youthful will needs cultivation no less than the growing body.

Some of my readers have long ago objected: "You propose greatly increased supervision of student-life and more stringent regulation of its non-official aspects." I do! "Such regulation would keep the students milksops," you say. West Point and Annapolis do not find it so. The average father believes in "giving the boy his head," and approves "the liberty of college life," until some day he finds he has a drunkard on his hands. Then he blames the faculty. A certain college president said to an anxious mother, "We guarantee satisfaction or return the boy." I believe in supervision enough to enable the college to return the boy before he is entirely spoiled, while the responsibility for his condition still lies chiefly with his home and fitting school. At present, liberty amounting to license is granted to those who cannot bear it.

"Such regulation would not do for men," is objected further. *Colleges are no place for men.* If by any path a student has reached such symmetrical maturity that he is in any true sense a man let him stay away from college and make up his scholastic shortages elsewhere, and then take his place in a university. The regulations necessary for adolescents, men in body, little more than children in mind, will be irksome to him; and he will soon begin to imitate the boy, one minute reading the riot-act of manly independence, and



the next pleading the baby-act of thoughtless irresponsibility. Half the difficulties of deans and presidents spring out of the mixed theories upon which they also proceed. They skip about from the "in loco parentis" to the "on honor" theory, and find the combination does not work.

The base line from which all problems such as these must be worked out is that *college work is secondary education, and suited to merely adolescent powers*. Theories of discipline must fit themselves to adolescence, and only such social life may be allowed as is appropriate to youth and dependence. Our average freshman, nearly if not quite twenty years old, pursues the studies of a French or English boy of fifteen; has the tastes of an accomplished clubman; is not quite oblivious of the charms of impending matrimony; and is dependent for every dollar which supports his brave and joyous state.

*The graver evils of college life are caused by too long delayed entrance upon it.* Nineteen and a half is the average age of entrance in the up-State colleges of New York. The psychological moment when control and guidance are accepted, when mental, moral, and physical adolescence are contemporaneous, and can be harmoniously handled, is past. College life is at present psychologically ill-timed, and it never will be sound, and sane, and safe until we confine it to its appropriate seasons. The clear recognition that colleges are secondary institutions, fitted to the needs of boys, would strike at the root of student luxury and extravagance. Dependence is injurious if continued beyond adolescence. During youth dependence is natural, and the financial supervision which goes with it is accepted as a matter of course. When manhood finds this supervision irksome, it should reject dependence also, and express its self-respect in self-support. Pending the ability of self-support, the supply of fundamental wants in a simple manner is all that a fine feeling for congruity would desire.

It is a weighty indictment against our whole educational system that physical and political maturity come at twenty-one, while self-support lags behind till thirty. Twenty-one should be the limit of adolescence and dependence. Physical, mental, economic, and political emancipation should be attained together. College graduation should come at twenty-one, and is easily possible when a boy begins preparatory work at the proper time. But since our schools will defer starting Latin until the memory age is almost gone, a shortening of the course to three years would be a small price for a boy to

pay for the benefits of beginning to earn his living at the time when he has become resistant of external control. A man earning his living or learning a profession is at his life work, and has some right to take himself seriously. Dependence, coupled with extravagance and idleness, protracted through the twenties is an incongruity and a sin. The community is tired of the bald-headed undergraduate, at once man of the world, academic blunderer, and helpless parasite. The reduction of students' allowances and social equipment to a scale appropriate to a state of dependence is perhaps too much to hope for ; but a clear idea of the character and congruities of college life will do much to bring about reform.

If college men are commercially inefficient, as Mr. Huntington said, it is not because culture paralyzes practical capacity, but because some of the social and economic tendencies of our colleges are at war with common sense. The college must devote itself to the guidance of advanced adolescence to that sane and self-directed manhood before which the world lies open. It must adapt all its agencies, social and unofficial as well as academic, to the fulfilment of this purpose, and test every class-room method, every student custom, every article of the social code, by its educational tendency, and by its conformity with reality, social sanity, and fitness for practical life.

ROBERT ELLIS JONES.



## SMOKELESS CANNON POWDER IN THE LIGHT OF THE MOST RECENT DISCOVERIES.

As originally made, gunpowder consisted of a loose mixture of pulverized sulphur, charcoal, and saltpetre. It then actually existed in the form of a powder, hence the name. The idea of granulation probably arose from the admixture of bituminous matter with the powder, to retard the combustion. The first methodical granulation of gunpowder recorded was in France in 1825. The pulverized ingredients were mixed thoroughly and pressed into a hard cake, which was then broken up into irregular fragments or grains.

The next important improvement in granulation was made by General T. J. Rodman, the inventor of prismatic gunpowder, who in 1854 had presses made for moulding the grains separately, giving to them a definite and uniform shape. He was also the first to make multi-perforated powder grains with a view to securing progressive combustion. (See Fig. 1.) The improvements which followed those of General Rodman related mainly to composition and density, having for their object the retarding of combustion. Brown prismatic powder was the result. There was no further improvement until the advent of smokeless powder.

Black gunpowder, being but a mechanical mixture caked together by pressure, was not well adapted to the multi-perforated form invented by Rodman, which, after much experimenting, was abandoned for the form having a single central perforation. (See Fig. 2.) Notwithstanding the obvious advantages of multi-perforations, the material did not possess sufficient tensile strength to render those advantages available.

In order to understand the action of gunpowder, we must bear in mind that there are two forms of combustion known as explosion. One is what is termed detonation, where the action takes place throughout the mass at practically the same instant. This form of combustion or explosion applies to what are known as high explo-

sives. Gunpowder is consumed by surface combustion only. This requires time, and although the time is relatively short in the usual sense, it is long when compared with the infinitely quicker action of high explosives. From the pulling of the lanyard until the projec-

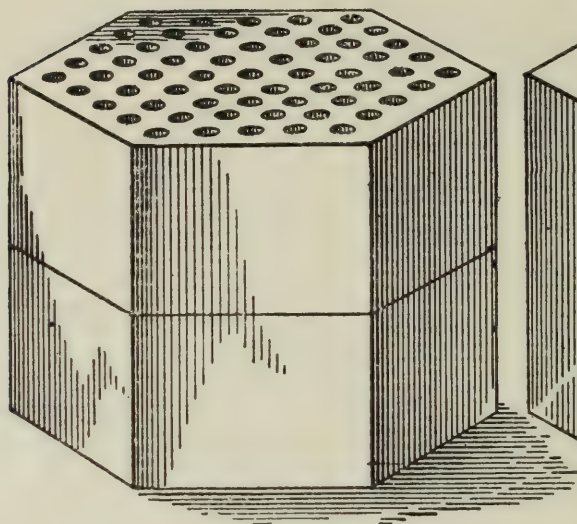


FIG. 1.

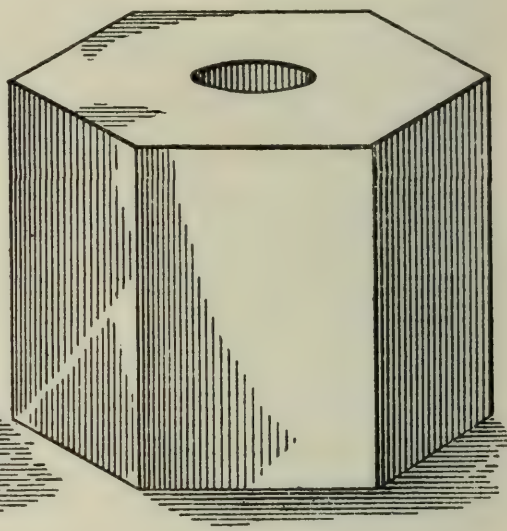


FIG. 2.

tile leaves the muzzle of a cannon only about a sixtieth of a second intervenes. Short as is this period it gives the projectile time to move forward in the bore and provide space for the reception of the powder gases as fast as they are set free; whereas, if the charge should be consumed instantly, as by detonation, the projectile would not have time for any appreciable movement, and the whole rear portion of the gun would be blown to fragments from the enormous pressure.

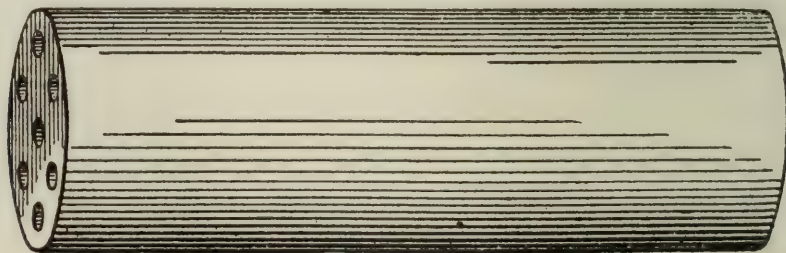


FIG. 3.

Obviously, an ideal gunpowder should produce a pressure which would be so well maintained behind the projectile in its flight through the bore of the gun that a curve representing the pressure would coincide with a curve representing the working tangential



strength of the piece throughout its length. This result can be attained only by means of multi-perforations, giving the powder grains such form that they will be consumed by rapidly accelerating combustion. The powder grain which has been adopted by the United States Government for both branches of the service is the longitudinally multi-perforated cylinder shown in Fig. 3, the usual number of perforations being seven, though frequently as many as nineteen are employed. The diameter of the cylinder and the thickness of the material between the perforations is made greater or less according to the size of the gun in which the grain is to be used.

The dense colloid of which smokeless powder is composed, when properly made, is free from pores and wholly impervious to the hot gases with which it is enveloped in the gun. Ignited in the air, this material burns with comparative slowness, requiring several seconds for the consumption of a grain of ordinary size. When burned under

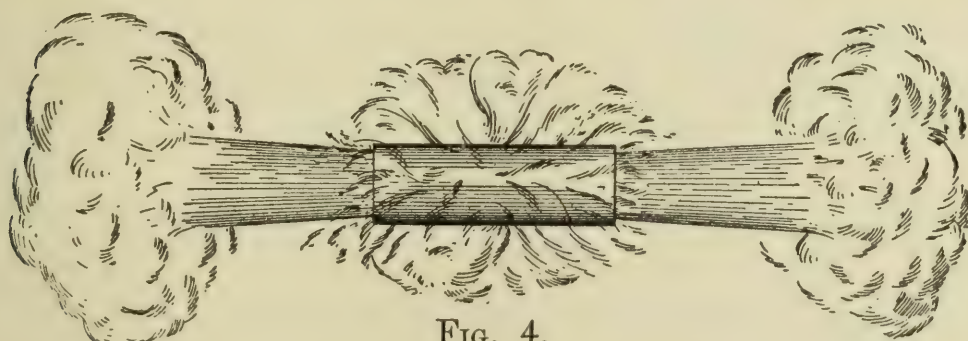


FIG. 4.

pressure, however, the action is much more rapid. Under service pressure in a gun — about 35,000 pounds to the square inch — the same grain is consumed in about the sixtieth of a second.

Fig. 4 represents a grain of smokeless cannon powder burning in the air. The expulsion of the products of combustion from the perforations generates a pressure there in excess of that upon the outer surfaces of the grain. This causes a more rapid rate of burning within the perforations, and accounts for the strong blast of flame being thrown out of the perforations at each end, as shown in the figure. As this difference between external and internal pressures is increased in proportion to the increase in the rate of combustion under service pressures, it is obvious that the tensile strength of grains becomes a very important factor in preventing their disruption or blowing up in guns. In fact, the tangential strength of a grain of multi-perforated powder is quite as important as that of the gun.

If the powder grains be made too long, or the perforations too small, they will explode even when burned under atmospheric pressure. The higher the pressure, the shorter must be the grains. The disruption of powder grains in guns might be very disastrous, because the pressure would suddenly mount to a point where a gun would burst, owing to the enormous increase of burning areas presented to the flame by the large number of small fragments.

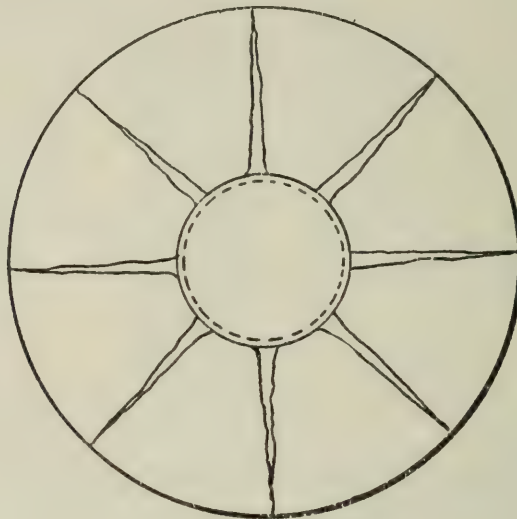


FIG. 5.

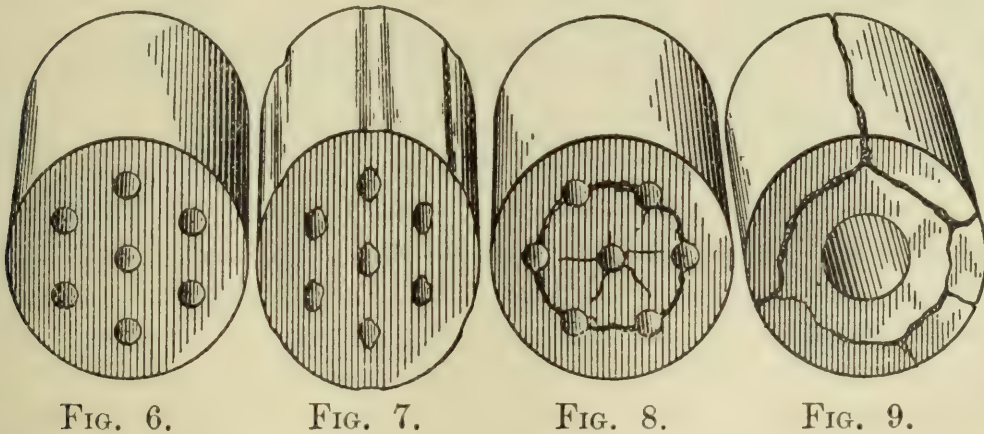
In the manufacture of smokeless powder there should be as little solvent employed as possible to effect gelatinization of the guncotton, in order to reduce shrinkage to the minimum and prevent warping and cracking in drying. The drying of cylindrical powder grains may be compared to the cooling of a piece of ordnance, the stresses set up being similar. General Rodman discovered in the manufacture of cast-iron cannon that when allowed to cool from the outside such internal stress was set up that the piece was capable of standing much less pressure than when the same was cooled from the inside. When externally cooled the outer portion of metal becomes solid and unyielding, assuming a definite and final shape, while the interior is still soft and yielding. As the inner portions of the metal also shrink in cooling, more and more stress is set up toward the bore. Although the metal may be strong and elastic enough to prevent cracking, still the stress is such that the gun is to a large extent under a strong bursting strain while in a normal state, deducting just so much from the tangential resistance of the piece to the pres-



sure of the powder charge. Fig. 5 is a cross-sectional diagram of a gun made by General Rodman, indicating the tendency to crack from internal stress when a cannon is cooled from the outside. When cooled from the inside, the exact reverse condition is produced; the inner portion of metal becoming first solidified, the outer in cooling shrinks upon it, with the result that the stress set up materially strengthens instead of weakening the piece.

Of course, it is impossible to dry powder grains from the inside; hence the advantage of using the smallest possible quantity of solvent to secure minimum shrinkage. However, there must always be more or less internal stress; and though no actual cracks may appear, still, as in the case of an externally cooled cannon, the grains may be so nearly brought to the point of cracking as to require but little internal pressure to effect their disruption. Doubtless, many erratic pressures which have occurred from time to time in the early experiments with smokeless powders have been due to the disruption of the grains from the excess of pressure within the perforations, and were in many cases attributable to initial stress already existing in the grains, although no visible faults or cracks might have appeared.

Fig. 6 is an end view of a grain of United States multi-perforated smokeless cannon powder, perfect in form. Fig. 7 is a simi-



lar grain, but made with so much solvent that it has become distorted in drying. Although no cracks may be visible, yet the tangential strength of the grain is very much lessened. When the powder composition is of a less tough material than that used in making the grain shown in Fig. 7, the cracking effect shown in Fig. 8 is the result,

in which event there may be less distortion of the grain. When a powder grain is made tubular the cracks assume the form which is shown in Fig. 9.

Fig. 10 represents a grain of pyro-nitro-cellulose smokeless powder made with too much solvent, very volatile in character and dried quickly. The body of the grain, shrinking largely after the ends have become dry and solid, gives the grain the peculiar shape shown. In this grain there are strong stresses set up, which tend to separate the ends from the body of the grain, as well as tending to produce the form of cracks shown in Fig. 8.

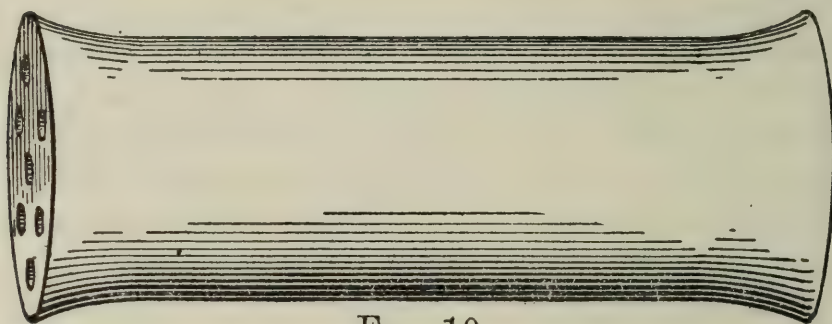


FIG. 10.

All modern smokeless powders consist either of nitro-cellulose of some special degree of nitration, or of a mixture of different grades, either with or without the addition of nitro-glycerin. Tri-nitro-cellulose, or guncotton of the highest nitration, is too difficult to work and shrinks too badly to permit of its being used alone. Mixed, however, with 10 per cent of the more soluble gelatin-guncotton, the resulting compound may be worked with but very little solvent. Upon this compound a slight rise of temperature has the peculiar effect of increasing its plasticity, which enables perfect granulation with an exceedingly small amount of solvent. When 10 per cent of nitro-glycerin is employed, there should be used at first, in the material in the incorporating machine, about twice the quantity of solvent that will be required in granulation, the excess being removed by working between steel rolls, such as those used in the manufacture of celluloid. Powder made by this formula does not warp or crack in drying, and internal stress is reduced to a minimum.

Pyro-nitro-cellulose is now used exclusively by the Government in the manufacture of smokeless powder; and while it shrinks considerably in drying, still the grains are so tough, hard, and hornlike



that, in spite of any internal stress, they are capable of standing a higher pressure than when made of a more brittle compound, even though greater care be exercised to avoid shrinkage. No nitro-glycerin is used in the present service powder, and the compound is so poor in oxygen that a grain burned in the air leaves a large quantity of unconsumed carbon. Burned in a gun, however, under service pressures, most of the carbon combines with the oxygen to produce carbonic oxide instead of carbonic acid. The products of combustion of this material are practically all gaseous, and therefore smokeless, and consist mainly of carbonic oxide, free nitrogen, and free hydrogen. The immense volume of the products of combustion of this powder, owing to the exceeding lightness of these gases, gives it a very high ballistic value, while at the same time the temperature is much lower and the erosive action upon the gun is less than with smokeless powders rich in nitro-glycerin, which owe their high ballistic value to the great expansive power due to high temperature.

The high explosive quality of picric acid, which contains too little oxygen for its complete combustion, is another example where the larger volume of lighter gases compensates for the greater expansive value of heavier gases at a higher temperature produced with explosives rich in oxygen, which yield carbonic acid in place of carbonic oxide. If all of the carbon present in pyro-nitro-cellulose smokeless powder were to combine to form carbonic oxide with a minimum production of carbonic acid and aqueous vapor, to satisfy an ideal equation, still higher ballistic results would be attained. But the pressure in guns is not sufficiently high to effect this; whereas in the detonation of picric acid a pressure from fifteen to twenty times as high is instantly produced, under which the density and temperature of the gases are such as to cause practically all of the carbon to combine with the oxygen, forming the lowest oxide of carbon at the expense of the hydrogen present. Consequently, we get as the products of combustion the maximum of carbonic oxide, with free nitrogen and free hydrogen, and with a minimum of carbonic acid and aqueous vapor. Under high pressures and temperatures the chemical affinity of carbon is especially intensified.

If a charge of pyro-nitro-cellulose smokeless powder were to be reduced to a very fine state of division, loaded into a strong, steel shell, and then detonated by a powerful exploder, the reaction would differ from that produced by burning the same material in guns with infinitely greater slowness and under very much lower pressures and

temperatures, and the total energy developed would also be much greater. To develop the same energy behind the projectile and to impart to it an equal velocity there is required about 20 per cent more in weight of pyro-nitro-cellulose smokeless powder than of a smokeless powder compound consisting of 68 per cent tri-nitro-cellulose, 7 per cent gelatin guncotton, and 25 per cent nitro-glycerin.

The pyro-nitro-cellulose composition, being much harder than the nitro-glycerin compound, has a correspondingly slower rate of combustion. The thickness through which it burns being much less, it would at first appear that it would counteract to a large extent the advantages of multi-perforations, because there is not so much enlargement of the perforations with resultant acceleration of combustion. We must bear in mind, however, that for the very reason that the combustion is slower the perforations may be made smaller; and, owing to the toughness of the material, the size and length of the perforations may be so small as to give practically the same accelerating rate of combustion as can be secured with a more rapidly burning compound, but one not possessing such great tensile strength.

This is true, however, only with high pressures. Pyro-nitro-cellulose is essentially a high-pressure powder compound. The present tendency continually to increase the weight and strength of guns of all calibres in order to withstand the enormous pressures necessary to impart ever increasing velocities to projectiles, to keep pace with improvements in the resisting power of armor plate, renders pyro-nitro-cellulose powder especially valuable.

British cordite is the smokeless powder containing the greatest percentage of nitro-glycerin, and consequently the one which develops the highest temperature and greatest amount of energy of all, while pyro-nitro-cellulose develops the lowest temperature, but without a corresponding diminution of ballistic value. It would probably require about a third more pyro-nitro-cellulose compound to develop the same energy behind a projectile as that developed by the British cordite composition, containing 58 per cent of nitro-glycerin. Notwithstanding this and the fact that pyro-nitro-cellulose is a more expensive compound, the greater erosive action of cordite at high pressures is so destructive to ordnance as more than to balance the additional expense of using greater charges of the more expensive material. For the foregoing reasons it is believed that the United States Government has in its pyro-nitro-cellulose composition and its form of grain a really ideal smokeless powder for high-power guns.



The multi-perforated grain and the composition necessarily go together, because it would be impossible to use such a hard and dense material, and one which burns through such a small thickness, without its being multi-perforated. This is owing to the enormous initial areas presented to the flame with the resultant high pressures developed by full charges if granulated sufficiently fine or made thin enough to be burned in the gun without perforations.

While pyro-nitro-cellulose admittedly possesses superior advantages for high-power guns, when the pressures are great enough to make the material burn through a sufficient thickness to produce high ballistic results, it would still not be so well suited to guns with very large bores and comparatively thin walls, adapted to throwing aerial

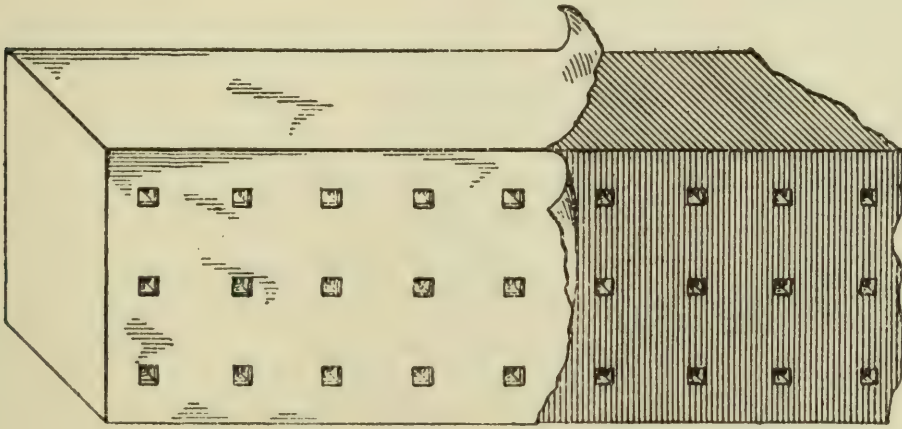


FIG. 11.

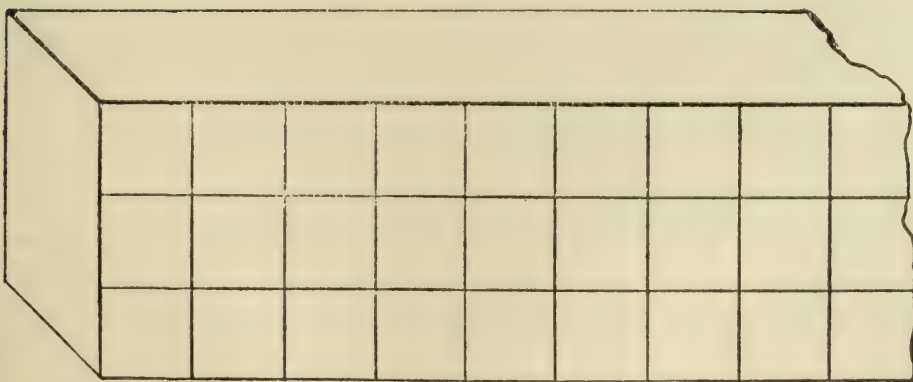


FIG. 12.

torpedoes, where a powder should be employed capable of burning through a necessary thickness under low pressures, to effect the accelerating combustion required for highest ballistic results. It is the

belief of the writer that torpedo guns of this description will be soon largely used in this country, and it will be necessary to employ a smokeless powder made especially for the purpose. Such a powder must present a very small initial surface to the flame of ignition, with maximum surface at the instant before complete consumption.

The powder grain shown in Fig. 11 has been recommended by the writer for this purpose. It is a long, rectangular bar, about twice as wide as thick, and having a length of from eighteen inches to two feet. This bar is pierced with a large number of rectangular perforations, small in size, and so arranged that the grain shall burn out to the diagram shown in Fig. 12. In order to secure the maximum acceleration of combustion, the grain is given a suitable exterior covering or varnish coating, which is intended to be only of such thickness and character as will effectually delay the ignition of the outer surfaces of the grain, but will not prevent the grain being wholly consumed before the projectile leaves the gun.

The composition which the writer recommends for this grain would contain nitro-glycerin, tri-nitro-cellulose, gelatin guncotton, and about 10 per cent of a compound at present held as a secret, which latter effects the combination of the nitro-glycerin with the other ingredients in a much more intimate relation than has ever been heretofore secured. This compound would be very tough and elastic, and would permit of the perforations being made comparatively small. Furthermore, although the compound would contain nitro-glycerin and burn rapidly, nevertheless, its products of combustion would be so low in temperature and of such a non-oxidizing character as to have no more erosive effect upon the gun than is produced with the pyro-nitro-cellulose compound already described. Even were the pyro-nitro-cellulose compound to be employed in torpedo guns, the transversely perforated grain shown in Fig. 11 would still possess the same advantages above the longitudinally perforated cylinder, because, owing to the shortness of the perforations, they could be made very small in size. By making them very small a sufficient number of them could be used to reduce the thickness of the material between them to such an extent as to cause the grains to be entirely consumed under the necessarily low pressures, while presenting so small an initial area to the flame of ignition as to enable full charges to be employed.

HUDSON MAXIM.



## A NEW INDUSTRY BROUGHT BY AN INSECT.

AN article by the present writer, entitled, "International Relations Disturbed by an Insect," was published in *THE FORUM* for July, 1898. In that article it was shown how the San José scale had caused the adoption of quarantine measures against United States fruit by many foreign countries, and that it had been the subject of much discussion in diplomatic circles. It is a pleasure, therefore, to record a recent industrial occurrence of an entirely different character, and to show how the United States has gained a new insect inhabitant which promises to add greatly to our wealth.

During all past time the dried fig trade of the world has been controlled by the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, and principally by Turkey and Algeria. Figs grow in nearly all warm countries, and superior table figs are found in many localities, including our Southern States and California; but none, when dried, has been found to compare with the so-called Smyrna fig, which has heretofore been grown successfully in Mediterranean regions only. California figs have been dried, and have sold at from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  cents to 10 cents per pound; but, in the autumn, as soon as the crop of Smyrna figs for the year begins to appear in the market, the price of the California product drops, and it has practically no sale.

Now, it is certainly not the habit of the United States to allow herself to drop behind any other part of the world; and this characteristic is particularly in evidence in California. That State would not rest under the imputation that she could not supply the world's markets with dried figs equal or superior to those exported from Smyrna and Algiers; so, in 1881, there began a series of experiments which, at last, during the present year, has been crowned with success.

The first step was to secure the Smyrna fig trees. This was begun in 1881 by Mr. G. P. Rixford, of the San Francisco "Bulletin," who imported 14,000 cuttings, and distributed them to prominent fruit-growers. When these trees came into bearing, however, the fruit failed to mature, dropping to the ground after reaching the

size of a marble. It was then thought that the deceitful Smyrniotes had sold us the wrong variety, aiming to keep their monopoly intact, and many growers dug up their young trees in disgust.

Then Dr. Eisen, late of the California Academy of Sciences, showed that since before the Christian Era, as pointed out by many early writers, Aristotle and Theophrastus among them, it has been the custom of the Orientals to pluck the fruit of the wild, or so-called Capri, fig-trees at a certain time of the year, and to suspend them in the branches of the Smyrna or cultivated fig-trees. He pointed out also that there issued from the wild figs a little insect, which, covered with pollen, entered the cultivated figs, and that the latter afterwards developed and ripened into the beautiful, sweet Smyrna fruit. He further pointed out that the young Smyrna fig contains female flowers only; that without the introduction of pollen the seeds will not form, and that upon the formation and maturing of the seeds depend the persistence and ripening of the fig, which is not a fruit of the ordinary kind, but a receptacle filled with a mass of small flowers.

It appeared, therefore, that the next step to take was to introduce and establish the wild, or Capri, fig, with its male, pollen-bearing flowers, and then the little insect which carries the pollen. Here the United States Department of Agriculture took a hand, and imported many cuttings of the Capri fig, while an enterprising firm of nurserymen at Fresno imported and planted a large stock of both Smyrna figs and Capri figs.

When the wild figs came into bearing, in 1890 and 1891, their pollen was artificially introduced with a small quill into a few young Smyrna figs, fertilizing their flowers, and causing them to persist and ripen. Then they were dried, and it was found that, although the number of seeds was small, the nutty, aromatic flavor of the Smyrna fig was evident.

To hand-pollenize an orchard of Smyrna figs in this way would have been too great a task, and the next step was an effort to introduce and establish the fertilizing insect. Several efforts to accomplish this result were made by private enterprise. The little insect was brought over alive in Capri figs, and issued in this country, but without reproducing. Then, in 1899, convinced that the conditions were at last favorable, the United States Department of Agriculture again took hold, and, through one of its travelling agents, secured over-wintering Capri figs in Algeria, and sent them to California. These figs, in the spring of 1899, gave forth the beneficial insects in



the Fresno fig orchards. All through the summer of that year the insects bred undisturbed, passing through four generations, and increasing in numbers; and the winter of 1899-1900 was successfully passed by them in small figs upon three trees protected from the frosts by a canvas shelter. In the spring of 1900 they issued, laid eggs, and another generation developed in the wild figs, and at the proper time were transferred to the Smyrna trees, where they entered the figs and pollenized them, just as their ancestors have done for unnumbered generations in Mediterranean countries.

The Smyrna figs did not drop to the ground, as they had been doing every year since 1889, when the trees first began to bear. They again ripened, and in August and September fifteen tons were harvested! Of these, six tons were dried and packed. These figs have been tested chemically and found to contain 1.4 per cent more sugar than the imported figs. Moreover, unprejudiced experts have unanimously declared them to be superior to the imported product.

This great success means much to the United States. In 1895 we imported 13,440,604 pounds of Smyrna figs, the valuation of which was \$698,894. After the adoption of the tariff law of 1897, which fixed an import duty at 2 cents per pound, shipments to this country decreased, and the importations for 1898 amounted to 7,992,554 pounds, with a valuation of \$382,784. In 1899, the importations were 8,535,967 pounds, having a valuation of \$504,800. In the near future these importations will be practically stopped, as our whole country will be supplied with home-grown dried figs.

But this feature by no means comprises all the possibilities of the industry. America will compete with the Mediterranean countries in the open markets of the world. The character of the product, even of this first year's crop, shows it to be superior to the Oriental product, both from chemical analysis and from expert opinion. Experience gained this year assures a much better result next year, not necessarily in the quality of the fruit itself, but in methods of drying and packing and of producing an attractive product for the market. Cleanliness in packing, prevention of the disgusting worms so often found in the imported Smyrna figs, and other similar points will be carefully attended to by American packers. At present there are by no means enough trees growing in California to bring about this result; but the right varieties will be planted by the thousands during the coming year, and in four or five years will be producing substantial crops.

L. O. HOWARD.

## THE PURPOSE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The agitation for the reform of the civil service began in this country nearly forty years ago. The inception of the movement was not far behind the first step actually taken by Great Britain, where the merit system was partially established in 1855. It was in progress before admissions to the English service were based solely upon open competitive examinations. During these many years this democratic reform has advanced slowly and sometimes haltingly. Still, the merit system is established. It is criticised; it is ridiculed; it is bitterly assailed; it is neglected by those whose duty it is to promote it; it is even forced backward by those who have promised that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended. Nevertheless, as Mr. McKinley said in his inaugural address, "the people heartily approve the law." If they continue to approve it, we need not fear the repeal of the statute, the complete abrogation of the rules and regulations, or a second starvation of the commission.

However, in all political movements, and especially in all reform movements, in a democracy, popular approval and ultimate success are dependent upon the maintenance of public interest. Whether Mr. McKinley intended the quoted phrase as a kindly warning to the spoils politicians or whether he intended it to explain his own verbal approval of the reform, the phrase actually does embody the reason why the reform has been, thus far, comparatively safe.

That enmity has been felt against it is evident not so much from the speeches and conduct of Congressmen as from the successful attitude of the President himself, and from the evasions and silence of this year's party platforms. This silence especially is menacing. It is the sign that the spoilsmen are hoping that they may possibly accomplish through the distraction of public attention the evil which they have not been able to attain by direct and open war. They hope that the Spanish war, with its consequences and problems, its excitements and domestic antagonisms, will obliterate the subject of civil service reform from the country's mind, so that it will eventually



cease to be the object of that militant concern which is essential, not so much perhaps to its preservation as to its necessary advancement.

In 1892, in his annual address before the National Civil Service Reform League, Mr. Curtis said, "Distrust is . . . the instinct of enlightened political sagacity;" and if ever there is immediate and pressing need of the awakening of that distrust, it is when the men in power suddenly become silent concerning an issue in which their prerogatives are involved. Now, the prerogative of using public offices as their own property, to be exploited for their own advantage, is the dearest possession of the ordinary politicians; and it is natural that an attempt should be made at this time by the enemies of the merit system to undermine the few fastnesses which civil service reformers have succeeded in erecting. Moreover, it is not surprising that the enemies of the law should be working under the cover of darkness. It is, therefore, essential that the reformers should see to their defenses, and especially to that principal defense of which Mr. McKinley spoke so feelingly, not only in his inaugural address, but in his first annual message.—the defense of popular approval.

There is, perhaps, no better way to revive public interest in the cause than to recall to mind the scope and purpose of the reform—the end to which this democratic movement must make its way—and to point out how short a distance we have travelled toward the goal which other nations have reached.

It was the purpose of the commission which was appointed by President Grant, and of which George William Curtis was chairman, to create such a civil service for the United States as had then been established in Great Britain by the Order in Council of 1870. In other words, it was Mr. Curtis's intention to bring at once under classification practically all the civil servants of the government, except those who are required by law to be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. In its first annual report, made in 1871, the Curtis commission said: "Admission to the higher grades of employment in the civil service by promotion is another cardinal condition of a sound system." By the "higher grades of employment" Mr. Curtis and his associates did not mean nearly the highest, but actually the highest, offices that are non-political. They did not intend to take out of politics the lowest clerkships only, on the ground that the tasks of those who fill them are non-political, while leaving to the spoilsmen the highly-paid places of authority, the duties of which are equally non-political. They intended to construct a logical

and rational system; and, therefore, they never contemplated a service composed of experts in the lower places, under control of spoils-men, renewable every four years. If the Curtis regulations had been carried into effect, the open competitive examination system in this country would have been almost contemporaneous with the British system, and our civil service to-day would have been on a much better basis.

Laying aside, for the moment, the strife into which the reformers have been thrust for the defence of the system as it stands, the reform has made its first step only. It is far from being as complete as its enemies imagine. It has not gone nearly so far as its friends intend to carry it, which ought to be even further than Mr. Curtis and his official associates of thirty years ago had hoped for. As Mr. Schurz said in his annual address of 1895, before the National League:

“The problem remains, how to secure, by further conquest, what we have won; for the results the reform movement has achieved will not be entirely safe until its success is complete—until the spoils system is *totally* abolished, and the new order of things has supplanted it in the ordinary ways of thinking and the political habits of the people.”

There can be no doubt that the problem will be solved satisfactorily to the reformers if the struggle is maintained with the persistence, the courage, and the intelligence which have been thus far manifested. One of the great advantages which the reform enjoys is that it is in the hands of patriotic private citizens, who have no selfish ends to serve, who ask no offices from their fellow-citizens, and who are repaid for their efforts by the consciousness of having served their country. Such men naturally enjoy the confidence of the country, and their work is examined and tested respectfully. So long as they continue their efforts they are, therefore, likely to deserve and to gain the “popular approval” for which the politicians, in their turn, entertain and manifest respect and deference. It is merely a question, then, of going on with the work; and the larger and more accurate the view which the public has of the character and the purpose of the reform, the sooner are the antagonistic politicians likely to be awakened to the danger of their present attitude to themselves.

There is some ground for the popular belief that, in their present stages, civil service reform problems are confined to generally uninteresting details. It cannot be expected that the public will care very much for the discussion of the question as to what employes ought to be excepted from the classified service, although it would not be difficult, perhaps, to awaken the American sense of humor



by an enlightened debate on the politicians' proposition, that a party "boss" can discover a better and more trustworthy cashier than can be possibly obtained by an impartial competitive mental examination of candidates properly recommended on the score of character. But if the country understands that this reform movement is not to stop until the whole non-political civil service is thrown open to all who are competent, that no purely administrative office is to remain the property of a party oligarchy, it will be comparatively easy for the civil service reformers to command the public attention and to retain the popular approval.

The reasons for putting the higher places of the civil service in the classified list are even stronger, in some respects, than those which have thrown open the lower places to all who can win them through competitive examinations. At least, it seems to be clear that it is better for the service to have ability and experience at the top instruct ignorance at the bottom than it is to have good material at the bottom under the control and direction of incapacity. This is not a fancied condition of affairs, for, under the present system, it has been found that, because of the lack of a well-administered system of promotions, one of the serious defects of the Federal service is the inability of the old spoilsmen in places of authority to direct advantageously the skilled persons who have obtained admission to the lower places through competitive examinations.

Not only does the failure to make merit alone the condition of appointment to all administrative offices put incompetence above competence, thereby depriving the Government of the full value of the competent, but it must operate to deter intelligent and ambitious youth from desiring to enter the service. The country will never have a perfectly satisfactory civil service until it provides a career for its civil employés, until those who enter the lowest clerkships through successful intellectual competition know that by the same fair method, and by the establishment of a sound reputation, they will enjoy the opportunity to work their way to the very top of the administrative service, beyond the point, as I have already said, where the first Curtis regulations would have stopped.

The ultimate object of the reform can be best illustrated by an examination of the English system and by a comparison of its achievements with our own progress. An instructive comparison, indeed, might also be made with the services of Germany and France; but the reform movements in England and the United States are

more nearly akin. I shall, therefore, content myself with noting what progress these two nations have made, the attainments of the one and the way over which the other must travel to secure a civil service similar to that which, for efficiency and character, is so admirable that it ought to excite our envy and whet our purpose.

Since 1870 admission to the lower grades of the whole civil service of England has been through open competitive examination. Competition has been practically the rule since the first order issued in 1855; but until 1870 the persons examined were nominated by some one in power. In other words, patronage was not wholly abolished, although it was confined to nominations. From the first report of the first commission, made in 1856, we learn that the limitation of patronage extended throughout the service. It does not seem to have occurred to an English statesman that the higher places should be filled in any other way than by promotion from lower grades of the service itself. In the old times promotions furnished additional opportunities for favoritism, it is true; but the habit of mind which was bred of the practice of promotions — a habit so strong and ingrained that even the old patronage mongers never thought any other method of filling the higher places possible — was of enormous benefit to the merit system when it was finally established. When merit was once required for entrance into the service, merit alone, merit of mind and of character, controlled the career of the civil employé. It was the British Foreign Office which first required examinations for promotion as well as for entrance to the lower grades of the diplomatic service, Lord Clarendon having prescribed such an examination for unpaid *attachés* before their appointment as paid *attachés*.

The civil service of the British Empire offers a career to its members. Young men enter the diplomatic or consular corps, for example, as other young men enter the bar, medicine, business, or the military and naval service. They then begin their life work. Not only the clerical service of the foreign office, but the diplomatic and consular services are entered through examinations, although, in this service, competition is not required. In order to begin his career as a diplomat, a young Englishman must pass an examination in writing English and French, as well as in translating French into English, English into French, and either German, Latin, Spanish, or Italian into English. He must possess a general knowledge of geography, of modern history, and especially of the history of the country to which he is about to proceed, if his post has been selected.



On entering upon the consular service the candidate is examined as to his knowledge of foreign languages, especially of French. He must also know something of British mercantile law and of the law governing the relations of masters and seamen. The *attaché* is required to spend six months, and the consul, if practicable, also six months, of probation in the foreign office. Once entered into the service, the young man has his profession, and his future is largely dependent on himself. Neither favor nor party services can advance him, and there is no sure way for the ambitious man to succeed except by gaining the confidence and respect of his chief, who makes promotions. The clerk who begins at an annual salary of \$500 may rise by successive promotions to be a first-class junior clerk, in which grade he may earn \$2,225; to be a senior clerk at \$5,000; chief clerk at \$6,250; and under secretary at \$10,000.

The Inland Revenue Department, which corresponds with our own Internal Revenue Department, is presided over by five commissioners. These commissioners are appointed directly by the political power, that is, by the ministry in office. The board, however, is not of the political power; and the commissioners do not go out of office, as our Commissioner of Internal Revenue does, with the administration. They hold office during good behavior, and have earned their honors in the service. All employés in this great department, including collectors, enter the service by the doorway of examinations, and rise by promotion. The salaries range from about \$350 to \$10,000 a year. The customs service is also under the control of a commission, and what is true of the Inland Revenue Service, in respect to the appointment and tenure of the commission, is true of this also.

These boards have charge of the discipline of all the tax collectors of the kingdom and of the necessary clerks and other subordinates of their departments. They also make the promotions, following the rule of seniority, when possible, but considering merit mainly. Sometimes the employé's deserts are established by a record of his work and character; sometimes they are discovered by examination.<sup>1</sup>

One important fact should always be borne in mind in considering the British service and in comparing it with our own. Those who

<sup>1</sup>The British clerical service differs from our own in the matter of grading, the grades being arranged according to the character of work instead of the amount of pay, and promotion from a lower to a higher grade has not always been certain. Formerly, where it has occurred, it was gained by seniority. But the report of Sir Matthew White Ridley's Commission of 1890 recommended promotion by merit

select the employés who are to be advanced are themselves permanent officials. They are not under the control or influence of politicians. Indeed, it is the tradition throughout the kingdom that the chances of a candidate are injured by an application or a recommendation in his behalf by a member of the House of Commons. Those who make the promotions are interested solely in improving the efficiency of the service for which they are responsible. It is, therefore, safe to give them a discretion which must be denied to those whose official life depends wholly upon the favor of an administration or a party, and who, therefore, find it well-nigh impossible to refuse to yield to political influence and power. The commissioners of customs have also charge of the collectors of the ports of the United Kingdom. All the employés of the custom houses are under the jurisdiction and protection of the merit system. The collectors themselves, instead of being the party leaders of the localities where their custom houses are situated, earn their honorable and responsible places through their own merit. The collectors of some of the large ports, like those of London and Liverpool, are selected from the body of collectors of all the ports. The collectorship of London is, therefore, within the possibility of the attainment of the inspector who

alone. The report said: "We think that routine promotion by seniority is the great evil of the service, and that it is indispensable to proceed through every branch of it strictly on the principle of promotion by merit."

I am indebted to the Federal Civil Service Commission for the following note on the British colonial system:

"The colonial service, with respect to the control of officials, is divided into two general classes, the first, where the Home government controls the appointments and promotions (the general colonial service) and the second, the self-governing colonies, where the Home government has control of no office except that of governor. To this latter class belong Canada, Newfoundland, Natal, Cape Colony, Queensland, New Zealand, Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania, and Western Australia, and the appointments and promotions in the public service of these countries is regulated by statutes which follow in the line of the British orders in council; seniority, modified by considerations of merit or special qualifications, being the general basis of promotions. In the general colonial service, controlled by the Colonial office, open competition is the rule in appointments, the larger number of the employés in responsible positions coming from England, though natives of the colony fill many of the lower grades and occasionally rise to high positions. Seniority and merit, the latter more than the former, rule in promotions, and competent officials rise in course of time, by transfer from one colony to another as well as by promotion in the particular colony to which they are first assigned, to the highest posts. The Colonial office, however, always reserves the right to appoint to high positions from the outside, though these exceptions to the general rule are rare, and are principally confined to occasions when a special knowledge of some profession, as of law, or where peculiar familiarity with the colony, may be required.

"The civil service for India, on account of its size, and the immense population, is the subject of special regulations, but here, as elsewhere,

"'Long service, as a rule, results in promotion and increase of salary, but there is such a thing as an officer being so stupid or so indolent as to be outstripped by one who enters the service later and shows superior brightness and efficiency.'"



meets you at the port of Southampton or who marks your luggage on its way from Calais to Dover.

The post-office of England is managed by a permanent under secretary. In small offices the few clerks required are first recommended by the postmasters and are appointed after an examination. In the large offices they are appointed through an open competitive examination. The postmasters are selected from the whole service. Again, in this service, as in the Treasury and the revenue services, he who enters at the bottom may hope to win the highest prize in his branch of the public service. When Mr. Eaton published his history of the civil service in Great Britain, the postmaster at Liverpool had held his place thirty-eight years, and the postmaster of London had filled the office for forty-five years.

The English administrative system is permanent. Only those officers who are political or those employés whose relations with the heads of the departments are purely personal go out with an administration which has lost or surrendered power. It is estimated that the government loses the services of a few score persons when a cabinet resigns. That this unchanging character of the body of men who carry on the details of British administration has been of enormous advantage to the public service, both at home and abroad, is familiar knowledge to all who are acquainted with contemporaneous governments. The recorded facts of our own incomplete reform are also a sufficient answer to the spoilsman who denies that the civil service has been improved by the enforcement of the Pendleton Act.

In the British service we see the merit system far advanced; in our own we have only the first steps toward thorough reform. In England the reform proceeded directly from the executive; in this country it was initiated by act of Congress. One consequence of this legislative initiative is that those officers who are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate are not included in the merit system. There are probably also a great many more excepted places than there would have been if the executive had regulated the exercise of his own power. Congress, however, has confined the operation of the system to those "inferior offices" which, under the permission of the Constitution, it has directed to be filled by the heads of departments. Even here it is not absolutely controlling; for a number of so-called fiduciary and other places, numbering 12,000, are excepted, although in the classified service. There is not only no good reason for this restriction, but the fundamental and

essential purpose of the reform is defeated by it. The long years of struggle in behalf of the merit system were not endured simply that the government might obtain better copyists or that the tenure of laborers might be made more secure; not to drive the spoilsmen from the lower places alone, but from the entire civil service, to the end that public employment might no longer be confined to the friends and relatives of politicians, but might be open to all American citizens. It has the further objects of bettering the service and relieving the executive and legislative branches of the government of the burden of patronage, a burden which consumes time and energy that ought to be devoted to the larger general interests of the country.

Among the important gains of a real merit system is the establishment of a civil service career, such a career as will tempt the able and ambitious man to choose public employment for his life's work. No young man of intellectual promise, high character, and ambition, unless compelled by hard conditions, will deliberately enter upon an employment whose possibilities of advancement are bounded by an \$1,800 clerkship; nor will a system of public service, of which this is true, modify in any but a slight degree the educational system of the country. The only system which will give to the country the best possible civil service will open the highest as well as the lowest places to merit alone, and will close them all to party influences and to personal favoritism. We have not yet proposed such a system in this country. Indeed, we do not possess as good a system as we seem to have, for the reason that the statutory provision requiring that promotions be made by means of the test of examination is evaded. When a fourth-class clerk can make his own way to the headship of a bureau; when a consular clerk can see, as the crown of his career, the consul-generalship at London; when an *attaché* can win an ambassadorship; when a clerk in the post-office or in the railway mail service may hope some day to contest for the postmaster-ship of a great city; when an appraiser can look forward to a collectorship; then we shall have a complete service, and then, too, young men will find at the schools and universities the means for training themselves for public careers.

In seventeen years the classified service has increased from 13,924 to about 80,000. When Mr. Arthur's term expired, 15,573 employés were in the classified service. Mr. Cleveland added nearly 12,000 to this number during his first term. Chief among his inclusions were the employés of the railway mail service. Mr. Harrison added



more than 15,000 ; and in his administration the laborers in the navy yards were first registered. In Mr. Cleveland's second term the classified list was increased to 86,932. Mr. McKinley has added 57 customs employés, and has excepted about 11,000 persons before included in the classified service. Among those restored to the 100,000 or more places reserved for party spoils are deputy internal revenue collectorships, office deputy marshalships, and pension examining boards, all belonging to the very grades that must be classified if the service is to advance.

Theoretically, the whole clerical force of the departmental customs, and internal revenue services, and the post-offices are within the classified list. In reality, many chief clerks and heads of divisions go out with each expiring administration. Besides the important clerical places in the departments and outside offices, and the regularly excepted places, there are open to the spoilsmen the diplomatic and consular services, the high administrative offices of the customs and internal revenue, all postmasters, including more than 71,000 fourth-class postmasters, and the heads of bureaus at Washington.

The obvious objection to the inclusion of the diplomatic and consular services in the existing system is that such an inclusion would be an interference with the constitutional prerogative of the President to nominate ; and, after confirmation by the Senate, to appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, consuls, etc. In the first place, it may be answered to this objection that the law of Congress and the existing rules and regulations made in pursuance of it do not prevent the President from following the example of the British executive, from voluntarily placing restrictions upon his own power of nomination. On the contrary, President Cleveland and Secretary Olney actually adopted a plan of their own, requiring that certain vacancies in the consular service should be filled by promotion from the service itself, or by transfer of an employé of the State Department to the service, or by original appointment after a satisfactory examination ; and if the executive so desires, he may, by a single order, put an end to all that is left of the spoils system.

Moreover, it is doubtful if Congress has not the power to limit and regulate the President's power of nomination, just as it has been held to have the power to limit the appointing power in the filling of inferior offices, by confining the choice to a specified class ; that is, to the intelligent and the worthy. In respect of one officer who is named by the President and confirmed by the Senate, Congress has

already exercised the right of limitation; for, under section 325 of the Revised Statutes, the President's appointment of the Comptroller of the Currency must be made upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury. If this statute is constitutional, certainly it is within the power of Congress to require that ministers and ambassadors shall be selected from those within the diplomatic service; that consuls generals shall be promoted from the body of consuls; and that entrance to both services shall be by examination. It is also probably within the power of Congress to provide that collectors, postmasters, and bureau chiefs shall be appointed by promotion from their respective services. Indeed, as to these officers, Congress may treat them as inferior, within the meaning of the Constitution, and may thus bring them within the purview of the Pendleton act. There is really no reason why comptrollers and auditors of the Treasury, postmasters, and collectors of ports and of the internal revenue service should be confirmed by the Senate. But whether Congress can act or not, or if it will not act, the President has the power to complete the reform of the civil service, to establish a system similar to that whose enormous advantages, both practical and moral, have been demonstrated by the experience of Great Britain.

It is in the nature of democracy to move slowly, because it moves generally through its many-headed, often discordant, legislative branch. Under popular rule, years are required for the accomplishment of what can be attained in a monarchical government by the stroke of a sovereign's or a premier's pen. But while the way before the civil service reformer is long, and the toil arduous, the end to be reached is obvious. The purpose of the movement is the establishment of a service divorced from party politics and affording a career to those who enter it. Probably many years will elapse before this end will be attained. It may be that the reformers will have a hard and bitter struggle in order to prevent further retrogression. The politicians who are opposed to the reform are more threatening, perhaps more dangerous, than they have been before for a long time. But the popular movement will win in the end; and when the victory is gained we shall have hardly any more changes in our civil service on a change of administration than the English now have through the operation of the order of 1870. Then political heads of departments, the members of the Cabinet, will go out with the retiring President; but some assistant secretaries of the other departments will remain, just as some of the assistant secretaries of the State Depart-



ment now remain. The comptrollers and auditors of the Treasury, commissioners and collectors of customs, commissioners and collectors of internal revenue, assistant postmaster-generals, postmasters, the Comptroller of the Currency, and bank inspectors, will then be men bred and educated in their various technical duties, men who have risen to be the heads of their offices and bureaus by reason of their superior skill and character.

When the end to be gained is considered, and the length of the journey is estimated, the real importance of the order of May 29, 1899, becomes apparent. The question involved is of vastly greater moment than that which the defenders of the order have discussed. It is not, for example, simply the question as to whether the law, in making a collector responsible for his deputy, clothes him with the power of selection and nomination; it is whether the whole movement shall go forward or backward. The denial of the propriety of including any administrative office in the classified list is an expression of hostility to the object of the reform, an object which has become of larger importance now that there rests upon Congress the duty of providing for colonial administrative services. The consequences of this order have been of almost immeasurable evil. It has not only injured the service, but it has encouraged the enemies of the system as they have not been encouraged since the passage of the Pendleton Act. Doubtless, more than any other single cause, the order is responsible for the silence of the party platforms, and for the uplifting of the bruised head of the spoils serpent.

Dissension and conflict, however, must be expected so long as our civil service system stops short of that completion which the British service attained almost at the adoption of the competitive merit system. So long as there are places for spoilsmen, so long will the spoilsmen clamor for more.

As the foregoing statements represent the kind of struggle in which the reformers are engaged, and since "popular approval" is their strongest ally, it is best that they should disclose to the country, and keep before it, their whole important and interesting programme, and their ultimate purpose, "until," as Mr. Schurz has said, "the spoils system is *totally* abolished, and the new order of things has supplanted it in the ordinary ways of thinking and the political habits of the people."

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON.

## MAX MÜLLER AND HIS WORK.

“WHO WAS Max Müller?” if I rightly recall, was the title of a clever skit by a bright young Irishman, whose amusing Celtic wit turned Max Müller’s life and work into a myth by applying to it the same method of imaginative and reconstructive criticism that the renowned philologist himself had so spiritedly employed in his own writings on mythological subjects. The idea of the jest was good; yet, “Who was Max Müller?” is a question that no one nowadays needs to ask, for it is the happy lot of few scholars to be so widely known throughout the intelligent world; and whatever may be the varying judgment of specialists regarding the lasting character of his work, Max Müller stands to the public, and rightly stands, as the best known name in linguistic studies and in Oriental research. A German by birth, an Englishman by adoption, a cosmopolitan in the breadth of his interest and in the scope of his mind, he may safely be said to have done more than any other man of his time toward arousing interest in the subjects with which his name is associated, and toward making the general knowledge about them more widely known.

The announcement of his death, last October, when ripe in years and rich in honors, was an announcement that touched the heart of many a one who had long known his name; and his burial from Westminster Abbey with not only scholars and literary men in attendance, but with representatives of royalty to show respect to his name, was an honor accorded to not every worker in the field. The close of such a life calls up a train of thoughts as to the career of the gifted scholar and as to the contributions which he made to the fund of human knowledge.

The old town of Dessau, on the banks of the Elbe, was his birth-place. Little could the good burghers of this small capital of the Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau have fancied then, seventy-seven years ago, that one of the world’s future famous scholars was born into their midst. A poet’s blood flowed in the child’s veins. The sweet lyrics of his father, Wilhelm Müller, when linked with the melody of Schubert’s



musical spirit, have touched a tender chord in thousands of German hearts. The boy Friedrich Maximilian, for so he was called, inherited a poetic imagination, therefore, as his birthright.

It is this self-same soul and poetic temperament that has given to Müller's writing on even the driest, most prosaic, or recondite subjects the grace and charm which we all have admired. "I am the son of a poet," he says, "and I have tried hard all my life not to be a poet myself;" or, as he goes on to tell, "in my own prosaic work I have had to suffer all my life from suppressed poetry, as one suffers from suppressed gout." We may forgive his painful simile for the light which the statement throws upon much of his work and for the help which it gives us in judging of his personality and of his position.

Brought up, as he was, amid gentle surroundings, and accustomed as a boy to the presence of persons of more or less distinction in the minor ducal life, we can also understand certain traits in his character and conceive the quicker how ready he was to embrace his opportunities for future eminence, which he did with ever growing success. Keenly sensitive to appreciation, fond of recognition, even courting admiration, which came to him in abundance as life went on, we can also see why his older scholarly friends and fellow-workers were sometimes fond of calling him "the great Max," or of referring with good-natured banter to his susceptibility to display and to royal patronage.

*Viel Ehr, viel Feind*; and no more touching apology can be made to it all than the tender one he lets fall incidentally in his chapter on "Recollections of Royalty," when he speaks of this very characteristic of reverence or susceptibility, as due to "the reverence which I imbibed with my mother's milk for my own Duke and my own Duchess of Anhalt-Dessau." Truly we may say that if he imbibed that characteristic from his mother it was well, for his admiration for that mother was evidently unbounded. She was beautiful; and his gratitude to her for all that she meant to his youthful life — since his father died when the lad was but four years old — was extremely keen. He proved a true and faithful son in rendering his mother's memory and his father's name the better known by his own distinction in the world.

Something may be next said about the influences which shaped his early life. The earliest years of his boyhood were filled with music. The home was a musical home, the youth's first recollections were of music, and his first ambition was to become a noted musician. This love of music he never lost; but circumstances led him into other

fields of labor, and busy fields they were. It is easy for us to-day to recognize that he was early marked for distinction; and when his youthful school days in his native town were over, and it was time for him to enter the university, he was drawn to Leipzig. Classical studies naturally first attracted him with the attraction that they have for men of culture and refinement; and, to the end, his writings show that acquaintance with the Greek and Roman masters which marks the thoroughness of German training and German discipline.

But now his eye caught the early rays of Oriental studies which had burst forth with splendid promise among the European scholars of the first half of the century. His heart was fired, and he determined to devote himself to Sanskrit, with which branch of research his name is so closely connected. Brockhaus, the Leipzig professor of Sanskrit, was his first teacher, and in 1843 the youthful scholar, at the age of twenty, was ready for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He had begun at once to contribute to our knowledge of ancient India by translating the Book of Good Counsel, or "*Hitopadeṣa*," one of the Hindu classics. A year later, at Berlin, brings him under the founder of Comparative Philology, Franz Bopp. We can judge of the pride which the master felt in his gifted and attractive young pupil. Here, too, he came under Schelling in philosophy, and he met Humboldt. But, best of all, he was brought into contact with one whose reputation stands secure in German letters — the Orientalist and poet, Friedrich Rückert.

Max Müller himself tells us how little enthusiastic the illustrious poet-professor was about receiving pupils or giving lectures. Full of ardor from his Leipzig studies, the youthful Müller wished to take up Persian at Berlin. "But why study Persian?" was Rückert's rejoinder; for he evidently shrank from giving the course. The answer was presented and the reason was a good one; but still Rückert hesitated, for no just claim could be made upon him to give a course for a single student. A class of three must be first formed. So out into the philological highways and byways of the university went our untiring young "Doctor" until he had drummed up two other recruits for the Persian course. This number completed the requisite muster roll, and the class must be held: no loop-hole for escape remained longer to the reluctant professor. The course began, and, as the work went on, Rückert's shyness and reserve wore off and gave place to devotion to his pupils, which the Germans so well know how to give, and to enthusiastic admiration at the progress of his



students. A rare satisfaction it must have been in later years to the great Rückert to think that one of these drummed-up recruits was Paul de Lagarde, foremost in Semitic studies, and the other Max Müller. *Non quanti sed quales* would have been a motto for such a class.

From this point forward we may trace our young scholar's career to Paris. He now was brought under the influence of Eugène Burnouf, so well known as an early worker in the Avesta, beside the Sanskrit. From Burnouf came the suggestion which had so great an effect upon Max Müller's future researches. The time was ripe for an edition of the "Veda," or earliest hymns of the Aryan race. It was the advice of his preceptor Burnouf that sent Max Müller to England in 1846 to prepare himself for making such an edition. Arriving there he took up with a will the work upon the Vedic manuscripts in London, and especially at Oxford, which then became his adopted home. This much of his biography it is necessary to know, for it is always interesting, as well as instructive, to trace the moulding influences upon a gifted mind, and that mind such a one as Max Müller's.

As it is upon his early contributions to the cause of Vedic studies that Max Müller's reputation in scholarly circles chiefly rests, it is appropriate to pay more attention to this department of his many-sided activity. The layman is glad to know more about the story and the specialist listens to it with interest again. Through the kind offices of the distinguished Sanskritist, Horace Hayman Wilson, the East India Company, in 1847, commissioned the still youthful scholar to undertake an edition of the Vedic texts at their expense. The first volume appeared in 1849, when he was twenty-six years old; the sixth and last volume was published in 1873, when he was fifty. A second edition was issued in 1889-92, this time under the patronage of the Maharajah of Vijayanagara. The publication of the Max Müller edition of the "Rig-Veda," or Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans, not only gave scholars a handsome edition of the text, but it also put into their hands the native Sanskrit commentary of Śāyana, whose later version and exegesis of the ancient hymns is one of the most useful and important tools in the workshop of Vedic investigators. Whatever may be said regarding the length of time consumed in the issue of the edition, or the method pursued in its preparation, or, again, regarding the extent of Müller's real share in it — and there has been much polemical writing on the subject — the "Rig-Veda"

edition remains to-day a lasting monument to his name, and stands as the publication upon which, most of all, he valued his reputation.

It was shortly after the first volume of the edition of the "Veda" was published that Max Müller received the Deputy Professorship of Modern European Languages and Literature at Oxford. The statutes of this foundation called for "three courses of lectures in every year, on the philology or literature of some of the principal languages of Europe." We can see that possibly this may have had something to do with the many-sidedness of his work, and with calling him out into the broader domain of scholarship, so as to appeal to a larger audience. It is equally true that this was sympathetic to the natural tendency of his mind, but he complains that the duties then involved made it necessary for him to lay aside his favorite studies. Yet we may be glad, after all, that this was the case, for it broadened him, like his librarian duties at the Bodleian, and bore fruit in other ways than in Sanskrit philology.

Titles of books and dates of publication, with similar incidents, belong not here, but to the encyclopædia or to the biographer; yet I cannot refrain from mentioning two books which stand marked among Max Müller's contributions to Indian research. They were published a generation apart, and they help us the better to estimate his position in the Oriental department as elsewhere.

One of these was an early book — "A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" — which embodies the results of his preliminary work in preparing for his edition of the "Rig-Veda." Although this work was published so long ago as 1859, it still ranks as a standard of its class, as a monument of early achievement. This must never be forgotten; and we may point to it when Max Müller's later popularizing tendency is spoken of.

The other book which I shall mention is "India: What Can It Teach Us?" This formed a series of lectures which he delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1883. In this publication the popular side outweighs the scientific and technical side; he has relegated the more erudite material to the appendixes. But his theory of a Renaissance of Sanskrit literature, as propounded in the volume, set all scholars a-thinking and a-writing, even if it were only to combat or overthrow his hypothesis of a literary interregnum of several centuries in early India, with a refflorescent period of productive activity at a later time.

Another distinction I may recall while speaking of his Sanskrit



contributions; it came from his Fatherland in the form of a special testimony to his scholarship. When the German Government in 1872 established the new university at Strassburg, after the Franco-Prussian war, Max Müller was invited to accept the chair of Sanskrit. He declined the position; but, as an acknowledgment of the honor conferred upon him, he went to Strassburg that winter and delivered a course of lectures at the young institution. In recognition of the compliment, the German Government at once established a university prize scholarship in Sanskrit, which was to bear his name. News has also come of a movement on foot in England, since his death, to start a research fund for promoting Indian studies, in commemoration of his services to the cause.

On the title-page of his "Auld Lang Syne," Max Müller calls himself "Author of the 'Science of Language,' etc." Whatever we may think of them now, everybody knows that his lectures on the "Science of Language," forty years ago, meant a new era for many scholars in England and elsewhere. We well know the inspiration that came from them; and we can picture the enthusiasm with which his words were hailed as a popular oracle when he spoke at the Royal Institution. "Albemarle street became crowded with fashionable carriages, and people could hardly find places in order to hear all about Aryan roots and our Aryan ancestors and our common Aryan home somewhere in Asia."

Specialists may seek — and it is not uncommon — to detract from the name of one who could render such abstract subjects popular. There are also enough to-day ready to take issue on the view that places the cradle of the Aryan race "somewhere in Asia;" or again, precisionists can claim on good grounds that the term "Aryan" should be confined simply to India and Persia, and not used generally for Indo-European or Indo-Germanic. But let us not forever be picking flaws. "Our own descendants will wonder at our ignorance, at the things we should have known," said Seneca once. If Max Müller was able to bring down his science from the clouds to dwell among men, as Socrates did philosophy, let us be glad of it, as we were when our own renowned Whitney laid aside his technical researches to give us some of the more general results of ripe scholarship and his vast erudition. The office of a popularizer is a sacred calling; and when we have one who proves himself to be a scholar of the highest attainments, let us rejoice in this "combination and form indeed."

To the same line of linguistic research belongs the "Chips From a

German Workshop." This was no dry basket smothered in sawdust. It was a collection of writings filled with life and spirit. We can hear the sharp ring of the steel as the workman plies his tools; and it is interesting to enter this shop. Words to Max Müller were no dead, cold, and unmeaning combinations of letters and syllables. To him there was no such thing as "words only." "Every new word," as he says, "represented a most momentous event in the development of our race. What people call 'mere words' are in truth the monuments of the fiercest intellectual battles, triumphal arches of the greatest victories won by the intellect of man. . . . Every word is the palace of a human thought, and in scientific etymology we possess the charm with which to call these ancient thoughts back to light." It is precisely this imaginative and poetic presentation of a philosophical or a philological problem that kindled the soul of many a young student. It is true that afterwards they may have had to depart from their master; but he had been their first guide. False positions, no doubt, were taken by the general; false movements, of course, were made; but nearly every move meant, all the same, an advance of the standard somewhere along the line. Lessons were taught even by manœuvres that proved failures; and in their fruits it will be the good fortune of many a younger scholar still to share.

From the study of language and comparative philology it was another step to the comparative study of religion. The note had already been sounded in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" with its sub-title, "So far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brahmans." It had rung often enough in the "Chips." But the best distinction came when, as a layman, Max Müller was invited to speak at Westminster Abbey on the religions of the world. This was in 1873. From the outset he had recognized that the study of the early faith of India or of Persia, of Greece or of Rome, did not suffice, but that even the primitive forms of religion among savage tribes must be called in. This, in short, passes over into anthropology; and the Hibbert lectures on the "Origin and Growth of Religion," in 1878, and the series of Gifford lectures on "Natural Religion," "Physical Religion," "Anthropological Religion," and "Theosophy or Psychological Religion," from 1890 to 1892, prove the truth of this attitude. In fact, in all his writings Max Müller never lost sight of the religious bearing of the subject which he treated or of the importance of the studies in which he was interested for the history of the religious thought of the world.



Not only was the study of comparative religion enriched by his hand, but philosophers also owe him a debt because of his accomplishment of the difficult task of translating Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason." Those who are acquainted with Kant's metaphysical thought, best know the problem which was implied in rendering the German into the English. And one further contribution in the philosophical line must be recorded. Almost his last piece of work was "The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy," published in 1898-99. In this solid volume of over six hundred pages he has given the best general presentation that we have, as yet, of the whole system of Indian speculative thought.

To some readers — and the opening lines of this article will recall it — Max Müller is chiefly known by his contributions to comparative mythology. His sun myths and his dawn myths, and his interpretation of Vedic hymns in this manner, have left impressions as vivid and beautiful as the halo that shrouds them is evanescent or fleeting. None of his writings, perhaps, has called forth more spirited criticism and more violent opposition than the writings containing his views about myths and his mythological interpretations. Although the older school of comparative mythology has had to give place to a newer; although many of the comparisons between the pantheon of India and of Greece, which he never could relinquish, have been proved to be far-fetched or false; and although the dawn and the sun are not the burden of every problematic Vedic hymn — still, good has come of all this work. Our own attitude on mythological questions may be quite different or wholly opposed, but we must acknowledge that Max Müller's poetic imagination, with its flashes of genius, lighted up realms that have given a broader vision to our eyes and a wider horizon to our minds, even though deceptive shadows were often cast and false steps were sometimes taken as a result.

One special tribute of unqualified praise must be paid to Max Müller. It is that which is due to the extraordinary gift that he possessed for winning support for learned research and for getting assistance toward the publication of learned works. He had a rare talent for obtaining from persons in high positions and in high authority the aid which he needed for carrying on the cause which he had so much at heart. His noble series of translations, known as "The Sacred Books of the East" — numbering some fifty volumes — is a lasting testimony to the truth of this, and a wholesome lesson to other scholars. To be sure, only three of the numbers — two books

of Upanishads and a selection of Vedic hymns — together with parts of three other volumes, came directly from his hand. But, better than that, he knew how to select other scholars as specialists to contribute the volumes in their particular departments of research; and, above all, he knew how to marshal his forces with admirable effect, so as to add most extensively to our existing knowledge of the Orient in antiquity. It will not be easy to find an editor to succeed him. Through Max Müller's influence, moreover, the King of Siam lent his royal patronage to a similar series of translations and editions, entitled "The Sacred Books of the Buddhists." It was this sort of talent that won him not only decorations by foreign potentates, but also a recognition of his scholarly merits by a membership in the French Academy and a Knighthood of the Prussian Order. Last, and chief of all, his work and his services to scholarship won for him admission to the Privy Council of the Queen of England.

It must not be forgotten, in closing, that English was to Max Müller an acquired tongue. He himself tells of the difficulties which he had with it when he first went to Oxford; but he mastered it as few foreigners have ever mastered it. His two volumes of reminiscences, entitled "Auld Lang Syne," form, in their way, a contribution to English literature. And yet, with it all, there lingers the love of his Fatherland. The sentiment of his "Deutsche Liebe" shows how much of his heart belongs to Germany; and in "Auld Lang Syne," when the thoughts of the aged scholar revert to his early home in the little German town, the sweetness and tenderness of his descriptions grow touching; while the pathetic picture of the poor German girl, heart-broken and betrayed in the city of London, with which he closes his chapter on "Beggars," brings a tear to the eye.

But Max Müller is no more. His name has been a watchword in certain branches of study for years. Few scholars live long enough to enjoy all the honors which come with the slow march of time. But there are disadvantages, too, when a scholar does not die at the very moment which the generation chooses to term the zenith of his fame. Opinions likewise may vary regarding the exact estimate of every distinguished scholar. In our estimate of Max Müller we shall not go far from the truth, I believe, if we accord him greatness, together with the failings which greatness often has to keep the balance true.

Opening, as he early did, the treasures of the East, he knew also how to present them to those who were outside the narrow band of fellow-workers. Full of enthusiasm for his subjects, he was capable



of imparting to others a share of the ardor which he himself so keenly felt. Gifted with a poetic imagination, he had the faculty of throwing the halo of this about the theme upon which he worked, even though the logical insight was sometimes blinded as a consequence, or though the phantom light led him astray into false paths. Endowed with self-confidence, self-reliance, yes, self-complacency and pride at times, he was indomitable in furthering the cause to which he had pledged his heart and had devoted his hand. With a keen sense as to the work that was most important to do, and with a rare faculty for arousing others to work with him or for him in carrying this out, or, again, to inspiring others to lend support to it and to give contributions in most liberal manner, he performed for the cause of Oriental research a service for which a debt of gratitude will always be due his name.

And as his striking presence departs from our midst, new light seems to be ushered in from the Orient which he so dearly loved.

“The morn, in russet mantle clad,  
Walks o’er the dew of yon high eastern hill,”

for in the East he was at home; and as the majestic figure fades from our vision, though not from our memory, the whispered words of the kneeling Hamlet rise to our lips: “A worthy pioneer!”

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

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## A CENTURY OF AMERICAN POETRY.

AN "American Anthology" appearing just at the close of the century, and representing in well-chosen selections the whole development of poetry in America, from the first matin song of Philip Freneau to the many-voiced utterances of the latest generation, affords the reviewer the opportunity of considering the results of our first hundred years of singing, as respecting both the quality of individual writers and the general character and tendency of American poetry.

Before commencing our survey, a word of appreciation is due Mr. Edmund Clarence Stedman, the compiler of this "Anthology," who seems fitted, above all men of this generation, for the task of selecting and organizing the literary materials of our people. Born in 1833, and beginning his own career as a man of letters at the half-century mark, he has been intimately identified with the progress of American literature for full fifty years. As a poet in his prime he belonged to a period of transition, being in the rear guard of that grand army of poets that held in New England for half a century the bulwarks of idealism; and, living on into new conditions, beholding other manners, other men, he has marched with the more strenuous volunteer forces that have gone forth for other issues, though, perhaps, never quite able to comprehend the aims of the foremost. It happens that his own contribution to the "Anthology" occupies almost the central pages of the volume, and this medial position is really indicative of his critical function as writer and reconciler.

As a critic his theory is eclectic; and in practice he has been catholic and generous, never exclusively academic nor uncritically popular. An older man, like Lowell, would have been more perplexed than he by the new motives that have arisen in the consciousness of recent writers. If Lowell failed to understand his own neighbor, Thoreau, untamable and unreduceable though he undoubtedly was, how hardly would western "rough writers" fare at his hands! A younger man, like Garland, fighting for his life against



the intrenched traditions, would be more tempted to make light of Longfellow as one of his company of "crumbling idols" and to ignore transcendentalism altogether. Mr. Stedman holds all in the balance, and is capable of entertaining the shy transcendentalism of Jones Very, the passionate patriotism of Lowell, the free spirit of Garland, the heroic realism of Whitman, the sweet lyricism of women, and the sensuous, fawn-like, graces of Hovey's "Songs of Vagabondia." Another compiler might make a different book, larger or smaller, but I do not think it would be so representative, so fair, or so just a book as this "Anthology."

One is first amazed at the number of those who can "turn the golden rhyme" with such effect as to be deemed worthy a place in a representative collection of American poetry—a few more than five hundred and seventy by actual count. It would be interesting to know how many poetasters were rejected by Mr. Stedman and returned to that "Chamber of Horrors," where, it is said, he kept the minor poets in close confinement—perhaps a hundred songsters more of lesser wing. Five or six or seven hundred, however, count but few among the multitude of our people in a century of time, and if Democracy means anything it must mean the opening of opportunity to every poetic soul. It must be easier for aspiration to come to fruition in America than elsewhere, and probably in the twentieth century twice or thrice as many poets will be credited as found reception in the nineteenth.

Naturally, nearly all of these many singers belong to the minor order of poets. If it required ten religious centuries to produce Dante, as Carlyle averred, it may take as many secular ones to create the genuine bard of Democracy. Yet, America is not wanting in accredited voices, both representative and prophetic. Of the five hundred and seventy-three, two are major poets measured by almost any standard. Edgar Poe and Walt Whitman are conspicuous among American poets for their striking originality and intensive force. They belong to the order of Makers: each created a distinctive style; each contributed something precious that had not been in the world before; each gave evidence of unique experiences and new heights of vision; each has had a world-wide influence, inspiring other poets and becoming the founder of a school—the one of Symbolism the other of Democratism. The record of Poe's influence belongs to the history of European literature, particularly to that of France. In the present volume he is quite without following—none has reached his

psychic altitudes — unless Hovey can be counted as a pupil; but Whitman's leadership is acknowledged by many of the younger writers in verses dedicated to his honor, in their employment of his free rhythms, and in their acceptance of his points of view. For Whitman, as Francis Howard Williams, a brother-poet, has said, "the day of deeper vision has begun." It is not unlikely that the nineteenth century will come to be divided by the future historian of our literature into the Age of Poe and the Age of Whitman.

A group of hill-poets, as Grant Allen might call them — those who dwell upon the uplands of song — make up a considerable company. Bryant, Emerson, Lanier, Riley, and Emily Dickinson have significance hardly less than the major writers: Bryant for his discovery of the poetic value of the American landscape; Emerson for his quaint exposition of transcendental lore; Lanier for his wonderful music; Riley for his dramatization of commonplace lives; Emily Dickinson for her whimsical expression of profound thought. These poets also originated, and originality has value in literature far beyond volume or technical skill. The poets do not travail for the world's delight, but to bring forth thought and feeling after their kind.

A secondary group of the upland poets, less original and not so intensive, in some respects, but still of noble port and influence — poets of the companionable order that connect lovingly with precedents and do not disturb our prejudices too harshly — would include, first of all, the pioneer, Philip Freneau, who, in his love of nature, in his patriotism, in his choice of the Indian and other native themes, was the teacher of the teachers. Dana, Pierpont, and Halleck were worthy predecessors of Bryant. Willis, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, and Parsons lead in New England. New York has furnished Taylor, Stoddard, Stedman, Aldrich, Gilder, Winter, Woodberry, and Hovey. Chief among the Southerners are Simms, Hayne, Timrod, Cawein, Tabb, and Dunbar. From the West hail Piatt, Harte, Sill, Miller, Field, Cheney, Markham, Garland, Burton, and Moody. Foremost of the women are Louise Chandler Moulton, Helen Hunt Jackson, Emma Lazarus, Louise Guiney, Josephine Peabody, Edith Thomas, and Harriet Monroe. After them come the vast minor choir, whose voices are sweet but not strong, and yet who sound at moments some deeper notes.

It is well understood that any classification of American poets is at the present time wholly tentative. New types of genius have arisen who do not as yet fit into the traditional critical scheme. The



criticism in force to-day is largely derivative from New England. Not content with writing the greater volume of our verse, the Eastern men have imposed their critical judgments upon the people at large. Recently there have been signs of a shifting of emphasis. Longfellow is losing importance, and writers like Riley are gaining. In Longfellow's sense of poetry, Riley has not written poetry so much as in a new and more democratic sense he has depicted life. In some way life has got into a book, with its own rhythms and accents; and the book does not read like a book, but is known like a person. The humanization of poetry may count for more in the twentieth century than Longfellow's poetization of humanity. Mere volume will not matter, else were we now burdened with Barlow's "Columbiad" and Dwight's "Conquest of Canaan," whose vast bulks are now hopelessly laid aside. While there might not be much dispute concerning the thirty or forty more important names of the "Anthology," there would be little agreement in the point of their valuation. But I think there can be little doubt that sincerity and truth to life will come to be considered as more significant than conventionalism and mere literary excellence.

It appears that in America it is as great to be a woman-poet as to be a man-poet. This "Anthology" is distinguished among books of the sort by the number of its women; the Marys, Annes, and Harriets appearing more than a third as often as the Johns, the Jameses, and the Williams. Moreover, some of the most original and melodious verse in the collection is contributed by women. There is nothing quite so quaint in the volume as certain bits of Emily Dickinson's. Her note is so individual, her source of inspiration is so interior, that she seems out of place in an "Anthology." The crowd of reputables must surely stifle her. It is not possible for a woman so delicate and shy to sing in a choir. What right have even Timrod and Hayne, chivalric Southerners though they be, to precede her, or has Will Harney, though he has given up the glory of the world for a Florida orange grove, to stand in her shadow? So peculiar is her family strain that an equal originality emerges in the poems of a niece, Martha Gilbert Dickinson. The quality of distinction is recognized also in the glowing prophetic periods of Emma Lazarus, the highly sensitized lyrics of Helen Jackson, the playful fancies of Katherine Lee Bates, and the exquisitely finished verses of Edith Thomas.

The close association of literature and life in America makes pertinent at this point the mention of a problem that is perhaps more socio-

logical than strictly literary. It is seen that the women-poets jostle the men-poets in the perfect equality of the chronological scheme adopted for the volume. But their juxtaposition reveals clearly the inequality of men and women in respect to distinctive names. A century ago the confusion of our present name-system would not have been noticed in an "Anthology;" but at a time when nearly as many women are rising to distinction as men, the necessity of a name that shall identify a woman writer permanently, whatever her matrimonial vicissitudes may be, occasions a serious sociological problem. A man-poet, once his name and writings are associated in the public mind, is known by his surname; but a woman-poet, whatever her eminence, unless she has decided to remain single, is compelled to pass under a pseudonym. A man's name is transferred from the person to his works; it becomes an impersonal symbol referring to a given poetical achievement. But a woman's names are only a record of her father and her husband or husbands, and seldom relate to her writings.

The maiden names of poets, Edith Thomas, Evaleen Stein, Emma Lazarus, Nora Perry, Harriet Monroe, are simple, dignified, and sufficient ones. Confusion begins with marriage. It does not often happen that poets are wedded like the Stoddards and the Piatts, and contribute to a common fame. More often the man is an outsider and does not deserve his literary celebrity. This comedy of names, always near to being a comedy of errors, was well brought out some years ago when the authorship of the ballad "Rock Me to Sleep, Mother," was brought into question. It was finally traced to Elizabeth Ann Chase Akers Allen, whose father's name was Chase, whose husbands were Akers and Allen, and whose pseudonym — if these disguises were not sufficient! — was "Florence Perry."

The adoption of a *nom de plume* for writers, as for actresses, is perhaps the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty. In a man's case a pseudonym is a too effective disguise; but for women this disguise is less objectionable than their other disguises. Ellen Louise Chandler Moulton, Mary Elizabeth Mapes Dodge, Mary Elizabeth Prescott Spofford, and Ellen Mackay Hutchinson Cortissoz are hardly to be endured; but Mary Elizabeth Moore Hewitt Stebbins and Helen Maria Fiske Hunt Jackson should be ruled out of the court of letters. Surely, our forefathers could not have contemplated the possibility of women's literary independence or that one day they should become heads of houses.



In examining thus closely the names of our poets, another curious fact is revealed that I do not remember to have noticed in any other "Anthology"—the number of persons bearing identical names. In part this fact signifies the growing poverty of the western world in respect to names, owing to the dying out of male lines, and in part to a tendency for literary talent to collect in family groups. There are no less than six Brown(e)s, five each of Bates, Johnson, and Stoddard, four of Howells, Thompson, Smith, Robinson, and Cook, three of Aldrich, Brooks, Dickinson, Eastman, Fields, and Hawthorne, while duplicates are numerous, among them, Jones, Hay, Channing, Osgood, and Whitman. The literary families are the Hawthornes, the Howellses, the Thompsons, the Aldriches, the Dickinsons, and the Hays.

The emancipatory movement that brought release to the woman-soul has permitted more recently the utterance of the negro-soul, the child-soul, and the soul of the humorist; for not a few poems are in negro dialect, Wynken, Blynken and Nod have more than one poet-laureate, and a considerable company of humorists—with "News from Swat"—fill the pages with smiles and laughter. The American people, being emigrants from a far ancestral home, have been forced to depend upon the native Indian and the imported negro for such folk-lore as they care to enjoy. The Indian has never been more than an interesting subject, to be dealt with from the outside; but the negro has been fused with the mass, taught to speak English, made member of the various churches, and has become a citizen.

In return, the latter has contributed the only genuine folk element in our literature—an element that is utterly alien to the Northern spirit, and mingles with the forms of church and state in the oddest possible way, but which for this reason conveys the sense of the tragic, the picturesque, and the humorous. Our poets have not been slow to appreciate his poetic value. Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris, Frank Stanton, and Howard Weeden have stood in the place of the negro and expressed something of his ideas and sentiments in his own dialect; while Paul Laurence Dunbar, one of the African race, writes genuinely out of his own nature.

The African provides the one absolutely novel feature to this "Anthology," and his further absorption into the life-blood of the people may result in a special differentiation of the English stock. The child again is a recent literary acquisition. We now perceive that the child-songs of Riley and Field are among our most priceless posses-

sions ; and better things may be expected from this source. The child is particularly the opportunity of women, and I believe Mrs. Julia Finch's idyll of "The Unborn" is quite the first song of its kind to appear in any "Anthology." Humor, too, of the genial sort, the effervescence of an unbounding energy that is neither cynical nor perverted, is something new in the history of literature. The emergence of these new themes and types in the last half century pledges America irrevocably to another century of expansion and inclusion.

A most striking fact is the longevity of our poets. The typical American poet — when one thinks of it and notices the faces that look down from his library walls — is found to be an aged, hoary man. Of the eight poets pictured on the frontispiece, six are gray-beards and incline to baldness, and of the black-haired heads, Lanier lived to be 39, and Poe to be 40. No American poet has had the advantage of John Keats of dying young with still enough accomplished to be compared with Shakespeare on the ground of his promise. Many fair hopes centered in Cora Fabri, Anne Aldrich, and Winifred Howells, the youngest of the sisterhood to lay down their pens ; but their work was too incomplete to give prophesy of their maturity. Joseph Rodman Drake at 25, Stephen Crane at 29, James Berry Bessel at 30, and Francis Brooks at 31 had hardly begun their true poetic career. Probably our literature sustained its greatest loss in the death of Richard Hovey, who was destined to accomplish great works and to win high renown : at 36 he was just prepared for bold adventure. Timrod and Emma Lazarus had fulfilled much of their promise at 38. Edward Rowland Sill and Bayard Taylor, whose premature deaths were much lamented, had yet time at 46 and 53 to accomplish not a little well-rounded and well-proportioned work. Longfellow, Lowell, Whitman, Story, and Halleck ; entered the seventies ; Emerson nearly reached the eightieth mark ; while Freneau, Whittier, Holmes, and Bryant passed beyond it. Dana lived on into the nineties.

There is something stately and splendid in this procession of age, revealing as it does a large, harmonious life in league with sanity and health. The historian notes also the comparatively small number of tragic lives. Some few sensitive natures, like Poe and Richard Realf, suffered pain and travail, largely the fault of their peculiar temperament ; ill health affected the output of some ; the Civil War cut short the lives of several ; accident closed a few careers ; and four suffered violent death at their own hands. But for the great majority the



currents of life ran smoothly, and, save the ordinary incidents of change, they lived in serenity of spirit.

Many are the sources of inspiration revealed in the two thousand poems of this collection. The constant factor affecting poetic production in this country has been the influence of Nature; she has been in very truth our foster-mother. From the vantage point of the end of the century we perceive how true a pioneer Philip Freneau was in venturing upon natural themes. His "Lines to the Wild Honey-suckle" and "The Honey-Bee" represent the first imaginative treatment of a subject that had subsequent differentiation in the lyrical fantasies of Hovey and Carman, the delicate lights and shadows of Cawein, the intense impressionism of Lanier, the free upland spirit of Garland, the mountain sublimity of the Western poets, the moral meditations of Bryant, the pantheistic strains of Emerson, and the deep cosmic sense of Whitman. The landscape features of New England appear in the pages of Lowell and Emerson; Timrod and Hayne bring the characteristics of the South-land; Piatt and Riley reflect the middle West; Bret Harte and Miller represent the Pacific slope. Whitman declared he discovered the law of his poems in the rock-piled cañon of the Colorado. A nation cannot go far wrong that keeps its heart attuned to Nature's harmonies.

Second to the influence of environment has been the effect of national events and heroes. Our most popular poems are the war lyrics and the national hymns, called forth in times of civic stress. It is significant that the two finest commemoration odes in our literature, Lowell's and Whitman's, relate to Lincoln. Robert Gould Shaw is the subject of one of the best of the recent poems, "An Ode in Time of Hesitation," by William Vaughn Moody. The sailing of Columbus, the heroic incidents of warfare, the founding of States, and the employments of peaceful settlement have received their due celebration in song.

More recently a literature of reform has come into being that is based upon a most hopeful view of future growths and prosperities. Not less impressive is the enthusiasm of our poets for righteousness. Such poems as Holmes's "Chambered Nautilus," Story's "Io Victis," and Sill's "The Fool's Prayer" reflect a moral seriousness that must be almost temperamental in the American people. The hymnal contribution of our poets is quite imposing. Closely related to the moral source of inspiration is the home. "Home, Sweet Home" is, indeed, a distinctively American production. Domestic

pieces, like Woodworth's "Old Oaken Bucket," Will Carlton's "Nancy," and Riley's "Orphan Annie," abound in the volume. Love songs and poems of family affection are not wanting.

The literary and cultural sources are both numerous and important. Probably more college men will be found on the rôle of American poets than dignify the lists of any other "Anthology." Titles of poems, like "The Sphinx," "Endymion," "Cleopatra," "On a Bust of Dante," "Don Quixote," "Milton," "Lohengrin," "Westminster Abbey," "With Wordsworth at Rydal," "To Shelley," reveal our memories and backward associations. They remind us that we are a people who travel much abroad, and are constant readers of the best literature. Poems written to other poets, and after viewing paintings and hearing music, evidence high culture. The most lacking are scientific knowledge and the cosmic inspirations.

Naturally, the influence of other literatures is seen in form and style as well as in subject. Whittier shows the influence of Burns, Bryant of Wordsworth, and Aldrich of Tennyson. The English ballad and ode forms are our staple poetic moulds. Exotic forms from France suggest considerable influence of an alien kind. The most conspicuous foreign influence proceeds from the Orient. The Orient is the source of most of the renaissance movements of the present day. We have forgotten our classics, but we have opened the Bhaḡavat Gīṭā. The "Brahma" of Emerson, who was himself a veritable western Brahmin, occurs early in the volume, and prepares the way for Bayard Taylor's "Songs of the Orient," Whitman's "Passage to India," and Torrence's "House of a Hundred Lights," written after reading couplets from Bidpai. The Jewish contribution is also considerable, and Norway, Russia, and Cuba furnish occasional themes.

The sanity and wholesomeness of our poets and their native quality are probably due to the fact that, with few exceptions, they have been active in other directions than the merely literary. Verse-making has been an incident of a strenuous life in more prosaic pursuits. A few men like Madison Cawein have of late years devoted themselves quite assiduously to poetic composition; but I believe Whitman was the only American writer who inscribed "Poet" on his door-plate, and he is the only American who has recorded practically his entire experience in song. This "Anthology" represents, accordingly, the inspiration of moments, the issue of intervals of play, the occupation of holidays. This fact accounts for the lyricism



of the volume, its transcendentalism, its refinements. American poetry shows better in selections than in complete works of authors.

Mr. Stedman, in the introduction, makes a great deal of the representative nature of the "Anthology" as distinguished from poetry that is absolute in its beauty. "Our own poetry excels," he claims, "as a recognizable voice in utterance of the emotions of a people." This is true, but it is not the whole truth; our poetry is not absolute: neither is it anything like an adequate total expression of our people. It is, in short, a very imperfect record of the American life. Just because it is play-poetry it is more natural and spontaneous, less artificial and formal, more native and original than the output of professional poets, who must sometimes hunt for their themes, and coerce themselves to do their daily work.

I suppose no American ever set himself the task that Browning undertook, to write a poem every day for a given period. Browning was a professional poet, and you may get from him an idea of the total energy of an Englishman. But American poetry is occasional. Glenville Mellen is known as "the singer of one song," and "Waiting" is the one emotional experience John Burroughs has given poetic expression to in a busy lifetime. Hawthorne and Webster are credited with two or three poems carelessly preserved. James Fenimore Cooper wrote perhaps three. Bryant must do his day's work in his office, Lowell and Markham and Burton in a teacher's chair, Bret Harte in the mines, Stedman and Carryl at the Stock Exchange, Cheney at the Library. Field must labor at the "News" office, Ellsworth in invention, Crosby at the bar, Mitchell at the Sanitarium, Collyer at the forge, Brooks and Van Dyke in the pulpit. Cooper and Hawthorne exhausted their energy in fiction. Winter has dramatic criticism to write. Emerson had lectures to deliver. Lanier played the flute in the Baltimore orchestra.

Every profession, indeed, is represented except the profession of letters. Glancing over the index I discover from simply my personal knowledge twenty-five and more editors and journalists, twenty teachers, an equal number of clergymen, a dozen lawyers, a half-score each of physicians, artists, soldiers, and politicians. Writers like Rossiter Johnson, Richard Henry Stoddard, Charles Dudley Warner, and Harry Thurston Peck might be classed as "men of letters"; but they have not contributed the best poetry. Joaquin Miller has followed nearly every vocation. John Pierpont occupied himself successively with teaching, business, the law, and the min-

istry. Daniel Lewis Dawson figured as a pugilist, and was an iron-founder at the time of his death. Even Thoreau was bred to be a "nonconformer," and he was kept busy herding the wild-stock about Cambridge. Our national songs were composed by lawyers: "The Star Spangled Banner," by Francis Scott Key; "Hail Columbia," by Joseph Hopkinson; "Dixie," by Albert Pike; "The Blue and the Gray," by Francis Miles Finch — occasional poets who left no important writings except these songs. The real energy of America has been directed to practical ends; it has gone into business, into politics, into education, into journalism. This "Anthology," in fine, is only a small measure of the capacities of the American mind. What we have done, what we have thought, and what we have felt, far transcend what we have said or written. Our poetry is not absolute; in the sense in which I have used the term representative it is not even that. The volume betokens the inadequacy of poetic literature to sustain a large and vigorous modern national life; it denotes the transfer of power from the Sayer to the Doer.

One understands better in reading it what Whitman meant when he took the poets of his time to task for their pettiness, their lack of largeness, fibre, vulgar strength, and rudeness. "American poetry," he said, "is an expression of mere surface melody, within narrow limits, and yet, to give it its due, perfectly satisfying to the demands of the ear, of wondrous charm, of smooth and easy delivery, and the triumph of technical art. Above all things, it is fractional and select. It shrinks with aversion from the sturdy, the universal, and the democratic." He characterized Longfellow as "reminiscent, polished, elegant, with the air of finest conventional library, picture-gallery, or parlor, with ladies and gentlemen in them, and plush and rosewood, and ground-glass lamps, and mahogany and ebony furniture, and a silver inkstand, and scented satin paper to write on."

This exactly describes the effect of practically the whole of this volume. One comes upon an unconventional bit like "Little Wild Baby," which Mr. Stedman informs us was repeatedly refused publication by leading periodicals, with a shock of surprise, so little prepared is the reader for any departure from the proprieties. This is but a single proof of the "fractional and select" nature of American poetry; and then the feeling grows that we have yet to discover what America in its full scope means to a poet.

OSCAR LOVELL TRIGGS.



# The Forum

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## THE REHABILITATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

EVER since the campaign of 1896, but more especially since Mr. Bryan's overwhelming defeat in November last, thoughtful men have been asking themselves what the future holds in store for the Democratic party in this country. A few inquirers had already asked this question in the course of larger speculations as to the future of party government or of representative Democracy as practised in America for over a century; but it is safe to assume that the concrete question with regard to the particular party just defeated is the only form of the problem that has received general consideration.

One needs but to examine the text-books and treatises on government published among us, or to question intelligent acquaintances, in order to discover that most Americans regard government by two large parties to be as lasting as our physical continent itself. Few of them understand the group system in vogue in France and Germany, and fewer still imagine that such a system, through the working of causes already operative, may, in time, be substituted for that two-party system which speedily established itself in our young Republic despite the efforts of Washington. Certain scattered individuals and uninfluential associations look forward to the supplanting of democracy by some sort of socialism; but the political and social millennium they anticipate is but a stumbling block, and seems but foolishness to a vast majority of their fellow-citizens. It is to practical and concrete questions which concern the present and imme-

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diate future that the public most willingly lends an ear; and of such questions there is none more interesting or more important than the one implied in our title.

The rehabilitation of the Democratic party concerns not only members of that organization, but also all Republicans, Prohibitionists, supporters of minor parties in general, and independent voters. It concerns Republicans, because an effective opposition is almost the only safeguard against reckless extravagance, corruption, and partisan measures of the sort that sooner or later wreck a party in power, which is made up, as all such parties are, of professional politicians rather than of patriots. Doubtless, President McKinley and his Republican associates wish they had not won quite such a sweeping victory, just as our triumphant Admirals in the Spanish War would have preferred closer contests, and the consequently better chance of remembrance based on interest. It is always comfortable to have an opposition party that will share responsibility when the public becomes excited, as in the Spanish imbroglio, and something rash like a war must be undertaken; it is comfortable to make supporters believe that the party has carried through its measures because it has overcome by the weight of its arguments and the strenuousness of its patriotism all the counter tactics of wily and stubborn foes; it is comfortable, as has been intimated, to get at a very cheap rate the benefit of the criticism directed by the opposition against proposed legislation; finally, it is comfortable to feel that party discipline is kept intact by the frequent necessity of crushing or outmanœuvring the minority — operations which are in themselves not devoid of enjoyable features.

That Prohibitionists and the members of the minor parties are vitally concerned in the question we are discussing goes without saying. If the Democratic party is not rehabilitated, they will gain votes from those portions of the party that cannot be kept in line by the machine leaders; *i. e.*, as we shall soon see, from the thoughtful Democrats of the North, the West, and, to a less extent, the South. Many of these have for two campaigns voted with the Republicans; but the latter will probably be compelled sooner or later to give them up, as happened shortly after the so-called Era of Good Feeling in the case of the hybrid and overgrown Democratic-Republicans, a name amusingly prophetic of the present situation. It is also within the bounds of probability that an entirely new party may be formed, which will not only include a large number of disaffected



Democrats, but will also supplant one or more of the minor parties, and attract permanently voters who now adhere to no political organization. On the other hand, precisely the same result might follow a successful rehabilitation of the Democratic party along lines appealing to some of the minor parties and the independents.

As for the last named class of voters, it is plain that their efficiency as friends of good government depends almost entirely upon an approximation of power between the two leading parties, that is, upon the speedy rehabilitation of the Democratic party. The only theory upon which the independent can rely in order to justify his political aloofness is the theory that by giving his support, now to the one party, now to the other, he can induce or force both to improve their methods and purposes, or can, at any rate, prevent or minimize specifically flagrant legislative abuses. But, in the nature of things, the independent vote cannot be very large; and if one party is in a hopeless minority while the other is in a plethoric majority, it is plain that he must either resign himself to casting his vote away or ally himself to the dominant party in the somewhat forlorn hope that he may act upon it as a brake. The former course either reduces him to a political cipher or stultifies him; the latter makes him forfeit his name and tends to make him forfeit his character. In 1892 and 1896 the independent saw his way clear to the accomplishment of political good; in 1900, the Democrats remaining spotted with Populism, and the Republicans having taken the benefit of the spoils of foreign conquests, he was much perplexed in the matter of casting his vote intelligently and beneficently; in 1904, unless the minority party has been rehabilitated, he will probably be an almost negligible factor in the political result.

But the most important parties to Democratic rehabilitation are the Democrats themselves. Do they perceive the necessity for it, and, if so, have they any clear ideas how to bring it about?

It may be questioned whether the rank and file of the party realize as yet anything more than the fact that they have been subjected to a crushing defeat, which, however, as they comfort themselves by recalling, was not so overwhelming as the one they inflicted on the Whigs in 1852. This is cold comfort, for many reasons, especially from the fact that in 1856 the Whigs were practically dead as a party. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the South has long been used to political isolation, and that, if it suits the purposes of the Democratic machine, it will be possible, for some

time to come, to hold most of the Southern States in line for the party, whether it is reorganized or not. Much the same thing is true of those portions of the Democratic organization that are found congregated in the great cities of the North and West. They are used to an isolation that is both political and social, and they can be kept in line by their leaders, apparently, for an indefinite period. Such is the curious composition of the Democratic party — aristocratic and sectional at one end, proletarian and municipal at the other — that any vital and intelligent direction of the party's future by the rank and file seems out of the question.

There is, however, another element of the party in which both leaders and voters have to be reckoned with. This consists, primarily, of those intelligent men in the North and West who, after the slavery question was settled, abandoned the Republican party on account of the scandals connected with it during the Grant régime, and of its subsequent tariff, pension, and other legislation inimical, as they thought, to the cause of popular government. These men in the main abandoned their new party in 1896, and many of them failed to return in 1900; nor is it likely that they will ever count themselves Democrats again should the machine leaders decide against rehabilitation.

Neither they nor new voters of their type will submit to what would be practically the tyranny of a section and some scattered municipalities rather than the legitimate control of a political organization. As we have seen, they will either remain with the Republicans for a time or will join some minor party and help to raise it to importance. Or they will endeavor to form a new party, and will leave the machine managers and the South — for the municipalities, after all, are mainly intent upon their domestic affairs — watching what will be not so much the coffin of the old party founded by Jefferson as the cradle of a political infant practically unknown in American history, a sectional group such as Irish voters in their island home form to-day.

It follows from what has just been said that the question of rehabilitating the Democratic party rests with the politicians who have control of the machine and with the intelligent Northern and Western Democrats who broke away in 1896. The latter are still provided with unofficial leaders like ex-President Cleveland, Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Olney, and others whom they would doubtless be willing to follow. Therefore, it remains with these two comparatively small groups



of influential men to endeavor to agree upon a programme of united future action or to part company forever.

There is, of course, another element of the Democratic party, as it stands, that has been purposely eliminated thus far from our discussion. This is the Populist party, which in some States maintains a nominally separate existence from the Democrats, but in others has been practically merged with them. In the South the Populists were mainly of Democratic origin; in the West, of Republican. As we shall see later, they are differentiated from the two main parties, because they are bound together by something that adumbrates, however vaguely, a principle or principles. They form in reality a group of voters approximating to the European groups; and the fact that for some years they have affiliated with the Democrats is due rather to circumstances that are now a matter of history than to their forming an integral portion of the party. The part that the Populists will play in the future will depend, therefore, upon their adherence to their own principles and on the particular line of policy adopted toward them by the Democratic leaders.

What now are these leaders saying and doing? What are the chances that they will agree upon a programme which will lead to a rehabilitation of their party?

As was to be expected, it is the disaffected Democrats who are most taking the public into their confidence, and it is naturally ex-President Cleveland who has attracted most attention by his utterances. Unfortunately, Mr. Cleveland's pronunciamiento in "The Saturday Evening Post" for December 22 was not so couched as to conciliate Mr. Bryan and his dominant wing of the party, while in other particulars it but confirmed the belief of those who, although admiring Mr. Cleveland heartily, regard him as a practical statesman and an impractical politician rather than as a political thinker. The ex-President wrote very vaguely about Democratic principles, and made a pathetic appeal that the rank and file of the party should be given a chance by their leaders to do battle again for those principles.

But, as we have seen, it is very doubtful whether the masses of the party have much political initiative, save in the case of the exceptional Democrats of the North and West already mentioned, and of the still more exceptional and less numerous Democrats of the South. There may be not a little discontented discussion of present conditions going on among the voters; but both in the South and in the cities the machine is able to have its way when elections come around.

White supremacy in the one case and patronage in the other are stinging lashes which the bosses know how to attach to their whips. And, after all, is it not a little late in the day for men like Mr. Cleveland to be repeating solemnly the good old legends about popular government in this country?

It is true enough that if the people become sufficiently aroused to the iniquities of a party, they will turn it out or keep it out of power—that is to say, they still exercise a check upon their government; but that they really control the positive administration of affairs, save in a very general way, can be believed only by a thoroughgoing optimist. Appeals to the rank and file, then, are rather pathetic, as those of the quondam leaders who urge that reforms must come from representative Democrats who have remained regular, that is, more or less in touch with the machine, have plainly perceived.

Mr. Cleveland's remarks about Democratic principles seem almost equally in the air, as Mr. Bryan, with his usual shrewdness, pointed out when he declared that when the ex-President laid down those principles it would be time to discuss them. As a matter of fact, principles in any true sense of the word have been for a long time more characteristic of the minor parties than of the greater ones. The Republican party was founded on principles, and for some time acted on them; but it has been for years trading on them, which is a very different thing. The Democratic party had principles when it opposed Republican policy toward the conquered South, but it more or less abandoned these. It may be said to have had principles when it opposed the tariff and pension legislation of the Republicans; but it speedily showed, when in power, how little these principles really counted, and how much mere questions of patronage and political expediency did count.

When, after abandoning Mr. Cleveland, the party was in search of a new lever with which to lift itself into power, it adopted ideas which, to the Populists, from whom they were borrowed, really seemed principles, and which Mr. Bryan probably sincerely regards in that light, but which, in their concrete embodiment in the demand for free silver, belonged rather to the domain of political expedients—or inexpedients—and were in general so loosely thought out as scarcely to be worthy of discussion.

Indeed, so far as principles are concerned, if we leave to one side the issues raised by the Spanish War and its consequences, few Americans outside the minor parties and the independents really differ from



one another. A Republican is vaguely in favor of an active central government, but he at once disowns any desire for excessive centralization. A Democrat is vaguely in favor of a simple and economic general government; but when he gets into power he is afraid to radically reform pension abuses, he bungles his reduction of the tariff, and he spends the public money quite as lavishly and foolishly as the Republican does. This merely means that both parties are in politics for the spoils, and not in order to give concrete expression to the "glittering generalities" with which they adorn their platforms. To patriots like Mr. Cleveland the old phrases mean something; but they mean little to the professional politicians, or to the multitudes who give a small fraction of their time to God and to the State and the great bulk of it to their private affairs.

Turning now to the actual leaders of the Democratic-Populistic party, we are not surprised to find Mr. Bryan stunned and silent immediately after his second defeat. On December 26, however, he made a short speech at Lincoln, Neb., which was distinctly interesting and important. He indicated his willingness to abandon his quest for office, and, perhaps, his acceptance of the idea that his two defeats have disqualified him for successful leadership—an idea which seems to be gaining ground and should surely do so. Still more important, however, was the following statement:

"The principles for which we contended in the last campaign still live, and we who believe in them must continue to fight them. An election does not change principles; it only determines what principles shall be, for the time being, applied."

This utterance was doubtless sincere; indeed, it is hard to see how Mr. Bryan could have said anything else without stultifying himself. But a new leader, even if he has not infrequently to contradict former statements of his own, will be in no such embarrassing position as Mr. Bryan would be. And, as for the party at large, abandonment of principles twice solemnly rejected by the nation as a whole would, as the New York "Evening Post" acutely remarked, furnish nothing startling in the way of a political precedent. The Democrats under Tilden's guidance accepted as final in 1876 the reconstruction legislation against which they had so vigorously protested eight years before, and with this change of front they really elected Mr. Tilden, even though they could not seat him. We are at liberty, therefore, to believe that while it is likely that Mr. Bryan and his colleagues in control of the Democratic machine will continue for some time to

fold themselves in Catonian robes and to profess their undying devotion to principles which, "crushed to earth, shall rise again," it is also within the bounds of expectation that they will change their principles should it seem plainly expedient to do so. But what, according to Mr. Bryan's latest speech, are those "principles"?

First in order — we can scarcely believe with any design — the Democratic leader placed the cause of tariff reform. Next came bimetallism; next the anti-trust agitation; lastly, and with a little more emphasis, anti-imperialism. He concluded with general remarks about the necessity of striving to carry "the Government back to its old foundations," and to check "the trend toward plutocracy." The last reported words of the speech were "the inalienable rights of man."

It is to be observed that Mr. Bryan was addressing a Democratic club, and that there was nothing specifically Populistic in his speech except what can be read into the term "bimetallism" and into one or two phrases. Apart from the reference to his stand for free silver, not a "principle" was enunciated for which nine out of ten independents and disaffected Democrats might not heartily contend. There was no attack upon the Supreme Court, no loosely-worded, and therefore ineffective, diatribe against the real dangers of government by injunction, no illegitimate arraying of the masses against the classes, no hint of the need of a revolution, but rather an earnest appeal against departure from American traditions. It may, then, be perhaps permissible to conclude that Mr. Bryan arose on the morning of November 7 "a sadder but a wiser man"; and it is at least plain that his pronunciamento is less vague than that of ex-President Cleveland, and thus a better starting point for our discussion, in brief compass, of the lines on which the Democratic party can be best rehabilitated and of the chances of such rehabilitation.

As we have seen, and as some once prominent Democrats have publicly maintained, reform must come from the machine leaders. If they do not wish to change the party's front, they can, in all probability, secure sufficiently docile delegates from the South and the great cities, not perhaps to promulgate platforms identical with those which brought upon the party its recent defeats, but at least to neutralize the efforts of the better elements of the Democracy to break away into new lines of policy. The city boss and the more honest, but less intelligent, Southern demagogue are to the devoted party veritable Old Men of the Sea.



But why should the machine managers throw away the chances of national victory by refusing to learn the lessons taught them at the polls? We may put aside, save in the cases of Mr. Bryan and a few others, the natural desire to be consistent, for the average politician thinks rather of profit. Profit would certainly accrue from the spoils and prestige afforded by a national victory; but, on the other hand, such a victory and its subsequent utilization might bring new leaders to the front who would supplant the old. Still, with political gamesters it would seem that hope of gain would be more potent than fear of loss, and the efforts of hitherto unrewarded political aspirants to force new issues must not be overlooked. We may conclude that although it is possible for the Democratic machine to keep the party what it is at present — a sectional group plus an agglomeration of municipal groups, Populists, and inert hangers-on — it is not likely that it will find it to its interest to do so. At least it is clear that one of the most potent arguments that kept the Kansas City platform partly in line with the Chicago platform — fear of the loss of the Populist vote — can mean little in the light of the returns of the last election. But granting that the machine will be ready to change the party's front at the next convention, the question arises, What changes are necessary? To this there can be but one answer — which is afforded by a comparison of Mr. Bryan's latest speech with the utterances of the leading disaffected Democrats and of prominent independents, both before and after the late election. The tone of Mr. Bryan's speech may be imitated, and all of its points followed, save its stress upon consistency and its mention of bimetallism.

The latter point is all that need be positively given up; but any haggling here will seriously retard, if not forever prevent, the rehabilitation of the party. The reason ought not to be obscure. The American people, owing partly to the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon strain, with its reverence for law and property, and partly to the ease with which property can be acquired in this country, and to the consequent numbers of those who either hold it or hope to hold it, will support no party that advocates anything like sweeping appropriation or spoliation. Free coinage of silver, although honestly advocated by many men, seemed to a majority of the citizens of this country a species of spoliation; and they rejected it in 1896 and, by an increased majority, in 1900. They will have none of it, and only purblind folly can fail to recognize the fact.

This does not, however, mean that the American people are unalterably opposed to movements looking to the abrogation of laws designed to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few ; hence, the Democratic party is not bound to renounce all hope of drawing votes from Populist, Labor, and Socialist sources. It will be only consistent with itself if, unmindful of its former escapades, it again vigorously attacks the tariff as unnecessary and prolific of corruption. It will not lose votes if it wages war upon trusts and combinations ; and, if it will only condescend to discriminate among them, by the aid of expert advice, it will actually gain votes.

Tariff and trust reform, then, may be safely chosen as planks in the next platform ; and, if it seems necessary to emphasize the party's sympathy with the masses, a progressive income tax, beginning far below the \$4,000 level, and thus escaping the odium of being an unjust class measure, may be advocated. For it is well to insist that the alliance between Populism and the Democracy, however disastrous it may have been thus far, was not altogether the fortuitous and fatuous thing it has been supposed to be in many quarters. Over and above the local causes that produced Populism, there was a general necessity that the "unprotected" masses in this country of concentrating wealth should draw together in political organizations ; and there were many reasons why the less wealthy and powerful of the two great parties should espouse their cause. That cause need not be given up, if only it be advocated with discretion and with due regard to the teachings of history.

But there is another cause that offers more hope as a basis for the rehabilitation of the Democratic party. This is the cause of the inhabitants of our new dependencies. Exactly how this cause should be fought out at the polls will depend greatly upon the decisions of the Supreme Court in the important cases now being heard before it. If it be decided that Congress has control over the destinies of the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines, it will be both right and expedient for the Democratic party to agitate upon moral grounds for the immediate and unconditional granting to the Filipinos of terms similar to those granted the Cubans, and for the extension of the Constitution, by amendment or otherwise, to the Porto Ricans. Should the court decide that the Constitution reaches the Philippines, the best intelligence of the party should be directed toward determining the most effective way of agitating for an amendment or for some other legal means, should such exist, by which the territory



could be alienated to its rightful owners and the sublime ideal of human liberty in its fullest sense be preserved among us. The admittedly embarrassing question what should be done with the Philippines, should we let them go, is, as one of expediency, secondary to the moral question, "Will we do by the Filipinos in arms against us what we would have them do by us?"

The question of imperialism was not settled at the polls in November, 1900, both because it was not presented separately to the American people, and because its moral aspects were not, for many reasons, brought fully home to them. The important speech of ex-President Harrison and the favorable comments upon it in Republican circles sufficiently prove the truth of this statement. It would, of course, be far better for humanity and the nation were some honorable escape from our present predicament discovered and acted upon by President McKinley and his advisers; for the whole situation is fraught with danger, and is one which no honest patriot could wish to see used as a basis of partisan agitation, save in case of the direst necessity. But it is not often that a party that creates a situation can extricate the nation from it; and it would at least furnish the ironically inclined historian with a pungent parable should the party of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan free the Filipino from the party of Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. *Absit omen.*

It must be admitted, however, that there are serious obstacles to an effective campaign upon the issue of imperialism. There are many avowed imperialists in the Democratic party—especially in the South. Still, as we have seen, the South can be held in line on any platform, even on one that is partly antagonistic to Southern notions with regard to Anglo-Saxon supremacy over inferior races. And, after all, the Filipino is not the negro, and there is a marked difference between denying full rights to the principal inhabitants of a country and denying such rights to a subordinate caste. The Democrats need not, then, abandon the Philippine plank because of their past and present record in the South.

A more serious obstacle is to be found in the fact that a zealous missionary spirit, which has marked out the Filipino for its prey, is abroad in the land. But this is not the first time that the spirits of justice and liberty have clashed with the missionary spirit in its mad proselyting mood—the inquisitors were very fervid missionaries of a kind—and it will not be the last time. Other obstacles are found in greed of commercial gain, in popular, and especially Anglo-Saxon,

unwillingness to part with territory once acquired, and in overweening patriotism. But these obstacles, while serious, are not invincible; and there is no better way to build up a party than to set it a moral task of stupendous proportions. The Republicans of 1856 confronted such a task, and all the world knows the result. Perhaps, like the Republicans, the Democrats of 1904 will have to take up the rallying cry of "A Higher Law"; but even from this there should be no shrinking, for an appeal to the conscience of the nation may be the only way of arousing the people from the lethargy that tolerates political corruption and fatuity.

We may conclude, finally, that a rehabilitation of the Democratic party may be, and probably will be, undertaken by its accredited leaders along lines that ought to satisfy the disaffected elements, and which, with one exception, need not differ materially from those voluntarily laid down already by Mr. Bryan. All discussion of the currency basis — which is, after all, a matter of expediency, not of principle — must be abandoned, and can easily be, if Mr. Bryan will only convince himself that he saw, in all sincerity be it granted, a principle where none existed, and advocated an expedient which the country rejected. A conservative, but not necessarily hostile, attitude must be taken toward the Populists. Lastly, a moral stand of the most radical character should be assumed with regard to the treatment of the Philippine Islands by the United States. Upon the Philippine question should rest the burden of every Democratic utterance and action until victory is won. With silver out of the way, and with tariff and trust agitation used in a purely ancillary manner, it will be impossible to obscure the issue of imperialism as was done in 1900. Like every other moral question, it will not down. It is for the Democrats to make certain that they rise with it.<sup>1</sup>

AN EX-DEMOCRAT.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bryan's Chicago speech of January 8 was not, so far as reported, so instructive as that at Lincoln. He claimed, as the present writer does, that reorganization must come from within the party, but he based his contention on illiberal and inconclusive reasoning, and showed a lack of magnanimity toward the disaffected Democrats that augurs ill for the future of the party should he be retained as leader. His remarks about plutocracy and Democratic principles were vague, and his assertions as to the fighting trim of the party were little short of amusing. The Democrats seem to need leaders more than they do issues.



## NATIONALIZATION OF THE STATE GUARDS.

NAPIER said of the English that they were warlike but not military. Are we, as a nation, either military or warlike? We have shown ourselves at times belligerent and capable of heroic endeavor. Nevertheless, we are a peaceably disposed people, and only take up the sword when no other alternative is left us.

The reason we find it so hard to decide how large an army we require comes from the fact that a large proportion of our people do not recognize the need of any army at all. They try to persuade themselves that they shall never have another war or another rebellion. They are too patriotic to wish the country to be without any resource in such a contingency; yet, knowing little or nothing of modern military methods, they cling to the belief that a volunteer force, called out when required, is all that is needed to meet any emergency. If this is not a correct diagnosis, then the only other alternative supposition is that they are willing to trust to luck for all time to come.

We hear on all sides that we do not need a large standing army. The question naturally occurs: What is a sufficient force under present conditions? Yet, it seems almost hopeless to discuss the subject in the face of popular indifference. Anyone who has ever tried to get any measure through Congress must have noted the apathy of our representatives to any project which has not a public sentiment back of it. An army reorganization bill will probably pass the present Congress; but if a public sentiment is not crystallized in its favor, the chances are that the measure will be repealed at some future time.

It would, therefore, seem expedient to ascertain what kind of a military system our people want. Popular opinion seems to be so strongly against an army of the strength and organization favored by most military men that I have thought it judicious to suggest a system similar to that adopted by the Swiss, Swedes, and Canadians; that is, a permanent staff, controlling a well organized, instructed, and equipped militia. This is very far from being an ideal method;

yet an unscientific system carried out heartily and in good faith would be better for us than a system better in the abstract, but unpopular, and not in accord with what is figuratively called the genius of our institutions.

The indifference of our people to military literature is surprising. European periodicals publish many articles on military subjects. In our magazines they are conspicuous by their absence. There is no doubt that ours would be filled with military articles if the readers demanded military information. This apathy can only be accounted for by the fact that Mars has acted but a subordinate part in our national drama. Comparatively few read much more of history than is contained in school compendiums. As ours are written from a pietistic, patriotic standpoint, the impression is left that all our wars have been triumphantly successful. Yet even in our Indian wars we have had a number of positive defeats. Our Revolutionary War gave ample proof that an untrained militia was no match for a disciplined army. We remember our successful battles, but are apt to forget the speedy flight of our militia at Long Island and at Camden.

In the War of 1812 we had on land a succession of humiliations. Our untrained and ill-disciplined levies proved utterly unreliable. In the Mexican War we had only a small proportion of volunteers actively engaged. Scott's campaign was made with the old regular army, with ten provisional regiments commanded by regular officers. Patterson's division of volunteers did not reach Mexico until the fighting was over. The War of the Rebellion is instanced as a conclusive proof of the efficiency of volunteer organizations. It is only a proof of their efficiency when pitted against similar organizations; and it should not be forgotten that nearly all our successful generals in that war were regular officers, and that all the supply departments were under the direction of the regular staff of the army.

But our late war with Spain and its continuing supplement in the Philippines afford the best test of the strength and weakness of the volunteer system. Nearly all of the volunteer organizations mustered into the national service were State Guard regiments or batteries. While something less than half of their full complement of men volunteered, these organizations started in with a marked advantage over the volunteers of previous wars. Most of them went into service with a fair proficiency in drill and some training in target practice. Some of them had also learned something of guard and outpost duty in State camps of instruction. Another advantage was



that the men remained under their original officers. From these fortunate conditions it happened that in our late war we had no Bladensburg panics, no Bull Run stampedes, no Hull surrenders, no firing into friends in night attacks, no mutinies or demoralization of any kind.

These were not the only advantages. All of our generals were officers of war experience. I can speak by the card in saying that in our land and naval forces which took Manila there were at least eighty officers who had seen service in the War of the Rebellion. The total number of officers in the regular army who had seen service in that war was 329. At least 280 of them were actually at the front in the Spanish War, many of them with volunteer commissions. It need not be said that the knowledge that they will be led by experienced officers gives confidence and courage to new troops.

So much for the efficiency of our volunteers. Now, let us consider some of the weak points in the system as developed in our late experience.

Its first drawback is tardiness in mobilization. The war against Spain was declared on April 21, 1898. The writer commanded the first expedition which left San Francisco for the Philippines, on May 25. This expedition consisted of five companies of regulars and two full regiments of volunteers. But it did not take a single field gun, horse, mule, wagon, or cart. It was followed within a month by two other expeditions, which brought our effective force up to 11,000 men. Yet the whole force was without transportation, except such as we secured upon the islands. When we attacked Manila, on August 13, nearly four months after the declaration of war, our army consisted of two regular and two volunteer batteries of field artillery, parts of four regiments of regulars, and eight regiments of volunteers.

I am aware that Admiral Dewey reported that he could have taken Manila at any time after the destruction of the Spanish fleet. I yield to no one in the high estimate I place on Dewey's splendid victory; but in this contention for an efficient land force I am constrained to say that neither our fleet nor any other fleet could have taken Manila if it had been courageously defended. The walls of its defenses are of the heaviest masonry, and the waters of the bay are too shallow for heavy war vessels to go within breaching distance. The city could have been destroyed by shell fire, but that need not have compelled a capitulation of the military defenses. General Shafter's expedition landed near Santiago two months after war

was declared. It should be noted that only three volunteer regiments formed part of that expedition. It must be apparent that this kind of mobilization would be too slow for either offensive or defensive war against a first-class power.

While acting as a division commander in Luzon thirteen volunteer organizations reported to me, and it fell to me to land their men and material and to direct their movements in the first campaign. I had, therefore, a good opportunity to form an estimate of their drill, discipline, equipment, and general efficiency. Their close order drill was good; their extended order drill slow and ragged. Their marksmanship at short range was good; at long range it was not. Their discipline was only fairly good, but their general conduct was commendable. The company officers were generally efficient; the field officers, with some notable exceptions, not so much so. This latter class came to a point where professional duties can no longer be learned as object lessons or performed by rule of thumb. For an intelligent performance of their tasks a military education is necessary. Nor is mere theory enough. Many volunteer officers who have studied strategy and grand tactics do not know their Army Regulations. They do not know what their men are entitled to, how to get it for them, or what to do with it when they have received it. Many never learn the paper work of the army or anything about sanitation or the preparation of food. All this can be readily learned, but it takes time to master the details.

It is the duty of the Inspector-General's Department to instruct the inexperienced, to correct mistakes, and to report abuses. Unfortunately, the Secretary of War wrecked that department at the beginning of the war by making a number of its officers Brigadier-Generals, apparently overlooking the fact that individual efficiency is an inadequate substitute for a correct system. This apparent digression has an important bearing on the question of a proposed combination of a permanent staff and a volunteer citizen soldiery.

If the staff is to be weakened in war, by drawing general officers from its bureaus, the administrative departments will be weakened, if not demoralized. Moreover, generals drawn from this service are more theatrical than practical. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that in the War of the Rebellion our staff departments gave us but two successful generals. Yet, without a standing army it is not apparent from what source we could draw our generals, except from the staff.



An ideal system under a Republican form of government would seem to be a standing army large enough for immediate need, linked with a reserve force of citizen soldiery. The artillery and cavalry should be permanent. They cannot be improvised, and no intermittent system of training can make or keep them efficient. The infantry should be localized, and their depot battalion linked, for purposes of drill and instruction, with local organizations.

It is not the purpose of this monograph to formulate a plan of army organization, but to suggest a method more likely to be pleasing to the American people than the establishment of a large standing army. Our people may be unwilling to maintain an army of 100,000 men after peace is restored; but such a force would be insufficient in a contest with even a second-class power. We must in some way keep ourselves prepared for such an event. Undue importance is being given to projects of army reorganization based on European precedents. Systems based on conscription and monarchical necessities may prove ill-suited to a republic. A military system should be an evolution of the war spirit of the people. The American people in the rare periods in which their war spirit has been aroused have shown clearly that they prefer a volunteer soldiery.

Germany has a permanent army, but no regular soldiers — that is, men who enlist intending to make soldiering their life business. The German system does not permit this. All enlisted or conscripted men must make way for others in the first line and go back to the avocations of civil life subject to service in the Landwehr. It is this Landwehr periodical training which we might adopt, substituting voluntary for conscriptive service.

The objections to our militia and volunteer systems as they stand are: State control, inadequate appropriations, the election of officers, insufficient theoretical and practical training, and the lack of a co-ordinating control by the general government. If these objections could be eliminated, it would seem possible, by a judicious combination of our regular and volunteer establishments, to create a military system which would be both popular and effective.

THOMAS M. ANDERSON.

## THE SPELLBINDERS.

A LOCAL authority on spellbinding once gave me the following prescription for the art: "Fill yourself with your subject, knock out the bung, and let nature caper." Even according to this recipe it is necessary to fill yourself with your subject, and no man is of much use in a political campaign who has not made a careful study of the issues. But men do this in different ways. One will prepare a speech and commit it verbatim. Another will read all he can lay his hands on, classify and arrange his thoughts, and trust to the inspiration of the occasion. Still another will prepare two or three speeches, or at least the materials for them, and then select the one which he thinks best adapted to the audience and the circumstances.

The spellbinder, talking as he does day after day, is sure to find out by experience the things that are most effective in his speeches, until he leaves out the poorer parts of them, and adds something to what is most attractive. Thus, before the end of the campaign there is developed, by a natural and experimental evolution, a far better speech than the one with which he began it.

The man who goes out with a single speech is sometimes caught in an awkward predicament. It is depressing to find among your auditors a large delegation from Smithville, where you have delivered that magnificent peroration just two nights before. Even the same line of argument is apt to weary those who have once heard it. The "Compleat Angler" who expects to catch many kinds of fish will not go out with a single kind of bait, and the "Compleat Spellbinder" ought to have an assortment of two or three speeches at the least. Sometimes the daily press will report what you say in full, and it is embarrassing to come before your auditors prepared only to repeat what they have just read in the newspapers. I remember once being nearly caught in that predicament in Chicago, through the error of a reporter to whom an advance copy had been given; for, as I came upon the stage of the Central Music Hall, one evening, I found myself congratulated upon an address which I was supposed



to have delivered that afternoon, and which filled some two or three columns of the evening paper. Luckily, I had other material on hand. The only safe plan for the spellbinder is to have speeches enough to "go round." But if the newspapers print all you say, you are sometimes hard put to it to furnish new matter.

Once, when campaigning in Massachusetts, one of the Boston papers asked me each day to dictate "copy" to a reporter, which the editor afterwards interspersed with presumptive "applause," "laughter," "great enthusiasm," etc., in advance of delivery. This went on very well until Friday, when I found myself pumped dry, and on Saturday I was compelled, for lack of new matter, to condense the previous speeches of the week into one. It seems to me marvellous how men like Mr. Bryan and Mr. Roosevelt, whose speeches are reported by the score and the hundred, can hold out as long as they do. But in fact there is little change in what they say. They avail themselves of new occurrences, local allusions, etc.; but the substance of their addresses is much the same after they have talked for a week or two.

For the purpose of furnishing material for spellbinders each of the parties prepares a "Campaign Text Book." This work is generally done by specialists, a particular subject being given to the man who is supposed to know the most about it. These books are hastily compiled, however, and are not by any means the best sources from which the spellbinder may collect his material. They are often inaccurate and always violently partisan, generally concealing the opposing facts and arguments; so that the man who relies upon them may be easily caught napping by an antagonist who understands the other side of the question which they fail to disclose.

The joint debate is perhaps the best method of political discussion. In this "the campaign lie" has to be eliminated. Such a debate requires more careful preparation than a regular speech; yet even here there is a great deal that depends upon accident and the humor of the audience. I remember once debating with a Greenbacker in a little country town. He had sent me a challenge; and when it came to dividing the time I told him I would make the division and that he might say which of the two sections he would prefer. I proposed that one of us speak half an hour, that the other was then to have an hour to reply; and that finally the man who spoke first was to close the discussion in a speech of fifteen minutes. My opponent preferred to take the hour.

The speeches were made from the porch of a country store. There was a large number of improvised benches where the people sat, and behind these was a circle of carriages. It was quite dark, there being no light except immediately around the speakers; so that the carriages in the rear were scarcely visible. I spoke for my half hour, and then my adversary, an intelligent farmer, made a very good speech, carefully prepared, which needed an answer. I had fifteen minutes only in which to reply. I talked as rapidly as possible, answering his arguments one after another in quick succession. Suddenly, a voice came from one of the carriages, in the rear of the crowd, asking a question. I replied quickly, and went on. Then followed another question, and another, until the object seemed to be to cut short my time. Fortunately, there came to my rescue a farmer boy, who rose in the midst of the audience. He was a freckled, red-headed lad, in shirt sleeves, with one suspender holding up his trousers. He pointed back into the darkness whence the voice proceeded, and solemnly asked: "Who the deuce are you, anyway?" and a voice replied: "I am the Hon. Charles Jenkins, of Ohio." "Well, why in thunder don't you *go back* to Ohio?" A shout went up from the throng, and the interruptions ceased.

Men who interrupt the speaker are not often wise. The man on the platform has a great advantage, for he has the last word and a sympathetic audience; so that even a poor retort uttered with a triumphant air is sure to carry the day. Not long ago, when I happened to mention the name of Mr. Bryan, a big fellow rose in the midst of the audience, flung his arms aloft, and shouted: "He's a good man," and there was applause from some Democratic benches. I said to him, "Suppose you tell me, my friend, one good thing he ever did in public life," and I paused for a reply. Now, I was taking some chances in this challenge. Perhaps the man really knew of something valuable in Mr. Bryan's career, something I had not heard of. In that case he could have turned the tables on me. But he could not think of anything; so after a dead silence there came another burst of applause, and this time it was for me, as my interlocutor slipped to the door amid the jeers of the bystanders.

Encouraged by this success, I asked at my next meeting the entire audience the same question, and the answer came, "He prophesied," which gave an opportunity for salutary elaboration. On another occasion the answer was, "He broke up the Democratic party," which gave room for a profitable distinction between voluntary and



involuntary beneficence. Thus it is that the spellbinder can often score a point if he encourages interruptions, for a running debate is far more effective than a continuous speech.

Once while political feeling was very bitter, I was speaking in the opera house of one of the cities of the Northwest, when a man in one of the front seats arose and commenced asking questions. I answered them apparently to the satisfaction of the audience, who cheered lustily at every retort. But this only spurred him on to renewed efforts, until, finally, a cry, "Put him out!" arose from many parts of the house.

It seemed to me that the colloquy was profitable, and I asked the audience to let him alone. But the chairman of the meeting was seized with great indignation, and, rushing to the footlights, shook his fist at the interlocutor, swore at him, and ordered him to get out. The man at last said he was going, but asked to shake hands with the speaker first. I invited him to come forward and do so, not, however, without apprehension that he would "yank" me over the footlights, and the handshaking on my part was very brief. While it was going on, a policeman stole up behind him, and seized him by the collar, and his departure was more sudden than he had intended.

Campaign oratory, being largely extemporaneous, varies greatly in excellence according to the mood of the speaker and the temper of the audience. In one place there will be an enthusiastic multitude to greet every effective point with ringing salvos of applause; at the next place there will be silence; in a third there will be general inattention and disorder, and perhaps the spellbinder will find his audience beginning to disperse within a few minutes after he commences his speech. A political audience is not to be held together like the congregation of a church or an assemblage which has paid its money for a lecture. A man who attends a campaign meeting will not hesitate to leave when he has heard enough.

I think we campaigners generally attribute an exodus from the hall while we are talking either to the hot night, or to the trains which are just about to leave, or else to a conspiracy set on foot by the opposite party. But sometimes we cannot flatter ourselves with these illusions. I remember making an address in my own State, illustrated — as I thought — by a few apposite quotations. The audience listened attentively for more than two hours. I made substantially the same speech a few days later in a little country town in Maine, but I noticed that my hearers were restless and that a

number of them left the hall. Next morning, while sitting on the porch of the village inn, I overheard two countrymen who met in the dusty square in front :

"Was you to the meetin' last night, neighbor Jenkins?" asked one of the other.

"Yaas," was the answer.

"Did ye hear the speakin'?"

"Yaas."

"How was it?"

"Oh, 'twa'n't no account. 'Twas mostly quotashuns."

"Do tell!"

Evidently the demand in that place was for original thought.

Opinions of a speech will differ widely among those who hear it. After a rather earnest argument at a country town, one of my auditors came up and clasped me by both my hands, crying enthusiastically, "That was a slick one." Just outside the door two others were talking together as I passed. "What did you think of it?" asked one. "I call it a bum speech," said the other. Now, whatever be the precise meaning of "slick" and "bum," no latitude of definition will ever make them synonymous. So I passed on, consoling myself that the last man must have been a wicked Democrat.

There is a great difference in audiences as to applause. Generally they are more demonstrative in the cities than in the country districts, and I think a Chicago audience is, perhaps, more responsive than that of any other city in the North. In some of the rural neighborhoods of New England they call a political speech a "lecture," and seem to think they ought to treat it with the same solemnity as a sermon. At a meeting in the pretty opera house of a quiet Maine town the hall was filled with a gathering of grave and substantial citizens. The committeemen and local party leaders arranged themselves in a semi-circle across the stage, much like the performers in a minstrel show. Every hit made by the speaker was greeted with a methodical clapping of hands from the "thin black line" behind him, but with absolute silence in front; yet the gravity of no one, either on the stage or on the floor, was disturbed in the least by the unilateral character of the applause thus solemnly administered.

Some audiences are much slower "in seeing the point" than others, and, again, there is a great difference between different groups even in the same audience. I have often seen a ripple of applause or laughter break out in one particular spot, whence it



would seem to diffuse itself in circling waves, until it reached the extreme verge of the crowd.

There are two kinds of applause which appear to me very different in character. One is that which gives an appropriate greeting to some apt sentiment or to the conclusion of an argument; and the other is that which follows the mere utterance of a popular name, generally the name of some candidate. The latter kind is not specially complimentary to the speaker. Indeed, noisy demonstration is very rarely a proof of the excellence of the speech. I remember once hearing a fine argument by Senator Sherman, which was received in silence. It was followed by a speech by Jim Hughes, the "Irish orator," who rehearsed his story of the Republican pup that had its eyes open and the Democratic pup that had its eyes closed, with other narratives of like character, which were greeted with rapturous applause. I then and there resolved to eschew all efforts to awaken that sort of enthusiasm. The close attention of an audience ought to be as gratifying as the clapping of hands, the stamping of feet, and shouts from "the boys" interjected at inopportune places.

The point of a story is often the signal for an outburst, and no one can deny the power of apposite illustration. The parables of the Bible and the stories of Lincoln have in them a pith and a point which could not be as well made in any other way. Yet many speakers are tempted, not to make the story the illustration of the speech, but to make the speech a mere potpourri of stories. The man who does this may be amusing, but in the long run he will not be taken seriously; and if he be unfamiliar with his audience he is likely to tread on somebody's toes without intending it.

In the campaign when James D. Williams and Benjamin Harrison were opposing candidates for the governorship of Indiana, we Republicans used to make great fun of "Blue Jeans," as we called him, ridiculing his rustic manners and his homespun ways. We didn't make much by it, for the people of Indiana were mostly farmers; and after he had been elected and had made an honest, respectable, and sensible governor, our campaign jokes looked rather pitiful in retrospect. One night I spoke at a small neighborhood meeting, and repeated to my audience the following story which was going the rounds:

Mr. Williams, who was then a member of Congress, was one day washing his hands at one of the lavatories in the Capitol, when an attendant handed him three towels. He sighed at such wanton ex-

travagance, and exclaimed : " Why, down at my farm I make a single towel last the whole family a week."

This was a pretty poor story, but for all that, I was astonished to see that there was not a smile upon any of the faces before me ; indeed, the countenances took on even a deeper gloom. On my way home, as we drove through the woods, my companion said to me :

" You didn't make a great hit with your story about ' Blue Jean's' family towel."

" No, I didn't seem to."

" Do you know why ?"

" No."

" Well, I'll tell you. There wasn't a farmer in that crowd that hadn't done the same thing himself !"

My eyes were opened. I was a wiser man.

Even the storyteller, however, is far more effective than the solemn and oracular wiseacre who, in slow and sepulchral tones, utters commonplaces as impressively as if they were the emanations of divine wisdom. This style of oratory is only enduring when it comes from a Senator or a member of the Cabinet. Then there is the man who begins with a long introduction and spends half his time before he reaches the first point, working very hard to little purpose, like a leaky bellows. Then there is the man who denounces everybody, and thus solidifies the ranks of the enemy until he is called off from his unprofitable tour by the managing committee.

I used to go stumping with the distinguished Colonel B., who would talk of " scoundrels and murderers," and connect them in some inscrutable way with " the rotten old Democratic party." When I would tell him that that was not the way to win Democratic votes, he would rejoin : " But it *is* the rotten old Democratic party." His maxim evidently was, " Let the truth be spoken though the heavens fall." Once a committee called upon me to protest against the Colonel's violent epithets. I told them they had better call on the Colonel ; that I had already remonstrated ; but that he had rejoined : " It rouses the people !" Denunciation is always dangerous, unless it be during the last days of a campaign when party lines are tightly drawn and the sole purpose of the managers is to keep their men within the ranks.

There is a great difference among spellbinders in dramatic power. Many years ago I had occasion to serve as chairman of a committee which investigated certain serious abuses in the benevolent institutions of my State, notably in the insane hospital. The condition of



affairs was very grave. There was evidence of extensive corruption in the contracts for supplies. Unwholesome food had been furnished to the patients at extravagant prices, and they suffered greatly from the neglect and cruelty of their attendants, who were appointed for political services, under the spoils system then prevailing. We exposed these iniquities in considerable detail, and the issue became an important one in the next campaign. I was speaking in the courthouse of one of our county towns with a young man who has since become a United States Senator. I spoke first and related the abuses we had discovered, making, as it seemed to me, a pretty strong case. I had, perhaps, a better personal knowledge of the facts than any one outside the institutions we investigated.

After I had closed my companion rose. He walked backward and forward along the small open space reserved for the members of the bar and drew a burning picture of the horrors inflicted upon the helpless victims of madness. You could smell the tainted meat and see the maggots reposing in the butter on the tables of the asylum; you could hear the blows of the brutal attendants ringing upon the backs of the patients; you could listen to their screams as the scalding water poured upon them in the bath-tubs, where they had been left by their drunken caretakers. So vivid was the scene that the audience in the court room became hysterical with sympathy and indignation. To tell the truth, I never myself had realized the enormity of the outrages which I had taken so considerable a part in revealing until I heard them described by the eloquent young orator who knew nothing at all about them.

The conduct of a speaker is often the subject of ingenious comment and conjecture. I once overheard two of my auditors discussing the question of my religious belief. "He's a Methodist," said one. "No, he's a Quaker," answered the other. "I tell you he's a Methodist," insisted the first. "Didn't you see the way he walked around?"

The similes and metaphors of the spellbinder who relies upon extemporaneous inspiration are often inappropriate and sometimes sadly mixed. A Hoosier orator in delineating the noble character of General Hancock announced that "his honor was as stainless as the sword that hung by his side at the battle of Gettysburg!" I was speaking once with a gentleman of broad culture and national reputation, who, in describing the energy put into a presidential campaign, said that it was "vast enough to stop and dam Niagara

till that great cataract should become a windmill made of paper!" This declaration was made with such impressive solemnity that no one in the audience perceived any exaggeration or lack of propriety in it; and yet, upon reflection, the transmutation of forces involved in making a paper windmill out of Niagara by public speeches is something which transcends not merely a scientific but even a poetic imagination. My friend was talking from a platform raised sixteen or eighteen feet above the ground, which may account for the loftiness of the conception.

Many speakers talk over the heads of their auditors. Their long words and complex sentences fail to reach the men who hear them. Even physical altitude sometimes has a disastrous effect. I once went out with a companion to a country town. He spoke from the porch of a grocery store at some little elevation from the street. The audience was inattentive and restless. I determined to get nearer to them, so I got down into the street and harangued them with much better success. A few days later we had a meeting in a church. I spoke from the pulpit and found very poor listeners. My companion profited by the lesson of the preceding night and walked up and down the aisle. He made a great hit of it.

Much depends upon the acoustic properties of the hall. In some places, like the Chicago Auditorium, a speaker can be heard in every part of the building with scarcely any labor; in other places, sometimes even in small rooms, a great deal of unnecessary energy has to be wasted in the mere effort to be intelligible. Out-of-door meetings are usually the worst of all. As a rule, a speaker can do better work in a hall which will hold a thousand persons than he can in talking to five thousand in the open air. The confusion in out-of-door meetings is often insurmountable.

I was much surprised during the campaign of last autumn at the excellence of the music furnished at some of the meetings, particularly of the local bands. I think it would astonish our friends from the East, who are prone to believe that the Mississippi valley is quite devoid of all appreciation of true art, to hear the music of some of these country bands. The difficulty with them is that they seem to believe — judging from the length of their performances in the hall, as well as from the concerts they give just outside the door while the spellbinder is vainly endeavoring to make himself heard inside — that *they* are the principal attraction, a thing which may be true, but which we spellbinders resent, believing that we ought ourselves



to be the main feature of a political meeting. But a band is only one of the distractions against which we have to contend. A drum corps is even a more formidable competitor; while railway whistles, toot horns, cannon, and indiscriminate yells for McKinley or Bryan form a still less agreeable diversion. To speak against such opposition requires nerve, composure, and lung power, if not ability.

It seems to be a well accepted fact that noise is the most important part of a campaign, not only more vital than argument, but more convincing even than uniforms, illumination, or fireworks. Witness the exhortation of a disgusted committeeman to a silent torch-bearer: "Yell! or drop yer torch!" Sometimes noise is really all that is expected even from a speaker. When I helped Governor H. open the campaign at Mt. Vernon, the chairman said to me: "Lord, they don't want no argyment! Just whoop her up!"

The campaign speaker never knows what is in store for him. He may arrive at the station and find a brass band, a procession, with a Goddess of Liberty on "a float," and a carriage draped with American flags and ornamented with pictures of the candidates, or he may have to walk through the streets alone and have some trouble in hunting up the committeeman. He may find that his fame has preceded him, or he may discover from the spelling on the posters that the local managers do not know his name.

Perhaps the worst example of indifference on record was that related by General "M.," a distinguished old campaigner of my own State. When he came to the station at the place where he was to speak, he said that at first he could not find even the town. It was growing dark, there was nothing in sight, and no lights were visible. At last he followed a fellow passenger along a footpath across a wide common, and finally he came upon some houses. It was just the hour of the meeting, so he had to go without his supper. He found the hall by following a few straggling villagers, who climbed an outside stairway to a room above the store. Nobody was in charge of the gathering; but, after inquiry, he learned that a person of his name was expected to address the meeting, so he introduced himself and made his speech. Then he trudged alone to the hotel.

The spellbinder must not be too particular about his accommodations. He must go to the hotel where the committee send him, for if a Republican speaker goes to the Democratic tavern, or a Democratic orator puts up at the Republican inn, the party may long be

rent by grievous local dissensions. Oftentimes that spellbinder who can neither see things nor smell things is the happiest.

At many places the campaigner may get into trouble if he does not understand the local arrangements. Several years ago I was campaigning with Colonel X., in Orange county, Indiana, a rough, hilly neighborhood, in which there were then no railroads. We were to speak in the courthouse at Paoli, the county seat. There was a clean little country tavern in the town. You entered a wide hall, at the end of which was a small washroom, with a wooden sink and a tin basin, and just above these was a cask with a spigot, which presumably held the water for washing. The Colonel was always particular about his personal appearance. He had, in former years, held a position of some importance in the foreign service of Uncle Sam; and as he was the older man I always yielded him precedence, a courtesy which he seemed to appreciate. So his turn at that wash basin came first. He took off his coat with considerable deliberation, rolled up his shirt sleeves, turned on the spigot, and filled the basin; but no sooner did I hear the swish of the liquid on his face and hands than he leaped back, stamped furiously upon the floor, and swore as I never heard man swear before. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Darn it! it's coal oil!" was the answer. I maintained a respectful distance from the Colonel during the next few days.

The spellbinder sees more "local color" in his peregrinations than any other kind of a traveller. He must shake hands with everybody, and generally he is introduced to a crank or two — a green-backer, or a "universal peace man" with belligerent tendencies, or more commonly an uncompromising prohibitionist, with whom he is expected to "square things" in behalf of the party; and the arguing that goes on in the midst of a knot of bystanders would furnish entertainment to Bedlam.

The spellbinder has to concede a great deal to local prejudices. I once drove to a village in the northern part of my own county, and just before I reached it I was met by the local manager. "Good God! you're not going to drive into Smalltown with your own carriage and coachman?" I had no denial to interpose, for the evidence against me was at hand. So I feebly asked, "Why not?" He answered, "Why, you couldn't undo the damage in ten speeches! Hitch the horses here in the woods, and if your driver wants to go to the meeting let him come in from the other side of the town!" All of this was done in concession to rural sensibilities.



There is a great deal of wear and tear in a campaign. You are often up all night, you talk till your clothes are wringing wet, and then you drive a dozen miles across the country. You have to put up with all sorts of fare; you run the risk of malaria. There are some who break down under the strain and have to cancel their engagements. And yet, except for our throats, I believe the majority of us come out of a campaign in better condition than we enter it, especially if we have no personal care or anxiety concerning the canvass. Really, there are few better kinds of exercise than public speaking. It expands the lungs, develops the muscles of the arms and legs, and keeps the brain active at the same time! What other kind of athletics can furnish all these desiderata? If you can preserve your good nature, keep your appetite, and make up in the morning the sleep you lose at night, there is no reason why a campaign should not make you stronger and healthier than ever.

The spellbinder, especially if his services are gratuitous, will be received in the committee rooms of his party with exuberant hospitality, testified to by a slap on the back and an invitation to "make yourself perfectly at home," as much so as in his own house. There are perhaps a score of people in two or three small rooms, with half a dozen chairs; and, everybody being hard at work, the invitation, although cordial, does not always assure the spellbinder of comfortable accommodation. But the chairman of the speakers' bureau will tell him of the wonderful effect produced at the meeting at Jonesboro by his eloquent words. He will assure him that since he is one of the most distinguished orators in the nation the party must have his services for the entire campaign. When he has succumbed to these blandishments, and feels that, like Gil Blas, he is the eighth wonder of the world, he is sent to Pinhook, a place which he can find neither in the postal nor the railway guide, to talk to a few score farmers who had never heard of him until they were informed by the same party manager that he is one of the greatest statesmen and most magnificent orators in the country. Titles which he never possessed before are added to his name. I have been announced as Colonel, Judge, member of Congress, member of the Paris Peace Commission, of the Venezuela Commission, of the Civil Service Commission, etc., until these titles, by reason of long usage, now repose gracefully upon my brow.

Perhaps the most remarkable claim to public consideration was that which I found awaiting me when I arrived at an Illinois town

and saw myself advertised in large posters as a statistician of national reputation; and the people were urged to "Turn out and hear the great statistician!" Statistics give me the nightmare; and I should have thought that this kind of advertisement would have been enough to keep everybody from going to the hall. But after supper a large band came up to the door of the hotel, and I was invited to follow it. There were perhaps forty persons in the band, and the procession behind it seemed rather small for such a cortege, since it consisted of three persons only, the eminent statistician in the middle, flanked by the county committeeman on one side and the district committeeman on the other. In solemn state we marched around the public square and entered the hall, which I was surprised to find comfortably filled. The people of that town evidently had no horror of statistics.

Still more surprising, however, was the attitude of the inhabitants of a prosperous manufacturing town in the State of Maine. At this place I spoke with a United States Senator, and I was astonished to notice the intense interest which the audience gave to the figures by means of which he deduced the national and local prosperity resulting from the tariff. There was a convincing power in his \$567,698,473.69, particularly in the cents, which no other form of argument or rhetoric could have supplied. I followed the Senator with some remarks upon other subjects which I thought ought to be interesting, but I observed that my hearers became restless and that some of them left the hall. Seeing how well the Senator had done with his statistics, I tried a few figures myself, and was surprised to notice that so long as they held out the patience of my audience held out too, but that when my figures failed me the endurance of my audience gave way at the same time.

A new convert is very valuable as a campaign speaker, but the excellence of his argument is quite a secondary matter when compared with his value for exhibition purposes as a recruit. He is specially in demand if it can be said of him that his father, his brothers, or, better still, every member of his family belongs, and has for generations belonged, to the opposite party, as showing through what tremendous obstacles of blood and environment he has worked his way up from darkness into light. I have sometimes been surprised to find myself posted as one who had thus forsaken the pathway of error, the attraction on this account being perhaps even greater than the putative judgeship, senatorship, or colonelcy with which my name was also connected. In one district I visited, the



managers had secured a gem of peculiar lustre, a young fellow whose father was then engaged in campaigning for the other side, and who was sent to follow his progenitor around the State and answer him at the same places a night or two afterward, telling to enthusiastic audiences how the old man had beguiled him four years before, but could never do it again.

The blandishments offered by the political manager to the spellbinder must not be too severely censured, for the poor committeeman is between the devil and the deep sea. On the one hand, there is the army of spellbinders each insisting upon the best appointments in the country — men to whom the Chicago Auditorium or the Metropolitan Opera House in New York seems the fittest place for the display of their abilities — and, on the other hand, there is an infinite number of local communities each demanding the best speaker that the country affords. Every village wants to hear Bryan, Roosevelt, Cockran, or Depew. What then is left for the poor manager to do except to exalt Smith and Jones to a national rank, to proclaim that he is something “equally as good” as Beveridge or Dooliver or Hill, and, on the other hand, to exalt each crossroads neighborhood to a place of vital importance in the campaign, almost as essential to party success as Chicago or New York, and to promise vast audiences from the surrounding country. Of course, there is disappointment on both sides. The spellbinder foams at the mouth when he realizes that the man who flattered him is a deceiver, while the people at the crossroads denounce the central committee for sending them a gasbag in place of an orator. But what else can they do? One of the most thankless places in a campaign is a place on the executive committee, especially at the head of the speakers’ bureau.

We spellbinders are by nature a conceited tribe; and sometimes in our intercourse with each other many of us realize that celebrated definition of a bore, “A man who insists upon talking about himself when you want to talk about yourself.” I have found many spellbinders of this kind. They relate their forensic triumphs in terms that defy all competition. Some of them are even mathematical in describing their powers of persuasion. Who, for instance, could hope to excel the magnetic power of the orator who exultantly announced in the rooms of the National Committee that at Brownstown he had had “eleven applauses and three ‘go ons?’”

Conscious as he always is of his own excellence, the spellbinder is sure to meet many trials and disappointments. Perhaps his meet-

ing has not been properly announced, and he finds only a few straggling guests to partake of his teeming banquet of eloquence. That is hard enough ; but even worse is it when there is a large gathering and another man speaks first and talks at great length, leaving the other nothing but the remnants both of the time and the audience. How tedious and dull was the speech of that first fellow who thus deprives an unconscious multitude of something so much more valuable and attractive ! Perhaps the hardest trial to the spellbinder is to find, after he has been sent to a large city in which he supposes he is to be the central and sole attraction, that he is only one of a cargo of eloquence shipped at the same time, to the same place, for the same purpose. But, in spite of these drawbacks, I think most of us still consider that campaigning is good fun ; and however welcome the home circle and a little rest may be after a month or two spent upon a stumping tour, I am sure that nearly all of us will be ready to try it again after four years.

The concluding incident of the spellbinder's duty remains to be written. After the campaign is over and the votes are cast he still must "ratify." If he is at headquarters when the news of victory comes, this is a simple matter — one more speech with louder interruptions and greater enthusiasm than ever, and his work is over. If he belongs to the defeated party the thing is still simpler. He has only to crawl into his hole. But quite different is it with the spellbinder on the victorious side if his confidence has been so great as to stifle his curiosity and he has presumed to go to bed before ascertaining the result. A distant but constantly increasing noise of horns and drums and cheers breaks in upon his slumbers. Next, word is brought that a crowd is seen coming up the drive. With shrieks and yells under his window they demand a speech. Then he goes forth upon the balcony, clad perchance in a huge overcoat, which supplies the lack of more appropriate apparel, and there, still half asleep, he talks incoherently and waves his hands.

But, whatever he says, it is enough. The pounding on the tin pans, the hurrahs, and the waving of the dead rooster from the pole fill every hiatus, until the crowd departs, and he again tumbles into bed, where the fairies touch his silver tongue, and he dreams of post-masterships, collectorships, and other fair forms of increasing prosperity such as are wont to follow the footsteps of successful eloquence. And before any grim awakening shall mar his visions, here let us leave him.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE.



## FOUR LEGS AND TWO LEGS.

THE article by Mr. A. Maurice Low, entitled "Four Legs Instead of Two," which appeared in THE FORUM for November, 1900, while containing some matters of great interest to both lay and military readers, presents nothing new to the latter class. In fact, the sweeping generalization, based upon a consideration of special conditions, is to a certain extent amusing. The conditions cited were taken from the Boer war in South Africa, where most of the operations were conducted on treeless plains, a terrain which is ideal for the use of mounted troops.

The experience of centuries of warfare, with all the improvements which have been made in death-dealing weapons and in methods of transportation and supply, has clearly demonstrated that decisive results are in general best obtained by a proper proportion, coördination, and coöperation of the three arms, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and that these proportions are never fixed and absolute, but must vary according to conditions. In the case cited, the terrain, the character of the foe, and other conditions pointed to the fact that the proportion of mounted troops should have been very much greater than the normal, but they did not indicate that foot soldiers should cease to exist. The object of all offensive military movements in the field is to force the enemy to stand and fight a decisive action, or so to out-manœuvre him as eventually to get him into a position where he will have to fight against odds, or, accepting the alternative, surrender. When he stands, the infantry, with its fire action, comes into play, not always arriving on the field out of breath and unnerved by fatigue, but deliberately taking its position for attack, not by any means always *frontal*.

The most successful wolf-killer the writer has ever known used two dogs, a greyhound and a bulldog. The greyhound possessed mobility, but could not kill a wolf alone. He could circle about the animal and hold him at bay until his slower ally, the bulldog, arrived upon the scene and promptly despatched the foe. The bull-

dog was the infantry of that combination. It might be argued that one dog possessing the speed of the hound, and at the same time the killing power of the bulldog, might have been used to accomplish the result. True, but that kind of dog was not available; and in the matter of troops I am of the opinion that it is hardly possible to make a force of mounted infantry that can do the work as well, as economically, and as decisively as a combined force of foot and mounted troops. The great number of horses required, the vastly increased expense, counting first cost, subsequent remounts, forage, saddlery, shoeing, etc., the extra transportation for forage, field forges, etc. — these are all arguments against the excessive use of this force. The additional stomach incident to mounting the erstwhile foot soldier is a capacious one, requiring each day about eight times the weight and many times the bulk of food supplied his rider. This adds very materially to the amount to be transported in the trains. That an army travels on its stomach is equally true of horse and man, and the odds are in favor of the man for endurance under conditions of shortage for both, as has been demonstrated in some of the plains work of our own army.

It is not true that "works cannot be carried by storm as they used to be." The writer has helped to carry positions by assault within two years, and that, too, when such positions had not been previously shaken by artillery fire. It is liable to be costly in casualties; but, "one cannot have omelets without breaking eggs," and a frontal attack is sometimes necessary. No one would make it where flanking, or a combination of both, is feasible; but this is not always the case. The enemy's flanks are not always "in the air." The example of combined frontal and flank attack cited is just as feasible and more economical with infantry holding the position in front while the flanking is done by the more mobile troops.

Mr. Low apparently loses sight of the fact that there is other work to be done in the theatre of war besides that of flying columns. For instance, in Lord Roberts's advance from Bloemfontein to Pretoria 15,000 men were guarding and holding his line of communication back to the Orange River. This work can be best done by foot troops with only a very small proportion of mounted men and a still smaller proportion of artillery to assist in holding the most important points. The Boer was fighting a losing, defensive fight all along; harassing the advancing foe; delaying his advance, and putting off the inevitable as long as possible. In fact, it was hardly more



than a succession of rear-guard affairs. The mobile troops, cavalry and mounted infantry, would come upon the Boer in position, and would be held in check by him until the infantry and artillery came up. Then the Boer would withdraw and hasten to a new position. The few offensive movements on the part of the Boers were only incidental exceptions to the general defensive plan of action.

That the great range and flat trajectory of modern arms have had a great effect upon the safety of supports and reserves in action is undoubtedly true. But this effect is not to render such formations impossible; it has been rather to increase the distances between them, to the end that too many lines shall not occupy the "beaten zone" simultaneously, and to force the extended formation at a greater distance from the objective than formerly, where the ground is open. The same improved arm is in the hand of the assailant; and by the use of long range "position fire," aided by accurate and rapid artillery fire, the odds are not so greatly in favor of the defense as the advocate of "Four Legs Instead of Two" maintains. Moreover, he does not seem to have taken into account accidents of terrain which afford more or less cover to the assailant.

Military men have not been surprised by the fact that recent wars have demonstrated that "the rifle kills at the distance of a mile," and that "artillery is effective at four miles." Reference to military works treating of the "fire action" of the different arms of the service will show that all conclusions as to tactical formations and rules of action for some years have been predicated upon the long range of modern weapons. In this connection, it is not understood by the writer what direct influence the long range of modern weapons had upon the *extension* of "front" cited by Mr. Low in the case of General Buller, along the Tugela. This was not an absolutely continuous line; it was not even held by detached forces within the supporting distance of modern arms; and, therefore, must have existed for some other reason, tactical or strategical.

The cavalry of the United States Army is an example of mobile troops superior to any other force in the world and far ahead of the proposed mounted infantry. The only claim made for the latter is that it possesses mobility and dismounted fire action. In addition to these, our cavalry possesses "mounted fire action" and "shock action." For a generation this cavalry — properly so called — has done all the work expected of mounted infantry with a weapon scarcely inferior to the infantry rifle; while, in addition, in excep-

tional cases, it has done with sabre and revolver true cavalry service in a very workmanlike manner.

Efforts have been made for years to reduce the load of the infantry soldier to a minimum. In the field he practically solves the problem for himself, and soon strips down to a beautiful fighting machine, with marching and fighting powers far in excess of the pitiful estimate placed upon him by the author of "Four Legs Instead of Two." As to increasing his mobility, this, too, has received grave and careful consideration. Every means is taken to conserve his energy by moving him by train, boat, bicycle, wagon, automobile, locomobile, traction engine, etc. By all these methods to have a horse for each man would be an embarrassment, as in all cases his feed would require transportation, and in some cases he himself would have to be transported or he would be unable "to keep up with the procession." Mounted troops will always have their use, and a careful reading of the best military authorities will convince Mr. Low that the uses he claims should be made of them have already been more than anticipated. While the writer agrees within limits with Mr. Low, he cannot go to the extent of doing away with the foot soldier. He will remain, as he ever has been, the body, of which the mounted troops are the ears and eyes, one of the arms, but not entirely the legs.

In reaching out for *mobility* we must not lose sight of the fact that *stability* is also a very necessary qualification of an army on the offensive as well as on the defensive. To hold fast is as necessary as to grab and to pursue. Each arm has its own work to do, and all work together for a common end; and, as has been before remarked, the particular conditions in each case will determine the proportions of the different kinds of troops and the manner of using them to accomplish the desired results.

It is not the writer's purpose to take up in detail and discuss each point advanced by Mr. Low. All have been exhaustively treated in the past; none is a heresy except the advocacy of the total abolition of the foot soldier. If Mr. Low will rid himself of this idea and devote his energies to the development of lighter transportation for the necessary impedimenta he will be doing good work.

HENRY A. GREENE.



## THE LESSONS OF THE ELECTION—A REJOINDER.

IN reading Mr. Perry S. Heath's article, "Lessons of the Campaign," in *THE FORUM* for December, 1900, I was impressed anew by the reflection that comprehension and appreciation of the nature of a lesson depend much on whether one wields or feels the rod.

Political acerbities and partisan misrepresentations have no place in a discussion of this nature. Mr. Heath's explicit, but unfounded, charge that the Democratic organization endeavored to use both the Roman Catholic Church and the American Protective Association for political ends is only an unwise invitation to carry on, into the coming four years of comparative political peace, the least creditable phase of political manœuvring. One might with equal reason assert that the phenomenal Republican gains in Utah justified the Democratic charge that Mr. Heath's visit to Salt Lake City, in the middle of the campaign, was for the purpose of bartering Republican friendliness toward the Mormon Church for Mormon support of Mr. McKinley. Now that the ballots have been counted, and that both parties have been shown to be less acceptable to the country than they were four years ago, it is reasonable to call a truce. When the winner polls fewer votes relatively and the loser fewer absolutely than four years earlier, there is scant reason for boasting on either side.

The most emphatic lesson to be read in the returns is the great force of party spirit — a spirit which finds its manifestation as much in hatred and distrust of the historic antagonist as in devotion to one's own party. The votes polled by the four or five "third parties" were numerically insignificant. Voters who were wholly out of sympathy with their own party stayed at home, and good judges estimate this stay-at-home vote at 1,250,000. Voters who in years of greater political excitement left their own party for the opposition seem in the main to have returned to their original affiliations. In 1892 there were over a million Populist votes cast, drawn mainly from the Republican party. Most of these, it is evident, have returned to the latter again; for, while many of the most able among the Pop-

ulist leaders gave their support to Mr. Bryan, the long-time Populist States, like Kansas and Nebraska, were carried by the Republicans. The return to the party of the gold Democrats who abandoned it in 1896 is indicated by Mr. Bryan's marked gains in all the Eastern States where that element is strong, as well as by the great number of newspapers which in 1900 gave him their support after having bitterly antagonized him four years earlier. No one who thoughtfully observed the progress of the campaign can doubt that thousands of Republicans, particularly in the East, voted for Mr. McKinley unwillingly, while disapproving of his foreign policy. Equally true it is that thousands of Democrats, chiefly in the South, voted for Mr. Bryan, while opposing his convictions on expansion and the money question. The force of party spirit held these voters in line for the regular nominee of their party. However much they disagreed with him on "paramount issues," their distrust and even hatred of the rival party dominated their political actions. Senator Hoar gave an excellent illustration of this mental attitude in his effort to reconcile earnest anti-imperialism with active support of President McKinley.

Another effective illustration of the strong tendency of voters to stand by their party in 1900 was furnished in Ohio. Two years ago, Mayor S. M. Jones, of Toledo, running as an independent candidate for Governor, without an organization, and professing himself an adherent of no party, polled 110,000 votes. In the late campaign his voice and influence were cast for Mr. Bryan. He campaigned in Ohio as though he were making the canvass for himself. He appealed especially to those who had supported him in his candidacy for Governor; but when the votes were counted Mr. Bryan had precisely the number he had received in 1896 and the effect of the Jones influence was apparently nil.

The most notable lesson of the election, then, is that marked defections from a normal party vote can only be expected in times of great popular excitement, springing from commercial and industrial distress, or, perhaps, from the imminence of war. A moral issue alone does not win American voters from their party allegiance.

It has been urged by some of the commentators upon this election that it will teach the Democrats that they must abandon "radicalism" and return to "the simple, conservative creed of Jefferson, Tilden, and Cleveland." That is about the way these critics phrase their advice, though many of them opposed Tilden and Cleveland when those statesmen were candidates for office, and would have



opposed Jefferson had they lived in his day. Friendly advice from the enemy is one of the regular accompaniments of defeat; so we must at least pretend to believe that Republican directions for future Democratic victory are given in good faith and complete disinterestedness. Yet it is passing strange to find the spokesmen of a party that has always antagonized Jeffersonianism — and thrived mightily thereby — adjuring the Democrats to stick close to his eighteenth century creed. I can see nothing in Republican victory to impel the Democracy to abandon its forward movement and tie itself slavishly to the limited social programme which a strict construction of the Constitution fixes. We hear much of the need for economical government; but in the last sixty years the party which has avowedly made economy in expenditure a very subordinate part of its programme has been almost continually in power. We are told that that government is best which governs least; but the voters repudiate that doctrine and give their support to the party which employs the machinery of government for ends which are theoretically improper, but at least offer plausible promise of advantage to all classes. The days of *laissez faire* are passing, and the Democratic party will only weaken itself if it tries to delay their disappearance.

One of the “lessons” which we are expected to read in the record of the late election is that the Democratic party must abandon its “socialistic tendencies.” I do not wish to discuss here the merits of socialism; but anyone who will contrast Democratic and Republican legislation and platforms must be convinced that the Democratic party is far behind its rival on the socialistic path. The fact of the matter is that the tendency of the public mind to-day is unmistakably socialistic — if we use the word as it is commonly employed to signify the extension of governmental functions to the rendering of public services hitherto performed by private agencies. The day of municipal socialism—as indicated by publicly owned gas and electric lighting plants, water works, baths, libraries, and playgrounds—is already with us. The measure of national socialism, comprehended by government ownership of telegraphs and telephones, the parcels post, and postal savings banks, has been long a matter of serious political discussion.

So far as this national socialism is concerned, the Republican party has given unmistakable signs of friendliness to it. The Democratic party has given none, although it is commonly dubbed the socialistic party, and is beseeched by Republicans to abandon the error of its

ways. It was a Republican postmaster-general who urged the establishment of a postal telegraph. The whole tendency of Republican legislation is toward a socialism which is spurious in fact, but one which at least appeals to the less well informed people of socialistic instincts. It is, of course, not true socialism to build up an industry by governmental aid, trusting to its owners to see that some share of the benefits shall be distributed among its workingmen; but it is unquestionably a step toward the extreme socialistic ideal which would make all industry dependent upon government. It savors of the paternal kindness of the coöperative commonwealth, and has been the chief reason for the prolonged continuance of the Republican party in power.

The Democratic party has always been non-socialistic. In certain districts it is violently anti-socialistic. This is notably the case in the Southern States, if the attitude of the accepted party leaders may be taken as indicative of the sentiment of the voters. That it is so is doubtful. The strength of the Populist party in the South a few years ago and the power of the Prohibition party in certain Southern States to-day suggest that the Southern people are not so wedded to Jeffersonian individualism as their leaders believe. But the Democratic party has never given adequate expression, in its national platforms, to the growing popular conviction that it is a legitimate function of government to protect the people from the extortions of monopoly by taking over and conducting for the public good those enterprises and industries which by the workings of natural law tend irresistibly to become monopolies. One phrase only in the Kansas City platform can, by a very liberal construction, be regarded as looking toward the ideal of the moderate social reformer. "We pledge the Democratic party," said the convention, "to an unceasing warfare, in nation, State, and city, against private monopoly in every form."

However, when the form of this warfare was defined in setting forth the proposed remedy for trusts, it was seen to be distinctly individualistic. Opportunity was there to strike at the force which has been the chief buttress of the trusts by declaring for the principle of government ownership of railroads; but the anti-socialistic temper of the Democratic leaders prevailed. It is difficult, probably impossible, for any individual to estimate accurately the comparative influence exerted by the different planks of a platform; but, judging by the comments which I heard from men of all classes and



localities, the Democratic remedy for trusts, though incomparably more explicit than that of the Republican platform, was the most disappointing feature of our party programme.

Such radicalism as appeared in the Chicago and Kansas City platforms, while marking a forward step on the part of a party long wedded to a stunting conservatism, was in no sense socialistic. Direct legislation, or the right of the people to pass directly upon proposed laws, as in Switzerland, and, indeed, in many of our States and cities; an income tax, or the demand that citizens contribute to the expenses of government according to their respective means; and hostility to monopoly in private hands, and to two of monopoly's most dangerous weapons, government by injunction and the black list — these are the so-called radical planks. None is socialistic in tendency. With one exception none was attacked during the campaign, and it is wholly improbable that a hundred voters were estranged by all, while thousands were attracted by them. Yet these are the issues which the party is now adjured to abandon, that it may return to the ideals of dead and gone political generations.

No, it was not any radicalism in the Democratic platform which led to party disaster. The lesson is not that the party policy was too advanced for the voters. Rather is it to be considered whether a wider measure of radicalism, a heartier recognition of the widespread demand for the public ownership of natural monopolies, shall not next time contribute to certain party victory.

Not since the days of the anti-slavery agitation has a purely moral issue sufficed to turn a party out of power. Mr. Bryan failed with the paramount issue of anti-imperialism as the Republicans failed with the paramount issue of anti-slavery in 1856. Whether the issue of last November shall live to invite another test at the polls four years later, as did the anti-slavery issue, will depend on the course of the McKinley Administration; but, in the form that it assumed last November, it can scarcely persist, because by that time the protesting Filipinos will have been pacified or slain. Again, the question of the currency, which played a certain, though not a prominent, part in the late campaign, is not assured of place four years hence.

One lesson certainly taught by the recent election is that political importance cannot be given to the money question in a campaign unless in a period of great financial and industrial distress. I believe this is true also of the tariff question. Taxes collected by means of a tariff are so subtly exacted that the people do not recognize their

contributions as a tax. If times are good they pay them uncomplainingly. If times are bad the tariff extortions are lumped in with the general indictment of "hard times." So far as the currency question is concerned, if the present enormous production of gold continues there will be no demand for a change in the existing system; while if dissatisfaction should arise there are a multiplicity of signs to indicate that the demand will be for curbing the power of the national banks and restoring to the government its historic power of issuing its notes, rather than for a return to the free coinage of silver.

Now, while it is possible, even probable, that neither imperialism nor silver will be an issue four years from now, it is virtually certain that the question of monopoly will then be even more insistent for settlement than it is to-day. Its evils are felt in every household of moderate means in the land to-day. Its blight is upon every form of industry, except when controlled by its beneficiaries. It touches the farmer, the mechanic, and the professional man. To the onward march of monopoly there is to-day no check in sight; but the imagination can scarcely picture the end, if it shall be permitted to continue for four years more its triumphs of the past decade. The lesson of the late election was not that the people are indifferent to this evil, but that in the political discussion it was overshadowed by other things, and that neither party offered for its cure a remedy sufficiently radical to arouse at once popular confidence and popular enthusiasm.

Certain Democratic nominees for Congress took ground far in advance of their party platform, and frankly advocated the destruction of monopoly by governmental assumption of those enterprises which are now being employed to build up and to buttress monopoly. In every case such candidates ran far ahead of their party ticket. The people are more radical than was either the Chicago or the Kansas City convention; but they want radicalism to have its application to those things which touch their immediate interests.

The year 1904 will be big with opportunity for the party which shall recognize and rightly interpret the lessons not only of the last election, but of political history since social and economic problems growing out of increased population, the concentration of wealth, and the development of monopoly, have taken first place in the minds of the people. The party which will be clear, concrete, and fearless in its proffer of remedies will be the one that will deserve well of the voters. The four years to intervene will see marked progress in



the work of turning over to municipalities the natural monopolies within their bounds. The extension of the same principle to the public functions of State and nation is logical and necessary. Let the nation own its telegraphs and telephones, as England does. Let it own and manage its railroads, as almost every country of continental Europe does, and we shall have done with the secret rebates and the friendly discriminations which have created trusts and still help to maintain them. Let the postoffice carry parcels of reasonable size, despite the opposition of express officials, so as to end the present absurdity which permits the sending of a package by mail from New York to Venezuela and thence to California for less than one can send it to California direct. Let the nation spend its millions in building irrigation plants in the arid West, rather than in killing people in Luzon; and when the desert shall have been made fertile let it be leased to settlers who will live upon it rather than be sold outright to speculators who will hold it idle for a profit. Let us have direct legislation, postal savings banks, and the income tax.

Not all of these things can be done at once; to do any in the face of the selfish opposition of vested interests will be a giant's task. Yet there is not one of these reforms, which here are termed revolutionary, but is in successful operation in some foreign land, whose people we, with American self-sufficiency, are inclined to commiserate as less intelligent and less free than ourselves. In no nation where they have been given effect have they been abandoned by reason of failure; and the political party which shall take the first step toward the fulfilment of this programme in the United States will not be permitted to lay down office and authority until all is completed. That is the lesson of the election.

WILLIS J. ABBOT.

## THE ANTI-SCALPING BILL.

THE so-called Anti-Scalping Bill was passed by the lower house of the last Congress, and it was pending in the Senate when that Congress adjourned. The subject was first formally brought up in the preceding Congress. A bill to prohibit the sale of railroad tickets by any person except the railroad companies was favorably reported to that Congress by the House Committee on Inter-State Commerce, and the Senate Committee agreed to report a bill to the same effect.

This action was the result of months of effort on the part of the railroads. The ablest and most influential men in their employ were present at Washington; magnificent headquarters were opened at one of the leading hotels there; printed matter in great quantities was distributed; and many of the officials of the railroads of the country used all their powers of persuasion on members of Congress in an effort to obtain the desired legislation. The only organized opposition was that of the associations of ticket brokers, whose business the bill would have destroyed. These associations, by their indefatigable efforts, aided by the unfortunate popular prejudice against railroads, which this latest aggression on their part has tended to aggravate, succeeded in staying the strong arm of the Government, which threatened to sweep away their occupation and curtail the liberty of every American citizen. Though both the above-mentioned Congresses adjourned without enacting this legislation, it can hardly be doubted that before long the railroad interests will again besiege Congress in force, and, more determined than before, try to prevail on that body to give them what they have so ardently sought and so earnestly worked for.

That, for the time being, the bill, if enacted, would enormously increase the revenues of railroads, is true. That their officers are so strenuous to have the bill passed; that so much money has been spent to push it; that a most powerful and persuasive lobby has been stationed at Washington—powerful in intelligence, persuasive in standing—is enough of an argument to convince the doubter that



the railroads are after big game. If it should be made a crime to sell a railroad ticket, those owning them would not sell, and the railroads would be practically enabled to get the full three cents — or whatever the legal rate — per mile for almost every journey, and this regardless of any prior contract for a lower rate. No one can object to paying the full legal rate if there be no contract for a lower one; for the rate, if unjust, can be regulated, theoretically, at least, by the States. But the penal feature of the proposed legislation is the danger which seems real; and its imposition is unwarranted. Whether the game above referred to is worth the candle; whether the prize which the railroads are now so earnestly seeking will not prove to be an Apple of Sodom; whether the evils which the railroads now complain of and are seeking to cure by this bill would not be better endured or otherwise remedied — these are questions deserving an inquiry.

That there are evils growing out of the abuse or misuse of the system by which the railroad companies at present collect their revenues is, perhaps, true. There is no doubt that passes are sold and that tickets are forged. But the railroads themselves have it in their power to stop the former evil, and the laws of all the States punish the forgery of railroad tickets as a crime, which, indeed, it is. In addition to this, the laws of most, if not all, the States give to the railroad companies plenary power and full opportunity to protect themselves from frauds and to punish or have punished those guilty of them. If railroad companies do not avail themselves of these powers and opportunities it is their own fault, and they should not be heard to complain. They have many more powers and opportunities of this character than the private citizen or ordinary corporation. Why, then, should they ask the Federal Government to deify them by hedging them about with additional legislation which, for their own exclusive benefit, is calculated to invade the rights of the individual and to stigmatize him with infamy?

Why should Congress make it a crime for me to assign a contract that I have made with a railroad company to carry me a certain distance, when I may freely assign other kinds of contracts? Why should it be a crime for me to assign a contract to carry my person and be perfectly legal and proper for me to assign one for carrying my goods? While it is true that a bill of lading, for instance, represents the goods, and that it is the property therein which passes by the assignment, still the value of the goods is affected by their

location, and the obligation on the carrier to transport them to the agreed point of delivery is an essential and inseparable element of the value assigned.

If it be of any importance to me that goods which I own by virtue of an assignment of a bill of lading be carried by a railroad company to the place designated, may it not be of infinitely more importance that my person be carried, when a contract to carry a person from one place to another has been made, the agreed price paid to the carrier, and the contract assigned to me? There can be no reasonable objection to my substitution in place of my assignor, if the carrier be under the necessity of carrying for me as well as for my assignor, and on like terms. The duty of a carrier to carry for all alike—which no one will deny—makes the terms of the contract of small importance; and the performance of a duty by one already under obligation to perform it will not support a demand for another or further consideration. Within the limits contemplated by the original contracting parties, why should not *my* person be substituted for that of the original purchaser of the ticket? The ticket, which is the evidence of the contract, and upon the surrender of which only will the carrier perform its agreement, is taken up when I undertake to ride; so that the carrier cannot possibly be called upon to perform two services for the price of one. It costs the carrier no more to carry me than to carry John Doe, of whom perhaps I bought the ticket, and who, by the sale thereof to me, intended to assign to me the benefit of a contract he had made and fully executed by paying the agreed price.

But it is said by the railroad companies that a contract to carry John Doe is not a contract to carry me; that the carrier and John Doe both contracted with reference to each other personally; so that the carriage of my person, by virtue of Doe's contract, is not within the limits contemplated by the original contracting parties. This is not true either in theory or in fact. In theory, a railroad is legally bound to carry, on equal conditions, all who apply for carriage. As a matter of fact, the carrier never has in mind the carriage of the particular person who buys the ticket. As a rule, he is unknown to the carrier; and the undertaking to carry him is not based in any degree on a knowledge of the purchaser's weight, character, or disposition. Unless an intending passenger be insane, drunk, or disorderly, or have an infectious disease, the carrier is bound to transport him. It has no right to discriminate between persons, agree-



ing to carry this one, and refusing to carry that one. It must and, indeed, is glad to carry all who apply.

Had *I* applied, the carrier would have undertaken to carry me for the same price and on the same terms as it agreed to carry John Doe. If *he* cannot go, it is unreasonable to say that the carrier has earned the money paid to him and is under no obligation to carry a person on the ticket Doe holds. At present, the carrier is certainly under no obligation to return Doe's money to him. Must Doe, therefore, lose it? Forfeitures are obnoxious to the law as well as to the moral sense. Why should Doe not sell his interest or property or right or whatever it is in that contract to someone else? It certainly possesses value, for he gave the carrier value for it; and it is a value that is just as important, impersonal, and general as the value attaching to a commodity.

But, it is said, the Anti-Scalping Bill requires the carrier to redeem the unused portion of a ticket, so that, in the above instance, Doe could obtain a return of his money. Could he? Suppose he had bought a coupon or mileage ticket, which is usually sold at a lower rate of fare than a card ticket, and had partly used it, and might still use it, but is prevented. Now, the carrier has solemnly agreed to carry a person a certain distance, or so many miles, and, doubtless, would carry him on the ticket instanced, if the owner were not compelled to abandon his journey. Instead of being permitted to sell his remaining interest in the contract of carriage, he is entitled by the Anti-Scalping Bill to ask the carrier to redeem the unused portion of his ticket. The carrier rebates to him—what? The value of his remaining interest in the contract, or the unearned portion of the price for the ticket. Not at all! It confiscates that; it disregards the contract; and, by the terms of the Anti-Scalping Bill, it makes a new and executed contract and new charges, and retains of the money Doe has paid it, and which the carrier has been using, the full legal rate for every mile the latter has carried him.

“But,” it may be said, “there is no injustice in that. Doe would have had to pay that amount had he originally contracted for carriage for the distance he travelled.” I maintain, however, that there is an injustice in it; for if it be obligatory on an intending passenger to pay, in advance, every cent the carrier may lawfully ask for carriage for a certain number of miles—and the carrier always insists on the imperativeness of this obligation—it should be equally obligatory on the carrier to carry a person that number of miles, and

the obligation should be equally inviolable. To relieve the carrier by statute of this obligation is an invasion by Government of the sacredness of contract, which violates the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution.

It may be said that the contract with John Doe gives him a mere chose in action, and that choses in action are not assignable at law. It is true that most choses in action *were* not assignable at law; yet “an assignment of a chose in action has always been held a good consideration for a promise.”<sup>1</sup> Again: “Thus, the benefit of a contract may be sold, and the assignment of a contract forms a valid consideration for a promise to pay the price, which may be recovered in an action at law.”<sup>2</sup> Now, if the thing assigned is of no value, if the benefit of the contract assigned is unobtainable by the assignee merely because he *is* the assignee and not the original contractor, where is the consideration for the promise to pay the price to the assignor? It would be idiocy to say that the mere act of *assigning* was all the promisor wanted done or agreed to pay the price to have done. He certainly was after something more than to have a bare right transferred to him which by the very act of transfer became unenforceable. “Courts of common law recognize the validity of equitable assignments for other purposes than to permit the assignee to sue at law in the name of the assignor.”<sup>3</sup>

While at common law choses in action were not assignable, “equity permits the assignment of a chose in action or the rights which accrue under a contract, *whenever the contract is not for exclusively personal services and does not involve personal credit, trust, or confidence*, and a suit in equity might be maintained in the name of the assignee.”<sup>4</sup> While the assignee takes the thing assigned subject to all the defenses the person bound to perform might have made, yet if the latter has notice of the assignment, and the assignee has given to the assignor a consideration, the courts hold that the assignee may, in his own name and for his own benefit, sue the party liable to perform. And if this be so, the right to sue must certainly be based upon the right to demand performance in the assignee’s own name and for his own benefit.

In most of the States statutes have been enacted changing the

<sup>1</sup> Leake on Contracts, 605.

<sup>2</sup> Price vs. Seaman, 4 Barnwell & Cresswell, 525.

<sup>3</sup> Clark on Contracts, 529.

<sup>4</sup> Clark on Contracts, 529.



common law rule in relation to choses in action. It may be said, generally, that the effect of these statutes is to put an assignment of a chose in action on the same footing at law as in equity.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the *legal* contract for carriage may be assigned, and performance thereof legally demanded by the assignee. The carrier may refuse to perform the contract assigned for the same reasons that it might refuse to perform it before assignment, *but for no other reasons* — certainly not for the reason that it has been assigned and that performance is demanded by the assignee. For the contract is not for exclusively personal services, and does not involve personal credit, trust, or confidence; that is to say, it is not based upon the peculiar individual character or reputation of either party.

The carrier, as has been said before, seldom or never regards the character or reputation of an intending passenger; and if it did it would have no right to discriminate on that account. And the intending passenger ordinarily does not have the option of selecting more than one carrier to take him to his point of destination. If he does, and he selects one of two carriers on account of its superior character or reputation, the selection cannot be said to be mutual, but is made for the passenger's own benefit, and he may waive it or pass it along by the assignment to the assignee.

If, therefore, a contract to carry may be assigned, why should the national legislature make it a crime to do with reference to such a contract what is innocent enough in reference to other contracts? Why should I not be permitted to sell my interest in a contract for carriage of my person just as I might sell my interest in any other contract? If there is any legal reason why the party with whom I contracted should not perform the contract, he is at liberty to set up that reason against my assignee, and to insist upon it in a suit by the latter to compel performance. But he could not invoke the criminal law to prevent me from assigning the contract or to punish me for having done so.

Now, why should a criminal law be enacted to enable a railroad company, and none other, to do this? Why, in addition to all the statutes already existing and intended for the protection of railroad companies against the frauds to which they are peculiarly liable, and in addition to the laws and machinery of the courts calculated to secure to railroad companies the full measure of their rights the same

<sup>1</sup> Clark on Contracts, 538, 539.

as other persons, should the Government inhibit the assignment of contracts made with railroad companies, while allowing full liberty for the assignment of other contracts? Why should railroad companies be enabled to invoke the strong arm of the penal law as a defense against the performance of their contracts, while every other citizen is left to the remedies of the civil law? If a certain act affecting two individuals is innocent, and a similar act where a railroad is concerned is to be made a crime, it were better far to plod along in an ox-cart and be free than to ride in a palace car to the penitentiary.

This article was not written in defense of the business of "ticket scalping." Doubtless there are many dishonest "scalpers"; but the fine scorn and deep denunciation of them by some railroad men unconsciously suggests the old saw concerning the dispute between the pot and the kettle. It is really amusing to see, as I have seen in the newspapers, the general passenger agent of a great railroad corporation denounce the "scalpers" as a set of thieves who defy all the laws of morality and fair dealing and insolently declare their intention to disregard any law inimical to their business that Congress may enact, while, within a few days of this phillipic, the erstwhile president of that corporation, commenting on the effect of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Joint Traffic Association case, declares that the railway companies, though ostensibly submitting to that decision, would really maintain an association for the same purpose as the one just declared illegal, in effect reiterating the sentiment concerning the public said to have been expressed by the great originator of the corporation referred to.

But it has been said that "ticket scalping" has grown to such proportions as to impair the legitimate sale of tickets by the companies themselves; that the "scalper" defrauds the railway by negotiating the sale of tickets which their owners cannot use, thereby supplying intending passengers who otherwise would be compelled to buy new tickets from the railway companies. To stigmatize a business as criminal because its effect is to compel one to perform contracts already made and to earn money already obtained on the promise that it would be earned is a strange argument indeed. If this be the last argument of the railroads, then it might be dismissed with the simple statement that the Government ought not to be called in to settle a mere business dispute, by enacting a special penal law whose purpose and effect shall be to wipe out one of the disputants and safeguard the other, merely because the latter would thereby be



enabled to make more money. And especially ought not the Government to do this when, by doing it, the freedom of every citizen is invaded and curtailed. If what is to be inhibited were *malum in se* it might be different, but it is not.

But let us see if the "scalper" is really engaged in a nefarious business. What does he do? Does he sell tickets for which the railroads have not received their money? No. If he does he must have stolen or forged them; and, like any other criminal, the laws pronounce a penalty against him for that. He simply sells tickets he has bought at a low price from others who have paid the railroads what they asked for them. For the railroads to cry "Thief" at him for this, when, but for it, they would be called upon to carry out contracts they have made and already enjoy the benefit of, smacks of dishonesty to say the least.

But the railroads insist that the "scalper" is an accomplice of the "dishonest" ticket purchaser, who, having gotten a mileage book, for instance, on condition that he will not assign it, goes straightway and does assign it, so that any one desiring to travel a short distance can do so at a lower rate than he otherwise could. This is an ingenious argument, because it appeals to the average American's innate sense of justice. But it is specious — specious because predicated on false premises; for it is based on the right of the railroad companies to discriminate, and carry A at a lower rate than B. Absolute equality is the ultimate rule whereby the legality of a railroad company's treatment of the public should be tested. And if the railroad companies desire to sell a large quantity, as it were, of transportation at a lower rate than a small quantity, they may do so, of course; but they should justify the sale on its true grounds, namely, the wholesale quantity purchased, not on the ground that the purchaser's personality is any part of the consideration.

But is this action of the railroads in seeking to obtain the passage of the Anti-Scalping Bill wise or far-seeing? Doubtless, the immediate effect of the passage of the bill would be to increase receipts by enforcing a forfeiture of contracts. It is, practically, nothing but a scheme to enable the railroad companies to maintain full legal tariff rates under all circumstances. This act, operating on the public instead of the railroad companies, would be far more effective to the same end than a law permitting pooling by railroad companies, which, because it absolutely eliminates competition, has been long desired by them. With this act a law, the pooling ques-

tion, so far as passenger traffic is concerned, will be settled in favor of the railroad companies, and settled far more emphatically than the most ardent supporters of the pooling privilege ever hoped for.

While the act would operate to the immediate financial benefit of railroad companies, enabling them to benefit by "forfeitures," and also enabling them to exact full legal rates, upon pain of fine or imprisonment, yet the fact that railroad companies are thus further privileged, that their privileges so far exceed those of other businesses, and that this Anti-Scalping Bill invades the freedom of every person, will certainly be obnoxious to the American sense of equality and justice. It will arouse the deep resentment of the people; and the railroads will, beyond question, find that they have courted an attack on their interests that will be costly to them and certainly effective. This will be based not alone on a desire for cheaper transportation. That desire might not reach fruition in the face of a proper showing. But it will be also based on a sense of injury — from rights invaded by special legislation to subserve the private ends of a favorite — which will demand reprisal. And the reprisal will certainly come in the shape of a reduction of fares, and, perhaps, of rates also. While this might not immediately follow, it would be sure to come; and, in staving it off, the railroads would find that they had lost more than the gain would be by reason of the success of the Anti-Scalping Bill, "and the last state of that man is worse than the first."

HUGH T. MATHERS.



## THE NEGRO AND EDUCATION.

At a time when the universal craze for expansion is rendering long-established beliefs uncouth and inadequate, it becomes necessary to reëxamine the foundations of our faith in the light of the new gospel. The national opinion concerning the negro is formed and re-formed with such startling rapidity that only the process of instantaneous photography can preserve its shifting phases. We have seen innumerable remedies prescribed for the ills of this race with the cock-sureness of a patent nostrum. The frequency with which the remedy is changed, however, justifies the suspicion that the physician is ignorant of the nature of the malady which he undertakes to treat. There has been a blind and fanatical reliance upon the potency of education as a universal solvent. The Bible, the spelling book, the college curriculum, and the industrial workshop have been prescribed, each in rapid succession, as the panacea of all ills. And yet the progress of the disease is in no wise checked, nor has its malignity been one whit abated.

The race problem should be viewed under a twofold aspect :

1. The development of a backward race.
2. The adjustment of two races of widely divergent ethnic types.

In this case these factors are antagonistic to each other. The more backward and undeveloped the negro, the easier becomes his adjustment to the white race. The good old negro servant, loyal and faithful, is ever acceptable to his white lord and master ; but his more ambitious son, with a Harvard diploma in his knapsack, is a *persona non grata*. The bond of adjustment which slavery established between the races was quickly burst asunder when the negro was made a free man and clothed with full civil and political privileges. The frictional aspect of the race problem grows out of the technical abolition of the negro's inferior status.

Can these two races be adjusted on terms of equality? This is but a fragment of the larger ethnological problem whose solution devolves upon the twentieth century. The harmonization of such

diverse ethnic elements as Russ and Turk, Slav and Saxon, Celt and Teuton, Caucasian and Mongolian, Aryan and African must be relegated to the sphere of statesmanship, philanthropy, and religious sanction. This can be effected, if at all, only through far-sighted public policy. Herein consists the chief mistake that has been made concerning the race problem. We have relied upon education to accomplish results which lie outside of the circle of its aims. The function of education is to develop the latent faculties of the individual; it reacts upon social problems only in so far as the individual is a constituent factor. The social purpose controls and dominates individual activities. The drift of recent tendencies of civilization lends force and effect to the words, "The individual withers, and the world is more and more." If the education of the negro has not worked out the fulfilment which its propounders prophesied, it simply proves them to have been poor prophets, but should not discredit the value of education within its legitimate sphere and scope.

In discussing, then, the effect of education upon the negro, our consideration should be limited to the developmental phase of the question, to which alone it is applicable. In the last few years the higher education of the negro has been so far overshadowed by the clamor for industrial training that we have ceased to discuss it, except in a half-hearted, apologetic way, as if in quest of a gradual and graceful recession from a discredited policy. There are still, however, some few remaining who persist in the belief that the importance of this form of training will become more and more apparent as we gain a clearer insight into the true nature and probable outcome of the African element of our cosmopolitan population. Two facts stand out bold and pronounced, which must be the determining factors in any scheme for the betterment of the negro's status.

1. The negro belongs to an undeveloped race, and is, therefore, many centuries behind his Aryan competitor in the cultivation of those qualities which make for progress. He possesses only such promiscuous experiences as he has picked up during the past two or three hundred years while confined to the backyard of civilization.

2. For all time with which we may wisely concern ourselves, his religious, social, and cultural life will be relegated to a separate sphere. The African and the Anglo-Saxon will come together for purposes of business and philanthropy; but for pleasurable intercourse and social satisfaction each will return to his own company. The social isolation of the negro makes imperative an educational scheme



which provides for a wise and competent self-direction. The negro has now reached a critical stage in his career. A generation of estrangement has almost completely destroyed the point of attachment between the races which existed under the slave *régime*. The relation is daily becoming less intimate and friendly, and more business-like and formal. It thus becomes all the more imperative that the negro should gain for himself the primary principles of knowledge and culture.

The higher education of the negro was undertaken as an experiment, to test his capacity to profit by the higher lines of learning. The theory which slavery sought to uphold was that the negro's skull was too thick to learn; and in order that the facts might fit the theory the attempt was forbidden. It is intellectual obliquity or moral cowardice which causes men to reënact the laws of the Almighty.

When the advocates of the negro's cause found that he possessed ordinary mental faculties, their enthusiasm knew no bounds. As is usual with new discoveries, extravagant claims were put forth for this fresh intellectual "find." Colleges and universities, embracing the higher reaches of European learning, were established for a race which, up to that time, had not learned the use of letters. The educated negro was paraded as a spectacular curiosity which it was worth a Sabbath day's journey to see. It was confidently expected that the haughty Saxon would lay aside his arrogance, and hail the African as his full brother, because he could conjugate a Greek verb or scan a Latin ode.

On the other hand, the negro looked upon education as possessing talismanic power. He believed that the ability to read and write, and especially the possession of a college diploma, would remove every weight which beset him. His blind, fanatical enthusiasm for knowledge was both laudable and pathetic. Was it not a kindly blindness that he could not foresee that education creates as many problems as it solves, and that the tree of knowledge is also the tree of good and of evil? Thus does the buoyancy of enthusiasm overshoot the mark of sober calculation; and yet, without such enthusiasm, there would be wanting sufficient incentive to achieve calculated results.

Experiments are usually accompanied by a waste of material. This has doubtless been true in the case under consideration. Too many experimental stations have been established, and much money and material utilized. There are to-day ten times as many colleges

and universities for negro youth as the race, in the present state of its material and intellectual poverty, could reasonably be expected to furnish an adequate constituency for. Many of the results have been extremely grotesque. The inestimable value of the experiment, however, consists in the fact that the negro has been shown to possess a good degree of intellectual ability. His acquisitive faculties have been proved beyond peradventure, whatever may be thought of his inquisitive power. Those who still persist in doubt show themselves to be objects of pity because of their incapacity to grasp the truth. The question of the relative capacity of the races possesses only an academic interest. It is sufficient to know that the negro, not merely as an individual prodigy, but in numbers quite as large as could be expected from his environment and opportunities, possesses the ability to take on the higher knowledge, to interpret it in terms of his own thoughts and feelings, and to apply it effectively to the world's work.

It is hard to overestimate the value of this conclusion. Up to that time all manner of proscription and iniquitous treatment had been justified upon the ground of mental incapacity. Physical characteristics were taken as the index of capacity for knowledge and virtue. Men looked upon the negro's facial angle, cephalic index, and pigmentation of the cuticle, and exclaimed: "What need we of further proof?" The mind is not only the measure of the man, it is also the highest common factor of power, prestige, and privilege. Carlyle, who regarded the negro as an "amiable blockhead," and amenable only to "the white man's beneficent whip," also exclaimed "that one man should die ignorant who had capacity for knowledge, this I call a tragedy were it to happen more than twenty times in the minute." When it is demonstrated that the negro has capacity for knowledge and virtue, he thereby establishes his title clear to the opportunity for their development and exercise. The chains that bound the body of Frederick Douglass to a cruel servitude were as tender cords of mercy compared with the shackles that gyved his mind to a degrading ignorance.

The stronger races to-day are dealing with the weaker ones on the principle that privilege shall be proportional to capacity. The "over-man" says to his feeble fellow: "All power inheres in me by right of superiority; but I will graciously grant you as large a measure of privilege and opportunity as you are capable of exercising, *me judice*." That scheme, therefore, which encourages the mani-



festations of capacity is the only hope of the "lesser breeds" who are struggling against the arrogance and rapacity of the ruling race. This principle becomes all the more important when we consider that the tendency of the time is to abandon the old gospel of "the innate rights of men," and to set up in its place the idolatry of "the divine right of power." If a beneficial and kindly contact between the races is denied on the lower plane of flesh and blood, it must be sought for in the upper region of mental and spiritual kinship. Knowledge and virtue have no ethnic quality;

"For East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,  
Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat;  
But there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth,  
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth."

According to Rudyard Kipling, the new oracle of the Anglo-Saxon race, the irreconcilable become reconciled only as each manifests the best possibilities of a common nature.

The higher education tends to develop superior individuals, who may be expected to exercise a controlling influence over the multitude. The individual is the proof, the promise, and the salvation of the race. The undeveloped races, which, in modern times, have faded before the breath of civilization, have probably perished because of their failure to produce commanding leaders to guide them wisely under the stress and strain which an encroaching civilization imposed. A single Indian, with the capacity and spirit of Mr. Booker T. Washington, might have solved the red man's problem and averted his pending doom.

The negro misses the gradual process of evolution, and education must be relied upon to make good the deficiency. The African was snatched from the wilds of savagery and thrust into the midst of a mighty civilization. He thus escaped the gradual process of evolution. Other men have labored, and he must enter into their labors. Education must accomplish more for a backward people than it does for those who are in the forefront of progress. It must not only lead to the unfoldment of faculties, but must fit for a life from which the recipient is separated by many centuries of development.

The fact that backward people are surrounded by a civilization which is so far in advance of their own is by no means an unmixed advantage. In the tempestuous current of modern life the contestant must either swim on the surface or sink out of sight. He must either conform or succumb to the inexorable law of progress. The

African chieftain who would make a pilgrimage from his native principality to the city of Washington might accomplish the first part of his journey by the original modes of transportation — in the primitive dugout and upon the backs of his slaves — but he would complete it upon the steamship, the railway, the electric car, and the automobile. How swift the transformation! And yet how suggestive of centuries of toil, struggle, and mental endeavor!

It required the human race thousands of years to bridge the chasm between savagery and civilization, but it now must be crossed by a school curriculum of a few years' duration. The analytic process is always more rapid than the synthetic. We are told that the individual in his development must pass, in rapid succession, through all the stages traversed by the race in its struggle upward. We are also informed that social evolution must take a somewhat similar course. The European child is supposed to absorb the civilization of his race in about twenty-five years of formative training. The negro is required to master the principles of civilization in a similar, and, indeed, in a shorter time.

Education is conservative rather than progressive in its main features. Its chief function is to enable the individual to live the life already attained by the race. The initiative of progress is reserved for the few choice spirits of the human race. The bulk of any people can only live up to the level of their social medium, and can be uplifted only by social impulses imparted by some powerful personalities. Education prepares for a statical rather than a dynamic condition of society. And yet, notwithstanding these stern truths, every educated negro must be a reformer, a positive, aggressive influence in uplifting the masses, and that, too, in spite of the fact that he belongs to a backward breed that has never taken the initiative in the progressive movements of the world. He must, therefore, be aroused to a consciousness of personal power, to energy of the will, and to individual initiative — that subtle, indefinable quality which has always exerted a controlling influence upon human affairs — in spite of the theories of doctrinaires and the formulas of philosophy. It is only the spirit of the higher knowledge that can enkindle the enthusiasm and impart the impulse.

The negro is to be grafted upon the tree of civilization, and in order that the graft may take well it should be set upon the most vigorous and promising limb. The choice youth of the race should assimilate the principles of culture and hand them down to the masses



below. This is the only gateway through which a new people may enter into modern civilization. Herein lies the history of culture. The select minds of the backward race or nation must first receive the new cult and adapt it to the peculiar needs of their own people. Did not the wise men of Greece receive the light from Egypt? The Roman youth of ambition completed his education in Athens; the noblemen of northern Europe sent their sons to the southern peninsulas in quest of larger learning; and up to the present day Americans repair to the European universities for a fuller knowledge of the culture of the old world. The Japanese looms up as the most progressive of the non-Aryan races. This wonderful progress is due, in a large measure, to his wise plan of procedure. The picked youth is sent to the great centres of western knowledge; but before the culture is applied to the needs of the Japanese, it is first sifted through the sieve of their native comprehension.

That mere contact with a race of superior development cannot of itself unfold the best possibilities of a backward people is a proposition which, I think, no student of social phenomena will be inclined to dispute. For four hundred years the European has been brought in contact with feebler races in all parts of the world, and, in most cases, this contact has been as the blighting finger of death. Nowhere do we find an instance in which a people has been lifted into civilization thereby. Outward conformity may be enforced by a rigid discipline; but outward forms and fair practices are of little or no avail if the inward appreciation be wanting. Civilization is a centrifugal and not a centripetal process. It cannot be injected hypodermically. Healthy growth cannot be secured by forcing upon a child a diet which he cannot assimilate.

Aside from political ambition and commercial exploitation, the chief motive of the European in treating with the feebler races has been to civilize and enlighten them. The conversion of the Indian to the Christian faith was the chief motive assigned for the early colonization of America; and yet the influence of such schools as Hampton and Carlisle has, perhaps, done more to uplift the red man than all of the contact with the white race since Columbus first planted his cross in the virgin soil of a new world. Indeed, the superficial, frivolous, and vicious qualities are more easily communicable. The substantial qualities of mind and soul can be developed by independent activity only.

For four centuries the Portuguese have been touching the life of

the east coast of Africa with their missionary propagandism, commercial enterprise, and governmental policy; but, according to the highest testimony, they have made no more abiding impression upon the life of that continent than one might make upon the surface of the ocean with the dent of his finger. Civilization cannot be imparted by attrition, but is the unfolding of the seed whose potency is in itself.

When the higher education of the negro is broached, industrial training is sure to be suggested as a counter irritant. Many able and earnest advocates of the negro's cause seem to have lost the power of binocular vision and have become one-eyed enthusiasts over a narrow feature. The two forms of education are not antagonistic, but supplemental: the one applies to the few, the other to the many; the one supplies the motive, the other the method. The negro needs, first of all, lofty ideals. The surest way to induce a people to provide for the material needs of life is to teach it that "life is more than meat." In order that the negro may feel a zest for work, and enter into the joy of service, he must have prospect and vista.

The day laborer pursues the mechanical rounds of his stupid toil, conscious only of the fact that "time and the hour run through the whole day." Under a more enlightened view, he would be inspired and sustained by the anticipated enjoyment of the fruits of toil. The negro lacks enlightened imagination. While slavery inculcated the regular habit of labor, it held out no incentive beyond the master's crib. The negro does not make provision because he lacks prevision. The prayer, "give us this day our daily bread," to him has a material and literal significance. The industrial incapacity of the negro is due largely to the fact that he has been confined to the low grounds of drudgery and toil without being permitted so much as to cast his eyes unto the hill of aspiration and promise. "The man with the hoe" is of all men most miserable, unless, forsooth, he has also a hope; but if he be imbued with the spirit of hope and promise, he can wield the hoe with as much zest and satisfaction as any other instrument of service.

It is true that a people must be rooted and grounded in the concrete principles of things. When a seed is sown in the ground, it first sends its roots into the soil, but only that it may rise out of it so as to bring forth foliage and flower and fruit in the air above. The incentive to noble endeavor comes from a rational conception



of the true end of existence. We cannot reach the sky on a pedestal of brick and mortar; and all attempt to do so must end in bewilderment and confusion, as it did on the plains of Shinar in days of old. Even the builders of the tower of Babel derived their inspiration from above. They were inspired by the conceit that they were descended from the skies, and sought by mechanical contrivance only to regain the blissful seat. The negro needs a wider and a larger range of vision. He cannot see beyond the momentary gratification of his desires. He does not look before and after. The most effective prayer that can be uttered for him is, "Lord, open thou his eyes." Such influences can be brought to him by means of the higher culture only.

Prof. Booker T. Washington is the greatest man which the race, under freedom, has produced. But his success is due wholly to his intellectual and moral faculties — his enlightened mind, consecrated zeal, and persuasive ability. The mastery of an hundred handicrafts would add nothing to his usefulness or power. Those leaders who have been most effective in guiding, directing, and controlling the life, in stimulating the lethargic energies, and in quickening the zeal of the masses, have derived their inspiration, either directly or indirectly, from contact with higher culture. This is true of Douglass, the orator; of Washington, the educator, and of Dunbar, the poet. The architect must plan before the artisan can execute. The idea comes from above and descends until it strikes the basis of popular needs, and then rebounds, bringing the concrete fulfilment up toward the level of the ideal from which it sprang.

The claim is made that the colored youth is leaving the practical and useful pursuits and is rushing into the higher lines of learning. The fact is that not one negro in ten thousand is pursuing the higher education. After abstracting all who are able to think, there will be left sufficient to toil. The race could absorb more than ten times the present number of well educated men as ministers, doctors, and teachers. The social friction which divides the races asunder requires that this service be rendered by colored men. They need all of the preparation deemed necessary for white men in the same pursuits. The sick must be healed, the ignorant must be enlightened, the vicious must be restrained, and the bread of life must be broken to the hungry soul. There is no attribute of color that relieves the difficulty of the task.

Those who disparage the higher education because it has not

banished ignorance and poverty and has not obliterated vicious tendencies are too impatient. If it takes twenty-five years to educate a white boy, it must require an incalculably longer period to educate a black race. It is true that \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 has been already contributed by philanthropy for the education of the negro. This is about equal to the biennial expenditure of the city of New York for educational purposes. And yet, if we are to believe the reports of the low state of municipal morality and the rumors of corruption and wrongdoing, we see that education has by no means done its perfect work in our national metropolis. Then why should we rave at the heart and froth at the mouth because a sum of money scarcely equal to the biennial educational cost of a single American city, when scattered over a territory of a million square miles, and distributed through a period of thirty years, has not completely civilized an undeveloped race of some 10,000,000 souls?

The American people must yet learn to apply the simple principles of political economy to the race problem. A dollar contributed by philanthropy is not necessarily any more efficacious than one appropriated out of the public treasury. Money devoted to the education of the black race need not be expected to yield any greater return, either of knowledge, virtue, or practical capacity, than a like sum devoted to the white race. Although the Southern States have contributed to the full amount of their ability, it is still true that the combined contributions of Northern philanthropy and Southern statesmanship have been woefully inadequate to the task imposed. The doctrine that the whites pay the taxes to defray the expenses of negro education is one of the false notions of political economy which have done so much to blight the material prosperity of the South. It is an axiom that labor pays every tax in the world; and although the laborer may not enjoy the privilege of passing the tribute to the tax-taker, he is entitled to share in all of the public benefits which the fruits of his labor make possible. The millions of dollars spent upon negro education have borne as abundant fruit as any like sum expended in any other direction. This is all that could be reasonably expected.

We are apt to be misled by the array of statistics showing the decline of illiteracy among negroes. All those who can read and write are set apart as educated persons, as if this mere mechanical information worked some great transformation in their nature. The fact is that a very small percentage of the race is educated in any



practical or effective sense. The simple ability to read and write is of the least possible benefit to a backward race. What advantage would it be to the red Indian to be able to trace the letters of the English alphabet with a pen and to vocalize the printed characters in syllables and sentences? Unless the moral nature is touched, and the vital energies are aroused, there will be no improvement in conduct or increase in practical efficiency.

Education has a larger function for a backward than for a forward race; and, therefore, it requires more of it for the former to accomplish a given result. To the one it merely furnishes a key to an existing lock, while to the other it must supply both lock and key. The pupil who is already acquainted with the nature and conditions of a problem may need only a suggestion as to a lucky or skilful combination of parts in order to lead to its solution; whereas to one ignorant of the underlying facts and factors such a suggestion would be absolutely useless. It is for this reason that much of the information which the negro seems to possess is void of practical effect. If the negro has been intoxicated by the first shallow sip of knowledge, he needs the sobering influence of a larger draught.

Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, has recently said that the negro wears his education as a coat of paint, and that if you scratch him the savage will be revealed beneath the surface. The distinguished Carolinian can only claim originality for the picturesque and pointed form of statement of a prevalent belief. Is it not true that our civilization at best is only a process of veneering? When we recall how the wild fury often breaks through the outer crust, venting itself in the murder, lynching, and torture of helpless victims, it is easy to see how near the surface the savage lies. It would be preposterous to suppose that a few years of schooling could do for the African what twenty centuries of cultivation has not done for the Aryan.

Even this admission on the part of the successor of John C. Calhoun is a valuable concession. At one time it would have been denied that this crude material could take on a coat of paint. One of the uses of paint is to hide the crudeness of the material to which it is applied. Who does not appreciate the value of this function? If the white man, then, is better able to hide the savage which survives in us all, it is only because he has undergone a deeper coat of painting. The remedy for the less fortunate negro is not in less paint, but in more.

With a slight modification of figure, this same idea was advanced

by the late Hon. Charles Dudley Warner, who, in his last important public utterance, likened the higher education of the negro to a top dressing of a thin and sterile soil. Again, it might be urged that a top dressing is the most effective way of improving such soil that has yet been advanced by agricultural science.

In seeking for a solution to the race problem the white man is mainly anxious for the effect upon his lordly self. The African is not regarded in his own rights and for his own sake, but merely with reference to the effect which his presence and activity produce upon the dominant Aryan. He is merely a coefficient which is not detachable from the quantity whose value it may either increase or diminish. The black object is always projected against a white background, producing a grotesque and gloomy silhouette.

The whole history of the contact of the races deals with the negro as a satellite, whose movements are secondary to those of the central orb about which it revolves. Civilization was not thought possible for the sons of Ethiopia. The sable livery of the tropics was deemed impervious to ennobling influences. The negro could only contribute to the wants and welfare of the higher, or, I had rather say, the haughtier, race. With a self-debasement surpassing the vow of the anchorite, he was expected to bow down to this white god and serve him, ascribing unto him "the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever." The whole scheme of the subjugation and oppression of the African by the Aryan is based upon the theory that the negro represents an inferior order of creation, and that, therefore, his needs are secondary to and derivable from those of his white lord and master. The ordinary attributes and susceptibilities of the human race have been denied to him.

When it was first proposed to furnish means for the development of the nobler side of the negro race, those who possessed the wisdom of their day and generation entertained the proposition either with a sneer or a smile. Ridicule and contempt have characterized the habitual attitude of the American mind toward the negro's higher strivings. The African was brought to this country for the purpose of performing manual and menial labor. His bodily powers alone were required to accomplish this industrial mission. No more account was taken of his higher susceptibilities than of the mental and moral faculties of the lower animals. The white man, as has been wittily said, saw in the negro's mind only what was apparent in his face — "darkness there and nothing more." His usefulness in the world



is still measured by physical faculties rather than by qualities of mind and soul.

Even after the wonderful transformations of the last thirty years, many claim to discern no function which the negro can fill in society, except to administer to the wants and wishes of others by means of bodily toil. The merciless proposition of Carlyle—"the negro is useful to God's creation only as a servant"—still finds wide acceptance. It is so natural to base a theory upon a long established practice that one no longer wonders at the prevalence of this belief. The negro has sustained servile relations to the Caucasian for so long a time that it is easy, as it is agreeable to Aryan pride, to conclude that servitude is his ordained place in society. If the higher susceptibilities are not needed, it is but natural that their development should be discouraged.

But the negro must of necessity, as the true friends of humanity will of choice, take the broader view. He is a man *per se* in his own rights, and therefore stands in need of civilization for his own sake. The negro race, or rather the negroid race, constitutes one of the largest ethnic divisions of the human family. Its dogged physical persistence indicates that it will exercise a potent influence on the progressive movements of the future. Our little schemes and quack nostrums can secure repose and tranquillity for a day only, but cannot defeat the cosmic plan and purpose. He who supposes that a knowledge of astronomy or of Greek syntax can solve ethnic problems is not less foolish than he who presumes that the solution will follow upon the ability to hit a nail aplumb with a hammer or to cut a line with a rip-saw.

Civilization is based upon knowledge, industry, culture, and virtue. Knowledge comprehends the relation and function of things; industry gives concrete embodiment; culture leads to rational enjoyment; and virtue preserves and perpetuates. Those who wish the negro well should aid him, in his weakness, to get hold of these primary principles. Thus equipped, he becomes "self-balanced for contingencies," and can face the future "with a heart for any fate."

KELLY MILLER.

## THE LAWS AND USAGES OF WAR AT SEA.

DURING our Civil War a code of the laws of war on land was drawn up by Dr. Francis Lieber, then of Columbia College. It was issued to the Army, April 24, 1863, after review by a board of officers, under the official title of "Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field."

Blüntschi, the great German publicist, said that of the various modern acts and movements that have tended to ameliorate the evils of war, the promulgation by our Government of these instructions was among the first and most remarkable. These instructions treat of martial law, military jurisdiction, military necessity, retaliation, questions arising as to public and private property of the enemy on shore, and the proper protection to be afforded to persons, religion, and the arts and sciences. They have been the pioneer of the various national codes; and, as a whole, they have been accepted by text writers of authority as of standard and permanent value and as expressing at the time the best usage and practice of civilized nations in time of war and military occupation.

They have also formed the nucleus of the various propositions for an international code of the laws and usages of land warfare drawn up at various conferences and by various voluntary organizations for the betterment of warfare and the advancement of the principles of international law. Finally, there has resulted from the Hague Conference of 1899 an international code of the laws of land warfare, which has been adopted by almost all of the Powers of the civilized world. A period of thirty-six years was thus required for Lieber's work to bear complete fruitage.

Warfare upon land lacks many of the complications and difficulties existing with respect to warfare upon the sea. The high seas are the territory of no one country; they are the pathways for the trade of the world; and, as a matter of necessity, the neutral, omnipresent upon the sea, has his rights and duties in war time which lie side by side with the manifest rights and obligations of the belligerent Powers.



One of the special objects of maritime war is to prevent the enemy from procuring war material from neutral sources; and the right of search and that of blockade that go with this prevention are a source of constant vexation.

No maritime war in modern times has occurred without many and serious complications between the belligerents and neutral Powers; and even when one belligerent alone has maritime strength, as in the case of the South African war, questions arise with neutral Powers which involve matters of grave and far-reaching consequence. For this reason, besides others, the establishment of a code of the laws of war upon the sea by any nation has been for a long time delayed. The nearest approaches have been the instructions drawn up for the French Navy in 1870 and the instructions to blockading vessels and cruisers issued for the guidance of the Navy of the United States by the Navy Department during the Spanish-American War of 1898.

The United States has now again come to the front; and, during the year just past, the first code of the laws and usages of war upon the sea has been promulgated to the naval service by the direction of the Secretary of the Navy, with the approval of the President of the United States. As this code was prepared at the Naval War College by its then president, the alternative name of Naval War Code is not only suggestive as to the time of its use, but also of the place of its preparation. The necessity for a code of this kind has been long felt; and the immediate suggestion which bore fruit in the code came from an officer fresh from the vexations of the blockade and patrol of the Spanish-American War, and from the perennial revolutions in the islands and along the mainland of the Caribbean Sea.

In the preparation of the code, such naval authorities as Admiral Dewey and Captain Mahan were consulted as representatives of the profession of arms, while such distinguished publicists and scholars as Professors Woolsey, John Barrett Moore, Strobel, and Wilson reviewed the work and offered most valuable suggestions. To these gentlemen obligation is due for their labors for the common good; but above all the Navy and the country are indebted to Secretary Long, who, from his kindly and philanthropic nature, was from the first in sympathy with a movement which aimed at the amelioration of the evils of warfare and the limitation of its hardships upon the sea.

In the first article of the code is stated what may be called the keynote of the work — that the general object of war is to procure the complete submission of the enemy at the earliest possible period,

with the least expenditure of life and property. As an evidence of this, the question of the bombardment of unfortified and undefended places is treated with liberality and humanity. Such a bombardment is forbidden, except where it occurs incidentally in connection with the destruction of valuable naval and military establishments, or unless essential supplies are forcibly withheld and denied. Any such bombardment for the non-payment of ransom is prohibited.

Such restriction of bombardment is not only just and humane; but, if generally adopted, it would save great and unnecessary destruction of property, and obviate the expenditure of large amounts of money for defenses in places of commercial value alone. The use and occupation of such places, if necessary for military or naval operations, can still exist; but the panic and anxiety existing in all coast towns, whether reasonable or not, can be alleviated without sacrificing any essential war right. In fact, really important diversions have been caused from main objectives in war time on account of panic-stricken demands from sea coast towns which are purely commercial in their anchorages and all other functions.

The question of submarine cables in war time is treated in a general sense. Telegraphic cables between points in the territory of an enemy or between our own territory and that of an enemy are to be subject to such treatment as the necessities of war may require; but cables between the territory of an enemy and neutral territory may be interrupted within the territorial jurisdiction of the enemy. A submarine cable between two neutral points is to be held inviolable, though it is probable that the neutral will exercise some sort of censorship over such a cable, as Great Britain did in its West Indian ports during the Spanish-American War.

The use of false colors on land has been forbidden by the laws of war on land for some time; and this prohibition by the code under discussion is extended to the sea. The alternative of showing no colors remains to a vessel of war; while the evasion of a blockade like that made by the Confederate cruiser *Florida* at Mobile, and the complications arising from the identification of neutral men-of-war, will be no longer possible if the teaching and example of the United States in this matter be followed by other countries.

Whatever doubts have existed as to the exemption of innocent coast fishing vessels from capture as an established rule of international law have been removed, so far as we are concerned, by the masterly decision of Mr. Justice Gray, of the Supreme Court of the



United States; and hence that ruling has been incorporated in this war code. The liberal regulations established by our Government for the merchant marine of Spain at the outbreak of our late war have been adopted and extended in these regulations; and mail steamers regularly following prescribed routes are given as much freedom from disturbance as the necessities of a belligerent will permit. With certain additional provisions, the articles of the convention proposed by the Conference at The Hague for the amelioration of maritime warfare, under the principles of the Geneva Convention for the care of the sick and wounded, have been substantially incorporated in this code. Under the vexed head of contraband of war, a general definition and classification of contraband articles can be found. Practically, contraband of war is limited to such articles as have a belligerent destination and purpose.

Following the concise treatment of contraband are sections treating of blockade, the exercise of the right of search, the dealing with prizes, and the status of armistice, truce, and capitulations. When not in conflict with its requirements, it is provided by this code that the regulations respecting the laws of war on land in force with the armies of the United States shall govern the naval service whenever circumstances render them applicable. As this latter code covers in a satisfactory manner the questions of prisoners of war, parole, spies, military occupation, etc., a repetition of such regulations then becomes unnecessary.

In closing this brief discussion of the new code of the laws and usages of war at sea, it is hardly necessary to dwell upon the desirability of mitigating the evils that attend warfare. The participants in war, above all others, know the sad effects of warfare afloat and ashore, and they welcome, as all others undoubtedly do, any efforts to mitigate and reduce them in extent. Laws of war, no matter how imperfectly drawn, do assign limits and methods in the conduct of warfare. These limitations, as has been well said, have the effect of sustaining the idea that war is only made in order to promote a distinct political object, and not for the purpose of giving vent to passions, which, if they exist, are the disfigurements and not the characteristics of war in general.

CHARLES H. STOCKTON.

## SHEEP AND THE FOREST RESERVES.

As I was talking one day with Mr. John Muir, the explorer, in his pleasant home in Martinez, California, he told me, with quiet humor, how, at one time, while exploring the Sierra Sequoias, he was persuaded to take with him a small wild mule to carry a pair of blankets and provisions, and how he had no end of trouble in finding a way for the little hybrid and enough pasture to keep it from starving. As a rule, he was wont to go afoot and without blankets; but this trip was to be a long one, and one that would carry him out of reach of even the simplest of food supplies.

Starting from Yosemite, the Sequoia belt was traced to its southern extremity, near the big bend of Kern River. On the long journey the wild mule became very tame and companionable; but grass and leaves of any sort grew scarcer and scarcer, until the south fork of Tule River was reached. Here one evening Mr. Muir turned his hardy companion out to feed, as best it could, on leafless brush. It went as it was told; but when Muir had made his campfire, and was brewing his tea, the mule came back from its searching. It had been unsuccessful.

"It just came to me," said Muir, "put its head over my shoulder, and spoke to me."

That was enough. He gave half his loaf of bread to the mule, and then and there told it that they would leave the next day for the lowlands and the needed feed. And so they did. The very evident trouble for John Muir and his mule were the sheep. Sheep had passed that way before them and had devoured every leaf—sheep that John Muir branded with a name more lasting than the mark on their wool when he called them hoofed locusts.

Most outsiders, townspeople and Eastern folk generally, are wont to think of all sheep as resembling Mary's little lamb, whose fleece was white as snow, and that followed her to school one day—pretty, harmless little pets, too weak and insignificant for a passing suspicion even that by any possible chance they could be agents for either



good or evil over the million acres of forest reserves that now are coming tardily to be valued at their worth, and to be protected accordingly by the United States, which owns them. A snowflake, a very pretty and delicate crystal it is, disappearing at a touch; but I remember, when I was a schoolboy, hearing read a certain composition called "The Captive Locomotive" — a locomotive mastered by the pretty white snowflakes. If harm is done, it is not one sheep that does it, but the millions. Two years ago, there were on record for taxation probably more than a million sheep in the one Sierra Reserve of California; and, in addition, there were the unrecorded thousands owned by roving Basque, French, and Portuguese herders.

The questions here arise: Is any harm done by the sheep? If so, what is the harm?

The answer is that the primary object in establishing the United States forest reserves was to conserve the water supply. It is upon the water supply from the mountains that the life of the valleys and lowlands depends. As vegetation is the chief means toward the conservation of the water, vegetation of every sort must be protected in every possible way. Vegetation exerts this influence for several reasons:

(1) When the light rains and the dews come, every trunk, sucker, stem, shoot, and blade, wherever found, acts as a leader to guide the drops down through the surface strata to the cool and hidden places of the precious mountain streams below.

(2) When the snows melt, and the heavier rains fall in torrents, it may be, every growing thing is a worker with trunk and roots, according to its strength, to hold back the rush of water that else would gully the mountain sides, and in time wash them bare.

(3) Fallen leaves, twigs, and the entire loose débris of the woods would all serve as a natural and greatly needed mulch to the soil for the danger time of the long summer droughts.

(4) The crowns of the trees and bushes and the grasses are curtains and screens over the damp ground, to shield it from the drying power of the sun, and from the equal or greater power of the winds.

It is in ways like these that the vegetation of the mountain conserves, directly or indirectly, the water supply upon which the life of the lowlands depends. No wonder that the toilers in those lowlands are sensitive in the extreme to anything that directly or indirectly, evidently or supposedly, endangers that supply. And now, as I have said, come by the million the sheep to do this very harm, so it is

claimed. And verily the list of charges against the sheep and their herders is a long one. And the complainants are not of one class merely. They are cattlemen, small ranchers, orchardists, electricians, hunters, tourists, and campers — well-nigh everybody but sheepmen and their clients.

The charges against the sheep, whether true or false, are, in detail, such as these:

(1) The sheep, it is claimed, eat and tread a country bare. Mr. Muir's experience with his mule was by no means exceptional. A sheep is not as ravenous as a goat, but is a good second. Sheep will eat even young pines. This is sometimes vehemently denied, but they will. A mountaineer once said to me: "They say sheep won't eat pines, but I've seen 'em do it. I've seen 'em so eager they'd stand on their hind legs and reach for the branches." Again, a mountain ranchman said to me: "Thousands of sheep used to pass my place every year. I've seen them come in the spring when there was a growth of young pine a few inches high and just rush to eat it."

At a Farmers' Institute, one evening, I asked the audience to offer evidence, if they could, either way, on the question. A gentleman rose and said that where he had lived in the North he knew it to be a common resource, when sheep were caught in the snow, to cut pine branches as feed to tide them over till they could escape.

It is not claimed that sheep prefer a diet of pine needles, or that they will thrive on it; but when hungry they will take it; and sheep in the mountains often are very hungry. Moreover, and probably worse, what a band of sheep may not care to eat it will trample to death. It is a common saying that "sheep kill more than they eat." Often they will kill more with their hoofs than with their mouths.

A letter from an old sheepman of the southern Sierras tells of a spring, long ago, when he took his sheep to the ranges. He writes:

"I have had experience in the mountains for over twenty years. In 1884 I took my sheep in near some meadows. All around the meadows, that spring, millions of little pine trees from three to eight inches high had sprung up. But when the sheep left the mountains, about the 20th of September, there was not a young tree left. Their sharp hoofs had cut them all off. A horse rake could have raked up stacks of the little dead trees."

One Sunday I was waiting over at a country tavern. A ranchman of the neighborhood, who proved interesting, lounged up and occupied an end of my bench. He said to me:

"Twenty-two years ago my brother came in on these mountains, and the country was all sheeped off, not a young tree growing. The sheep ate and tramped.



Seed would lie till spring, then just as it sprouted and got about an inch high, along came the sheep and tramped it to death. Nothing had a chance. My brother got some hogs, bucked against the sheepmen, and kept 'em out; and now the trees are up so thick you can't drive through 'em. Some are one and a half foot through."

One day I overheard this, in substance: "It ain't fair. Cattle are let on the reserves; why not sheep? A steer's heavier 'n a sheep, and its hoofs is bigger 'n a sheep's. If you're goin' to shut out the herder, shut out the cattleman, too. I say it's class legislation."

The reply was: "No such thing. You're all off. Bigness is n't the question. The point is, a steer's hoof is n't a chisel, and a sheep's is."

The last man was right. If the sheep would scatter in feeding, as cattle and horses do, it would be another matter; less harm would result. But that is not their way. They go in close bands. One will see two thousand sheep moving in a compact mass across a meadow. That means a live cutting machine made up of eight thousand closely placed double chisels, each chisel driven home at every stroke by some hundred pounds weight of live mutton, and with the strokes falling so thickly that not an inch of the ground escapes. No small growth can possibly resist a combined mowing and cutting and pounding like that. Nothing is left alive when the machine has passed. If sheep should eat off the year's growth only, one might claim that they had as good a right to it as any other animal. But they do more; they kill as they go, roots and all. There is no chance whatever of reforesting a sheep-infected range. The seedlings can get no start. In many places the native grasses even are killed out.

(2) But the eating and chiseling do not represent all the harm that is laid to the sheep. Aside from the cutting and killing of living things by this eight thousand footed, machine-like band of sheep, what would one imagine its effect to be on the ground itself? The sheep are a plough to the soil when it is dry. When it is clayey and moist the effect is the opposite, the same as that sometimes produced, on a small scale, in farm economy, when the farmer, having thrown up an embankment for a proposed reservoir, turns in a band of sheep and herds them there until they have tramped the clay floor into a water-proof, stone-like cement.

Whether the sheep in the reserve plough the soil into dust or stamp it into rock-like cement the natural conditions are changed. Now, what must follow when presently the rains fall or a hot day touches the snowdrifts? The blessed water comes, but what can it do? It cannot sink where it falls, drop by drop, into mulched and root-

bound mellow soil. There is no longer any soil in that condition. It cannot sink into the ground. It must run; it can do nothing else; and we all know what running water does. In its rush the mountains are gullied; great trees are undermined; it overlays the meadows with sand; it fills the rivers and reservoirs below with debris. Worst of all it is itself lost; it foams away, useless, to the ocean, instead of staying back in the mountains, and making a great sponge of them, till needed in the terrible summer time for the saving of the homes and the people in the plains below. Not that the sheep are the only agent in bringing about such results. Fire also is such an agent; but the sheep and the fire are allies. I shall speak of the latter a little later on.

Old mountaineers will show many a place where just such things as I have described have happened, in their time, from no other cause, it is claimed, but the coming and going of the sheep. One day I stopped to noon at a cabin larger and more comfortable than the average. The old man whose home it was said to me: "I came here thirty-seven years ago. Thinking of what the country was then, it is now like having come out of heaven into purgatory, to live here, for the sheep." The Government had been guarding the region for a year; but it will be many a long year before the country can be what it was when the old man was young.

(3) There is another wholly distinct and different charge. Indirectly, it is claimed, the sheep are responsible for forest fires.

Poor things, what is not charged against them? Yet it is true. One hears it on all sides. A sheepman, out of the business now, told me how, as he rode under the great firs, he would reach up from his horse and touch a match to the low-hanging branches, simply to see the mighty rush of fire and smoke and sparks skyward. What did he care for the king he had slain, or for the other kings that might go down, file after file, before the fire he had kindled? Moreover, the greater the fire the better for him, since there would be thus the more space for sheep feed.

I recall Mr. Muir's indignation as he pictured an ignorant, alien herder kindling a fire for his supper against the base of a tree that pilgrims might well come from the ends of the earth to view. Sheepmen are careless with their signal fires; they are careless with their camp fires; they build fires carelessly for protection against wild animals; they start fires, purposely, in the fall, to clear the ground for a better spring growth of feed. So reads the charge,



and those who make it are a multitude. This much is certain, however, that if in their handling of fires the herders were no more careless or indifferent than are the many campers, hunters, and tourists who traverse the reserves, they still would be a far greater source of danger, because the campers, hunters, and tourists can be easily warned and watched by the forest patrol, while the sheepmen cannot be so watched and warned. The former for the most part follow a few readily guarded routes. The latter wander anywhere, everywhere, at will.

Just here, while referring to fires, I shall call attention to one plausible defense of the sheepmen. They say: "Our sheep, by their trampling and eating, and we, by our occasional burning, prevent an over-rank growth of brush and young trees which otherwise would spring up so thickly as to furnish such an abundance of fuel that when the fires came nothing could live before their fury."

The answer to this has two sides. While the sheep do, in herds, keep down the young growth which by its thickness might furnish fuel for possible future fires, they also keep down the young growth upon which, as the old trees die off, the continuance of the forest depends, and through which alone the reforestation of the great stretches of the now denuded land can be effected. Furthermore, supposing the danger, as claimed, from over-dense growth did exist, it would be unscientific and impractical in the extreme to try to guard against it by the help of ignorant herders rather than by the systematic employment of a sufficient force of trained forest rangers. In substance, the present policy of the Government, as regards fires, is to run trails, to cut and burn fire-breaks, to fire and back-fire at the proper season and in needed localities, and then, in the fall, after the first rain and before the snow, gradually burn away the accumulation of logs, dead trees, and smaller rubbish, *i. e.*, the entire mass of forest debris. Something of this kind has been already accomplished. With increased appropriations much more could be hoped for in the near future.

(4) But again, and for a still different reason, the wrath of the people waxes warm against the sheep. This time it is not the welfare of the forests or the orchards, but the welfare of themselves, of which they are thinking. Many of the towns which border on the forest reserves are directly dependent upon the streams of those reserves for their household water supply. The water is sometimes received in reservoirs, and thence distributed through open canals,

ditches, and pipes; sometimes it is diverted immediately from the stream itself. Where sheep exist, this water cannot fail to be contaminated. Before the rule against the sheep was enforced, the health officer, in one town that I have in mind, reported, morning after morning, dead sheep found in the ditches. On one morning that I recall the number was eight. In another town the flow of water, when the faucets were turned, would be accompanied by the droppings of sheep. I have sometimes asked a settler or a camper by a stream far up in the mountains, "Do you drink this water?" And the answer would be, "No; the sheep are above."

And so it is that on every count the verdict is against the sheep. Is it any wonder that nearly all who know the facts are against them? Is it any wonder that the United States Government has finally taken vigorous action, or that its policy in excluding sheep absolutely from the reserves in the dry and middle belts, and either absolutely or partially in all the other reserves, is deemed a wise policy? Naturally, herders who have used the pasturage unhindered for years are disturbed. It matters nothing to them what the outcome in the future would be, whether the result, here as in other lands, would be desolation and death. Merchants dependent on the trade of the sheepmen also complain. One of them said to me: "Excluding the sheep means to me a loss in trade of two thousand dollars a year." Another said: "I should never have bought this place if I had known that the sheep were to be stopped from passing." In one case a small community was so seriously threatened financially that the State legislature was petitioned to intervene. The complaint was that without the tax per head levied on alien sheep the poor and tiny county — perhaps the poorest and smallest in all the States — would not have a sufficient income for its official life, and would immediately become bankrupt.

But the majority, in the sheep districts even, are with the Government. I asked a congressman for his opinion, and I was surprised at the promptness with which he replied: "Without doubt, the majority are with the Government for the exclusion of the sheep." And, what is more, it is encouraging to know that the people are with the Government not only in this one detail of its dealing with the sheep, but that they are with it heartily in its whole broad policy of advance in the forestry work of its great reserves.

CHARLES STEDMAN NEWHALL.



## THE STATUS OF PORTO RICANS IN OUR POLITY.

THE unsettled condition of judicial and public opinion in this country regarding the status in our national polity of the inhabitants of Porto Rico and other annexed islands makes an apology for a new presentation of the case quite unnecessary. The subject may be most conveniently discussed under two separate, but correlated, heads: (1) Are the Porto Ricans American citizens? and (2) Are the Porto Ricans qualified to vote?

1. The basis of all arguments as to whether or not the Porto Ricans are American citizens must be, of course, the treaty of peace with Spain. Article IX thereof provides as follows:

“Spanish subjects, natives of the Peninsula, residing in the territory over which Spain by the present treaty relinquishes or cedes her sovereignty, may remain in such territory or may remove therefrom, retaining in either event all their rights of property. . . . In case they remain in the territory they may preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain by making, before a court of record, within a year from the date of exchange of ratifications of this treaty, a declaration of their decision to preserve such allegiance; in default of which declaration they shall be held to have renounced it [their Spanish allegiance] and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they may reside.

“The civil and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded shall be determined by the Congress.”

The most common view of the subject of the citizenship of the Porto Ricans is that which relegates their status to Congress. The treaty expressly provides for the determination of the question by that body, while the Constitution makes treaties “the highest law of the land,” and gives Congress power to make all needful regulations applicable to the “territory or other property of the United States.” Such is the ratiocination by which this conclusion is reached.

This, however, is a superficial method of reasoning, leaving out of account many things which must be considered — the law of nations, for instance. According to this law, a transfer of the allegiance of the inhabitants of ceded territory is implied by a change of sovereignty. If war should break out between the United States and another country, the Government of the latter would be justified in the treatment of Porto Ricans as enemies, and of the ports of the islanders as hostile

ports; the ships and other property of Porto Ricans on the high seas would be enemy's property and subject to belligerent seizure; the islanders could look to no authority other than the Government of the United States for protection from injuries threatened or for the redress of grievances endured in foreign lands; and the United States alone could supply them with passports. From the viewpoint of international law, the inhabitants of Porto Rico became Americans the moment the treaty with Spain was ratified.

This effect of the ratification was foreseen by the high contracting parties; and provision was made in the treaty to enable Spanish born residents of the ceded territories to escape the legal consequences of the cessions thereof and to preserve to them their previous status of Spanish subjects. Conversely, the provision of the treaty that those Spaniards who should fail to avail themselves of the means of preserving their allegiance to Spain would be held to have renounced it and to have adopted the nationality of their new sovereign is merely declaratory of the law of nations.

The effect of the change of sovereignty would have been the same if nothing had been said on this point. The last clause of Article IX of the treaty, which assumes to give Congress power to fix the status of the native inhabitants of the ceded territories, is mere verbiage. Congress can neither denationalize these people, nor make them into anything but Americans, except by the abandonment of the islands or their cession to some other Power. So long as this Government shall maintain its sovereignty over the islands, the inhabitants thereof will remain Americans; and, since the United States can have no subjects, they must be citizens. Granting that Congress may make "all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States," the inhabitants of Porto Rico are not "property," although the island on which they dwell may be so. The clause of the Constitution just quoted conveys no authority to differentiate between Americans living on one of the Antilles and Americans living on the continent.

Supposing that Congress should do nothing either to denationalize the Porto Ricans or to confirm them in the status of American citizens — a very likely contingency — would anybody maintain that their nationality would remain in the air? Spain having renounced them, of what country can they be deemed to be nationals if not of the United States? To say that they are citizens of Porto Rico is a subterfuge. Porto Rico is not a nation. It has no flag, or any of



the attributes of sovereignty. If the Porto Ricans should resist the authority, or declare themselves independent, of the United States, they would become rebels. The law of nations does not recognize men without a country. Indeed, pirates and others of that ilk are regarded as common enemies of mankind, subject to pursuit and judgment by the agents, military and judicial, of all organized polities. The Porto Ricans certainly do not belong to this category. As has been said above, they would share all the international vicissitudes of Americans in times of war, and they are entitled to all the international rights of American citizens in times of peace. From the viewpoint of international law they are Americans, and in equity they are citizens of the United States; and Congress cannot deprive them of their status or abridge their legal and natural rights.

2. The question as to whether or not the Porto Ricans are qualified to vote is one of administrative rather than of substantive law. In some of the States admission to citizenship is not a prerequisite to the exercise of the elective franchise. Where domiciliation is the only qualification of voters, persons born in Porto Rico would, of course, have the same right to vote as other native or foreign-born residents. In by far the greater number of the States, however, the privilege of voting is reserved to the citizens. But citizenship alone does not qualify one for the electorate in all cases; many citizens being disfranchised because of their sex or the lack of the educational or property qualifications required by the laws of the locality in which they live. Furthermore, a distinction must be made between the status of a person from the viewpoint of international law and that of the same individual under the municipal law of his country.

Article XIV of the Constitution states the law of the land on the subject of citizenship as follows:

“All persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.”

In Article I, section 2, clause 4, Congress is empowered to “establish an uniform rule of naturalization.”

The Porto Ricans who were born prior to the annexation cannot, of course, make claim to citizenship on account of their nativity. But neither are they in a position to comply with the requirements of the naturalization laws. They cannot forswear their allegiance to the Spanish Crown, for they owe none: they were forcibly torn from their fealty to the boy King, who was their sovereign. An oath of

abjuration on their part would be a superfluous formality, and, by implication, a denial of the sovereignty asserted over them by the United States. This would be disloyal, and it would be strange, indeed, if this country should compel a Porto Rican seeking citizenship to commit an act of disloyalty as the first step toward his initiation.

The second provision of the law for the naturalization of foreigners is that the aspirant must declare his intention to become a citizen. A native of Porto Rico, however, could express no intention on this point. We gave him no choice, but, willy nilly, forced him into our jurisdiction. He could not take this oath for the same reason that he could not abjure his non-existing allegiance to Spain.

The third requirement for the naturalization of a foreigner is five years' residence in the country of his adoption. The object of this enactment is merely to establish a period of probation for the aspirant to citizenship; but to put people to the proof after we have thrust them neck and crop into our brotherhood, and without so much as a "by your leave," would be absurd as well as contradictory.

In any event, the Porto Ricans having been made Americans by an exercise of sovereign power, their volition in the matter counts for nothing. The naturalization laws of the United States clearly do not fit the case of the Porto Ricans; nor is any scheme conceivable which would assume to provide for the naturalization by a court, or other inferior authority, of persons who have been already Americanized by the supreme law of the land. They became American citizens by the same process as did the inhabitants of Florida, California, Texas, and other territory conquered by or ceded to us.

Nevertheless, citizens of Porto Rican nativity desiring to vote in the United States might without impropriety be required to legitimize themselves. Indeed, there are several classes of persons whom the law declares to be citizens without obliging them to go through the preliminary stages of naturalization required of immigrant foreigners; and yet these lawful citizens must produce certificates of citizenship when offering to register their names on the voting lists or to deposit their ballots at elections. The reason is that their citizenship is partly a question of fact and partly one of law, determinable only by a judicial tribunal. Election boards, being purely ministerial and having no judicial powers, cannot decide questions of this character.

Therefore, Justice Freedman, of the New York Supreme Court, properly denied a recent application for a mandamus to compel a Board



of Registry in New York city to place the name of a resident citizen of Porto Rican birth on the list of voters. To have ordered the Board to do so would have been to require it to commit an unlawful act. The justice, in his opinion, however, intimated that a Porto Rican would have to become naturalized like any other person of foreign birth, and that, since existing laws do not provide for their case, natives of the island could not be naturalized until remedial acts in their favor should have been enacted. This, however, was not relevant to the point decided; and the justice would probably modify his opinion if the question of the nationality of the Porto Ricans should be squarely presented in an application for a certificate of citizenship by a person of Porto Rican birth.

If the dictum of the justice correctly states the law, then Congress, by simply failing to enact a remedial measure, could permanently deprive Americans of Porto Rican origin of one of the most valuable privileges of citizens, the right to elect their temporary rulers. Congress is empowered by the Constitution to make uniform naturalization laws; but if it fail to make regulations governing the cases of persons legally entitled to citizenship, the State Legislatures or the courts may supply the omission. This has been done by the courts in applications for certificates of citizenship by Americans born of American parents in foreign lands. Legally, such persons are Americans; and, while the Federal naturalization laws make no provision for their case, this has not hindered judges from declaring them citizens, and issuing to such foreign-born Americans proper certificates of citizenship on due proof of the facts. A similar exercise of the equitable powers of the courts would be justifiable and proper in the parallel case of Americans of Porto Rican nativity.

To conclude, it may be asserted as an unassailable legal proposition that, in the absence of any rule of procedure established by Congress, a native of Porto Rico, upon proving by competent witnesses his place of nativity and that since the annexation of the island he has been loyal to the United States, that he has not abjured the allegiance forced upon him, and has committed no act that would involve a forfeiture or abridgment of his political rights, would be entitled to a certificate such as election officers would be bound to accept as proof of his citizenship.

STEPHEN PFEIL.

## THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY.

It was well said by Bacon that men's thoughts are much according to their inclination. People will generally believe what they wish to believe, and never will know what they have not a mind to know. Hence it is that many will not stop to ask the meaning of the Monroe doctrine, but will readily adopt an interpretation which accords with their own desires. The prudent statesman finds in it a conservative policy; the jingo finds an excuse for aggression against his neighbor. Those who advocate the neutralization of the Nicaragua Canal see in the Monroe doctrine the authority for their attitude, while the opponents of neutralization appeal to the same doctrine for the justification of their opposition.

The question of the relation of the Monroe doctrine to the neutralization of the Canal is of long standing. Neutralization was the great principle of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and that convention was immediately attacked as a violation of the doctrine, but was ably defended. It was upheld and has withstood the crafts and assaults of its enemies down to the present time. It is now proposed to modify the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, so as to allow the United States to construct the Canal; but the important stipulation of the old agreement, the time-honored principle of neutralization, is to be retained.<sup>1</sup> This has been arranged by Mr. Hay and Lord Pauncefote in a new convention, which is but the amplification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty — the natural fruit of the old seed. It is, as Dr. Johnson would say, "the old dog in a new doublet," and, I may add, a doublet of better cut.

Once again the opponents of neutralization are on their feet, protesting that the treaty is contrary to the Monroe doctrine. The reasons which induced attacks upon the Clayton-Bulwer treaty now

<sup>1</sup>This article was written before the adoption of the Davis amendment, and, consequently, all references to the treaty should be understood as relating to the original convention in the form in which it was signed by Mr. Hay and Lord Pauncefote.



lead to attacks upon the Hay-Pauncefote convention. One of the most insidious of these attempts is the Davis amendment, which absolutely destroys the principle of neutralization. The opponents of neutralization think it improper that any European Powers should enter into an agreement with the United States in regard to the Nicaragua Canal. It would seem to them heroic for this Government to stand at the Canal, sword in hand, and defy the nations of the earth to attack it, whereas a simple agreement with the Powers to refrain from attacking the Canal is a tame proceeding and devoid of interest to them. Being asked to give a reason for their attitude, "they would fain make us believe they found it in Antiquity," and appeal to the Monroe doctrine.

When during the Chartist agitation in England some working-men waited on John Stuart Mill to express their sympathy with what they were pleased to call the "Revolution," that philosopher cast a chill upon their enthusiasm by bidding them ask themselves which revolution, what revolution, and why they sympathized with it. A little self-catechising contributes much to a clear understanding of a matter; and, perhaps, if the opponents of the Hay-Pauncefote convention should diligently inquire of themselves what the Monroe doctrine is, and why it forbids neutralization of the Canal, they would find it difficult to give a satisfactory answer.

The Monroe doctrine is a wise rule of conduct, founded upon the law of self-preservation, which is one of the fundamental laws of nations. "It is folly," says Thomas Fuller, "to do as country fellows in a fence-school, never ward a blow till it be past; but it is best to be beforehand with the enemy lest the medicine come too late for the malady." Good counsel, indeed, and the very foundation and spirit of the Monroe doctrine. That doctrine was a preventive measure designed to ward a thrust from the Holy Alliance, which seemed to threaten our political existence. Mr. Monroe and his advisers saw the danger afar off and took measures to avert it. They not only turned aside the threatening peril, but, actuated by the law of self-preservation, they put forth a general principle for the future guidance of this Government.

The Monroe doctrine consists of two parts, and, briefly stated, was designed: (1) To prevent European powers — particularly a combination of European powers — from intervening in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, so as to control the destinies of the American nations; and (2) to prevent the European powers from acquiring any

new colonial possessions on this side of the Atlantic. I am aware that I may be criticised for endeavoring to state in two short sentences that doctrine, which for the past seventy-five years has caused so many disputes, and which has received so many and such diverse interpretations; therefore, I shall humbly imitate Lyttleton in the famous epilogue to his book on law, and will say that I do not pretend to affirm that what I have written above is the Monroe doctrine, but that what I have written will enable the student to understand that doctrine when some one shall explain it to him. If the reader wish to hear some one expound the doctrine I shall refer him not only to the message<sup>1</sup> itself, in which Monroe set forth his guiding principle, but I shall refer him also to the correspondence which he had with Jefferson on the subject, and in which the latter said:

“This sets our compass, and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time. . . . Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with Cis-Atlantic affairs.”

I shall refer him furthermore to the version of the doctrine put forth by one of its most ardent defenders among the statesmen of this country, the Hon. Lewis Cass, who gave this interpretation of the doctrine:

“First. That it is impossible for the Allied Powers to extend their political system to any part of America, without endangering our peace and happiness, and equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interference with indifference. Second. That the occasion had been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they had assumed and maintained, were henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power.”<sup>2</sup>

It is maintained by certain persons that this principle of American diplomacy forbids the United States to enter into agreements with the nations of Europe for the neutralization of the Isthmian Canal, and that, therefore, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and its off-

<sup>1</sup> We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.—Monroe's seventh annual Message, Dec. 2, 1823.

<sup>2</sup> Speech in the Senate, January 28, 1856.



spring, the Hay-Pauncefote convention, are contrary to the Monroe doctrine. True neutralization can be obtained only by general agreement between the great Powers as provided for in these treaties; yet it is objected that such an agreement would constitute an intervention in American affairs by European Governments, and would be, consequently, a breach of the Monroe doctrine.

This line of argument is ingenious, but it seems to be a play upon words rather than a valid reason. The authors of the Monroe doctrine would have been glad if that doctrine had met with universal approval, and no doubt they would have been more than glad if the nations of Europe had been willing to bind themselves by treaty to comply with that principle. Yet, had this been the case, it might have been urged, with a deceptive appearance of logic, that inasmuch as it was a treaty of European powers affecting American interests, it was prohibited by the Monroe doctrine. To say that an agreement to observe the Monroe doctrine is contrary to the Monroe doctrine is the *reductio ad absurdum*. Such confirmation of the general doctrine by the Powers is, of course, out of the question; but it is probable that they would be willing to agree to the neutralization of the Canal. In neutralization we should have an agreement of the nations of Europe that they would not meddle with the Canal route, and that, consequently, so much of America, at any rate, should be free from hostile attacks as well as from insidious designs of European Governments. Neutralization would be, therefore, an agreement by the Powers to observe the Monroe doctrine in regard to that part of America.

Dr. Wharton, the celebrated editor of the "Digest of International Law," says:

"An agreement that no Powers whatever should be permitted to invade the neutrality of an Isthmian route, but that it should be absolutely neutralized so as to protect it from all foreign assailants by whom its freedom should be imperilled, is an application, not a contravention, of the Monroe doctrine. Such an agreement is not an approval of, but an exclusion of, foreign interposition."<sup>1</sup>

The Hay-Pauncefote treaty provides for neutralization; and in so doing it carries out the great principle of its predecessor, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The principle of neutralization which has caused Senators to attack the new agreement is the same principle which caused former Senators to attack the old agreement; and the principle of neutralization which now brings many able statesmen to

<sup>1</sup> "Digest of International Law," Vol. II, p. 243.

the support of the Hay-Pauncefote convention is the same principle which brought so many of the sages of the past to the support of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

In a multitude of counsellors there is much wisdom. I shall, therefore, refer the reader to the opinions of men who have guided the foreign policy of our State, such men as Clay, Webster, Marcy, Clayton, Cass, Seward, Bayard, and Hay. The historic attitude of the United States toward neutralization is in itself a sufficient proof that the statesmen of this country have not considered such a policy contrary to the Monroe doctrine. I have dealt more at length elsewhere with the historic aspect of the case; but before I close I shall quote the words of a few great Americans as an indication of the manner in which the subject of the Monroe doctrine and neutralization has been viewed by our leading men. Be it remembered that the arguments which they used to show the consistency of the Monroe doctrine and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty apply with equal force to the Monroe doctrine and the Hay-Pauncefote treaty; for in both cases the stumbling block has been the principle of neutralization.

First we shall hear the opinion of the Hon. Lewis Cass, a man who would not lightly give up the interests of his country to any foreign Power — especially not to Great Britain, for, according to Lord Brougham, he was “the very impersonation of mob hostility to England”:

“One motive with some of us — perhaps with many of us — in the Senate, for supporting the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was that, if carried out in good faith, it would peaceably do the work of the Monroe doctrine and free an important part of our continent from European interference.”<sup>1</sup>

If this be thought an insufficient indication of Mr. Cass’s views, I shall ask attention to his words uttered at a later date:

“And why,” said he, “did I estimate so highly the projected arrangement? Because it contemplated the removal of British power and influence from Central America, and I considered that measure, both in its present and future aspects, a great political object, most desirable to be peaceably obtained.”<sup>2</sup>

Then, after expressing his regret that Congress had never been willing to embody the Monroe doctrine in a Resolution, and his desire that such a resolution should be passed, he added:

“For myself, if I cannot get the Monroe doctrine, I will get the next best thing I can. I will seek to procure by conventional arrangements the exclusion of

<sup>1</sup> Speech in Senate, January 28, 1856.

<sup>2</sup> Speech in Senate, January 11, 1857.



European influence from this hemisphere, step by step, if necessary, and, in seeking to effect this object, there are peculiar reasons which render it highly desirable to free all Central America from impending transatlantic intrigues."

Evidently Mr. Cass regarded the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, with its principle of neutralization, as a fulfilment of the Monroe doctrine.

Let us now hear Mr. Bell, of Tennessee. It had been said in debate that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was contrary to the Monroe doctrine; but Mr. Bell thus objected to such an interpretation:

"It is a misnomer to call the doctrine now set up, the Monroe doctrine. It would be more descriptive and correct to call it the doctrine of progressive absorption, annexation and conquest. . . . The Clayton and Bulwer treaty was founded in the true spirit of the original Monroe doctrine."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Seward has thus expressed his views on neutralization:

"It is a great treaty; sublime in conception, generous in spirit, and beneficent in its purpose." . . .

"They met on that important strait, not to contend together for dominion over it, nor yet to combine together to seize and divide an exclusive dominion there, but to make it free to each other, and equally free to all mankind." . . .

"Higher than the fame of Agincourt, of Saratoga, of Waterloo or Buena Vista shall be the glory of that conjunction of Great Britain and America on the heights that command the repose of the world." . . .

"Better for the pride of each that the white cliffs that garrison the coast of England sink into a black and pestilential morass, and that Niagara lose forever its deep-toned voice, and ooze through a vulgar channel to the sea, than that the great and sonorous concord thus established between them be rudely broken. I counsel you, Senators and statesmen of the United States, by all the motives that are born in the love of such a land as ours in such an age as this . . . to preserve and maintain at all costs and hazards, and through all discontents and jealousies, this great treaty. Let this political rainbow stand stretching from the skies downwards on either side to the horizon, a pledge that the nations shall not again be overwhelmed by any after-coming deluge of human passions."

To use the words of Shakespeare, the Monroe doctrine is "a comfortable doctrine and much may be said of it"; but I hope enough has been said already to show that it does not prohibit the neutralization of the Nicaragua Canal. JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

<sup>1</sup> Speech in Senate, February 26, 1856.

## SHOULD WOMAN'S EDUCATION DIFFER FROM MAN'S.

I WISH to say six things, or to say one thing six times, or in six ways. I wish to write respecting (1) the conditions of education; (2) the methods of education; (3) the forces of education; (4) the subject to be educated; (5) the aim of education, and (6) the content of education.

Of course, the *fundamental conditions of education* are simply time and space. If time is not an agent, it is certainly a condition. If it does no work itself, all work is done in time. The time of education should be, I believe, the same for men and for women; and this same time should be as long as purse will buy and individual will allow. The desire to shorten the college course has not touched the college woman. The desire for a shorter college course has not touched the college man so generally or so deeply as may be commonly believed. It has touched the college man who proposes to devote himself to the profession either of law or of medicine, and in particular the one who proposes to become a physician; for the man proposing to become a physician finds that it is necessary to work seven or eight years for the best professional preparation for his career. But the college woman would rather lengthen than shorten the college course. The saddest day of all the days of her college years is the day of her graduation. For both men and women, therefore, the college course should be of equal length; and the length should be, as I have said, as long as purse can buy or the will, under the influence of life's persuasive motives, allow.

In point, too, of space, no variation need be suggested. The advantages of the urban location — intimate relationships with humanity and with its mighty undertakings and a training in what is significantly known as urbanity; the disadvantages of an urban location — the difficulty of being alone and the difficulty of the elimination from the personal equation of all distracting and needless factors; the advantages of the rural location — the closeness to Nature's heart, and the tendency toward simplicity of relationships; the dis-



advantages of a rural location — aloneness becoming loneliness, and the tendency toward what is significantly called rusticity; the advantages of the sub-urban location — the union of town and field, of man and nature; the disadvantages of a sub-urban location — the having of half town and half field, and not a unit of either: these advantages and disadvantages are the same for the college woman and the college man. Therefore, in respect to the conditions of education, the two *principia individuationis* of time and of space, the education of women need not differ from that of men.

And yet, I should say that, in respect to the value of time and space, men and women show a certain degree of difference. Women are more sensitive to what conditions them in space, and men are more sensitive to what conditions them in time. Objects in space are more impressive to women, events in time to men. Men are more prompt in service, women more artistic in arrangement. But this difference is not sufficient to alter the main proposition.

In respect to the *methods of education*, I think there may be a similar conclusion. Methods may be interpreted in a great variety of ways, but I interpret them to refer to coeducation, to coördinate education, and to separate education. Each of these methods has advantages and each of them has disadvantages. Coeducation has the advantage of economy, and also of directness of preparation for certain women. Coeducation helps the woman who is to be obliged to earn her own living to become vigorous and aggressive. Coeducation has, in my opinion, though not in the opinion of everybody, the disadvantage of lessening man's instinctive respect for womanhood. It has also the disadvantage of making some women mannish.

Coördinate education possesses the advantage of the university association, and the disadvantage of expensiveness. Separate education has the advantage of solidarity, of individuality, and of simplicity of educational environment. It has the disadvantages, in the women's colleges, of whimsicalness, emotionalism, narrowness, and the difficulty of getting and of keeping the best teachers. In men's colleges it has the disadvantage of a certain unnaturalness and remoteness from human association. Each method, be it said, has its weaknesses and its strength. No method has any educational patent right. Each method is good or bad, better or worse, best or worst, according to the student to whom it is applied. Therefore, the methods of education do not indicate that there need be a difference in training.

More important than either conditions or methods are the *forces*

*of education.* What are the forces of education? The forces of education are the force in education. What is the force in education? The force in education is the teacher. What is the teacher? The teacher is the instructor who builds, who builds the timber of knowledge into the house of character. The teacher is the professor who declares his beliefs and principles. The teacher is the pedagogue who leads the child into truth, and duty, and love. The teacher is the tutor who watches and guards the student. And what is the one supreme and superb thing in this man, under different names, which makes him what he ought to be? It is a large personality. A large personality in the teacher is what makes him at all worthy. One such teacher has just died — Professor C. C. Everett. In a personal letter, Professor George H. Palmer, of Harvard, says of him :

“ In him we had a man whom we loved as ardently as we respected. He informed his students, but he formed them too. A weighty and rounded personality was his, full of charm, of humor, of sagacity, of devoutness, of stimulus. One of our great teachers he was. The men who, while scientifically equipped, can stir their students are few. He was a person always, before and while he was a scholar.”

The great teacher, the teacher of a great personality, is required to the same degree by men and women alike.

Recently I asked a freshman class of about a hundred and fifty members this question : “ How many regular teachers did you have in your schools up to the time of the beginning of your freshman year in college ? ” The answers varied from ten to thirty, and the average was twenty-three. I also asked of them the question : “ How many of these teachers have had over you an influence which you can now distinctly and consciously appreciate ? ” The number, in the answers, ran from six to zero. The average was about three. In other words, as these students now judge, about one teacher in seven had had an influence so distinct that they were now able to say that that influence was of any value at all. In asking the students, who could thus discriminate some influence, what was the element in their teachers that influenced them, the answer was, though expressed under various forms, “ personality.” “ This teacher was kind to me ; ” “ this teacher loved me ; ” “ this teacher interested me in good reading ; ” “ I admired this teacher for his intellectual power,” but the one essential answer was “ personality.” Personality, first, last, and all the time, represents the supreme force of education.

The fourth thing that I wish to say relates to the *subject to be educated* — the woman, the man. One may write respecting what



may be called the physical physiology of woman and of man in many relations. One cannot write of comparative mental physiology of men and of women. Psychology is at best a more or less unknown field. Comparative psychology is far less known. Practical psychology — experimental, laboratory psychology — is a new science. One must wait for its conclusions. *A priori* psychology, touching men and women, is not new, but it is almost as useless as it is ancient. We do not know what the normal intellectual power of the normal man is. We do not know what the normal intellectual power of the normal woman is. Much less, therefore, do we know the relations between the intellectual powers of these two personalities. There may be tremendous differences in the mental constitution of the two sexes. That there are differences is evident. But whether these differences are based upon sex, individuality, or some other element is a part of the problem awaiting solution. Lotze says :

“ It is hardly possible to distinguish the higher mental life of men and of women. . . . I do not believe that the intellectual capacity of the sexes differs, except in so far as the special emotional interests of each have prescribed the course of their intellectual life. There is, perhaps, no subject which woman's mind could not understand, but there are very many things in which woman could never learn to be interested.”

One may say, indeed, that the principle of periodicity and that the emotional element play a larger part in the woman than in the man. One may say that women are finer persons than men ; that they are in danger of making the personal equation larger, or in danger of viewing questions as the questions bear relation to themselves and not as the questions are in and of themselves. But these remarks are not fundamental. I only wish to say that we do not know enough about the intellect of women or about the intellect of men to say whether on the ground of sex the training should be the same or different. We do know somewhat of the intellect of different human beings, and we recognize certain differences in the training of those different beings ; but in how far these are sexual, and in how far sex should enter into education, we do not know. Here the judge simply confesses ignorance and begs leave to take up the next point in the case.

The next, and fifth, point of the case relates to the *aim of education*. Each of us offers his own little contribution to this, the final cause of being. Permit me to say that these principles, I think, are supreme, comprehensive, and ultimate : (1) education is to make the thinker ; (2) education is to make one appreciative ; (3) education is to make one righteous. These three principles are not unlike the ones

which Kant, in his little essay on education, suggests. Kant says (1) that through education man is to be subject to discipline; (2) through education man is to be made a man of culture; (3) education is to give a person discretion, by which word Kant means that through his education he is made able so to conduct himself in society that he may be liked and that he may gain influence; (4) moral training must form a part of education.

These points of Kant, and three to which I allude, the power of thinking, the power of appreciation, and the power of righteousness, are not essentially unlike the true, and the good, and the beautiful of the Greek. They are, too, not unlike what Huxley defines as a liberal education; for he says:

"That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself.

"Such an one, and no other, I conceive, has had a liberal education; for he is, as completely as a man can be, in harmony with Nature. He will make the best of her, and she of him. They will get on together rarely; she as his ever beneficent mother; he as her mouthpiece, her conscious self, her minister and interpreter."

Thought, appreciation, and righteousness represent the aim in education. The power to think! The power to see one thing, the power to see two things, and the power to put together these two things seen and from the putting together to get a third thing — to observe, to correlate, and to infer — that is the power to think. The power to think is intellectually supreme. It is, of course, far more than knowledge. I recently asked a gentleman who knows as much, perhaps, as any one in the world about the making of steel: "What is the great lack of the men who come to you asking for employment?" At once came the reply: "The power to think." "I can," he said, "get men who can take my ideas and work them out; but the man I am trying to find and cannot is the man who can give me ideas or who has worthy ideas himself and can execute them." Knowledge is valuable, but in education knowledge is valuable chiefly in making the thinker. The emphasis on knowledge is altogether too strong; the emphasis on thinking is altogether too weak.

Education is also appreciation. Appreciation is what I may call



intellectual valuation. It is the sense of proportion. I have also in mind a certain emotional receptivity which is able to accept all conditions and make the most of those conditions. By appreciation I mean culture; I mean *humanitas*; I mean *paideia*; I mean all that goes to constitute, in a large sense, the æsthetic.

There is also a third element in education—the element of righteousness. It is the adjustment of the individual to the highest relations of being. This adjustment is what Niemeyer refers to when he says:

“The principal task of education is to protect and strengthen early indications of goodness, so that every impulse shall gain power only as it harmonizes with the moral sense, and that the will shall be strong enough to subject the desires to the reason—to that faculty which judges of right and wrong.”

Education, then, is represented in the three phrases: the power to think, to appreciate, and the element of righteousness. Now, are these elements of equal value for men and for women? Is it less, or more, or equally important for women to think as for men to think? Is it less, or more, or equally important for women to appreciate as for men to appreciate? Is it less, or more, or equally important for women to be righteous as for men to be righteous? We can discriminate somewhat. It is more important for man to think in affairs of state than for woman, for he moves more in affairs of state. It is more important for a woman to think in affairs domestic than for a man, for she moves more in affairs domestic. Are affairs domestic more or less important than affairs of commonwealth?

It is more important for a man to appreciate architecture and the large humanizing movements, for he has more to do with such conditions. It is more important for her to appreciate the fitnesses of the home, for she has more to do with its creation and ordering. Are architecture and large humanizing movements more or less important than the sanctities and the beauties of the home? It is more important for him to be honest in large buying and selling and to tell the truth in great concerns, for he buys more and his concerns are greater than hers. It is more important for her to be sweet and pure, for sweetness and purity are the atmosphere of the home. Which is more or less important, truth or purity? Ah! we might pursue the matter, but enough has been said to permit the inference that thought and appreciation and righteousness, as aims in education, are equally important for men and women.

And at last I reach the sixth thing that I wish to say: *the con-*

*tent of education*, the course of study. Having come so far together, we cannot at the end be separated. Of the many things that I should like to say about the course of study, the one thing that I wish most to say is that the differences in different studies are of very small value, provided the student is interested in the studies which he pursues. Of course, we can make our discriminations, and say that language teaches interpretation, that literature gives culture, that mathematics gives logical orderliness, that science gives observation, analysis, and synthesis. We may say, or we may not say, with Lord Bacon, that "knowledge is a pyramid, whose base is history and experience. Upon these rests physics; on this, metaphysics. The summit of the pyramid is God's creative power." The chief principle and the prevailing rule is that the student will receive the most advantage from those studies in which he is the most interested. One may say, with Mathew Arnold, that literature is the great educative tool, or one may say, with Huxléy, that science is the great educative tool. Each remark is equally true, and each is also equally false. Literature is an educative tool to one mind, but not at all to another mind. Science is an educative tool to one mind, but not at all to another mind. That study is precious which *finds* the student. That study is precious which is to him as a minister to his new birth. Different studies have different value for different persons. Therefore, one can say, and at once, that the woman, as a woman, should not take studies different from those that a man takes. One can also say that the man, as a man, should not take studies that are different from those that a woman takes. One can say at once, and firmly, that woman should take those studies which interest and move and form her. Man should take those studies which interest and move and form him. The studies should be different, not on the ground that the one is a man and the other a woman, but they should be different on the ground that each is an individual.

Both men and women, however, choose studies in the same fields. The most popular courses in the college for both men and women are the courses in history, English, economics, philosophy, and modern languages. Of course, the personal element enters into this choice. Some students choose instructors and not subjects — and there are advantages in this method — but when the personal element is eliminated from the equation, the humanities will be found the most popular topics, and also the best topics, for both men and women. This conclusion is not set aside by what Lotze says, that truth does not



mean the same to men and to women. For women everything is true which fits into the system of things harmoniously. For men the true represents rather the real. Women's labors are artistic and intuitive, men's scientific.

The content of education, therefore, should be educative for both men and women, and not, to use the word which Edward Rowland Sill uses, "occupative." The occupative element too often displaces the educative. Let the educative prepare for the occupative. Let not the woman while in college be concerned much with her future occupation, whatever it may be. Let not the man while in college be concerned immediately, but only mediately, with his occupation. The first concern of each is education.

On this ground, therefore, I should like to say that in practice I should not like to have a woman select courses in domestic science, for usually these courses do not *find* her. Let not the college laboratory be turned into a kitchen. Also, I should say, let no college girl select the lighter courses of the curriculum, the merely cultural or social courses, for they do not usually *find* her. Let not the class room be turned into the parlor. I would not have the college man take courses in psychology on the ground that some time he may be a father. Do not turn the lecture room or the laboratory into a nursery. Let women and men be trained in those studies which train them to think, which will give them the power of appreciation, and make them righteous. When they are thoroughly trained to think, to appreciate, and to do right, and when, having these qualities, they are called upon to go into the kitchen, I am sure they will apply their power of thought to the solution of the problems of the kitchen. Let them be trained to think, to appreciate, and to be righteous, and when they are called upon to train children I am sure that they will bear to this training the same essential elements.

The best lawyer is the student who never goes near the courts or the office until he has finished his course of studies in both the college and the law school. To think, is the lawyer's first duty. He will learn the technique of procedure and practice easily enough when he is called upon to take up procedure and practice. The best business man is not the graduate of the business college, or the business course of the high school, but the graduate of the classical course; for to think is the duty of the business man, and the power to think is best trained by the classical course of the high school or college. The business man will learn easily enough all the details about

business when its principles are mastered. Train the woman and the man to think, to appreciate, and to be righteous by such studies as will give the best training in thinking, appreciation, and righteousness. Train the man to think, to appreciate, and to do right by such studies as each believes will give him the best training in thinking, appreciation, and righteousness. Train the woman to think, to appreciate, and to do right by such studies as each believes will give her the best training in thinking, appreciation, and righteousness. Then send each out to do his work, to live his life.

Yet, in doing this work and in living this life, there is a certain difference to be noted. According to the conditions of society, man is a getting animal, woman a spending animal. Although it is said that 17 per cent of our employ  s are women, yet it is to be said that 83 per cent are still men. Man's mind is fixed on earning, and on earning the largest amount; woman's to distributing, and to distributing the wisest. Man makes the fortune, great, small, or moderate; woman uses it — and may use it up! On account of this condition man may be fittingly trained in executive and administrative service, and woman in the knowledge of human society and of social and sociological relationships; but for both, the exact training of the sciences and the interpretative and broadening training of the humanities are of special worth.

Like a piece of music returns our question upon itself: Should the higher education of women differ from that of men? In condition, in method, in force, in the subject to be educated, in aim, and in content, the education of women and of men may be exactly alike; for each is human. But in these six respects the education of each may be unlike; for each is an individual. But the two types should not be unlike in their education on the ground that the one type is applied to the woman and the other type applied to the man; but the two types should be unlike because each member of that great part of humanity which we call "man" is an individual, and because each member of that great part of humanity which we call "woman" is an individual. As an individual every woman should adjust her education to these two conditions or forces: (1) to her native power, and (2) to her future work; and every man, as an individual, should adjust his education to the very same two forces or conditions, his native power and his future work. On this basis, of course, the education of every individual should differ from the education of every other individual. CHARLES F. THWING.



## THE AMERICAN TRADE-UNIONS AND COM- PULSORY ARBITRATION.

FROM the beginning of the era of the labor movement proper, when the associations of the working class were openly divested of all disguise and freely declared to be primarily industrial in character and scope, the strike has held the most conspicuous place among the phenomena developed by the relations between employer and employé. This is but natural, as the strike arrests the thought of the community in proportion as it arrests the progress of production, thus touching those chords in the system of daily life to which every society is immediately responsive.

But, above all considerations involving the purely material aspects of the case, there are the moral aspects, as manifested in the spectacle of suffering, of fortitude, rising not infrequently to the heroic, and, withal, of desperation, that so often characterize this species of warfare. It is the moral phase of the strike that has exercised the best thought of many countries, and has led to the intervention of leaders in other spheres of endeavor, to the end that open conflict may be avoided by recourse to methods more in keeping with reason, and, therefore, more conducive to fair adjustment, or, in any event, less destructive of the forces engaged.

Notwithstanding these efforts, the strike continues to be an ever-recurrent feature of industrial life, increasing in its power to affect the general comfort and safety with the increase of organization among the respective forces. The typical instance of such labor troubles is no longer a merely local affair, affecting at most a few hundred persons, and constituting no problem for public solution except that of maintaining law and order, to which requirement it is easily conformable, regardless of what miscarriage of justice may ensue from the summary interference of the authorities. Instead, the strike of the present day is more likely to assume the proportions of a national, or even an international, concern, in which the entire membership of one or more great labor organizations is pitted against

a corresponding combination of employers. Commonly, in such cases, the transportation, mining, or other primary industry is for the time suspended, with the result that numberless tributary interests are dislocated, while the public at large is made party to the original cause of disturbance.

Now, it is clear that in such a state of things any attempt at suppression must always be attended by the danger of converting an industrial, or passive, conflict into actual civil war. Public acquiescence in the use of the civic or military forces for the suppression of strikers is, and in all probability will continue to be, conditional upon the violation of law by the latter. But it must be admitted by those who have intelligently observed the development of the labor movement that the tendency toward violence decreases with the increase of the numbers involved, by the very fact that a proportionate degree of discipline is implied in the growth of organization.

While in its essence, as an active protest against injustice, the strike retains its original characteristics, in its incidentals it is marked by decreasing individual hardship, and, consequently, by decreasing individual propensity to act in passion and blindness. Much of the suffering and much of the ignorance that distinguished the industrial conflicts of past times — the consequences of which are to be noted in those outbreaks of violence actuated by sheer anger and oblivious of the laws of cause and effect — are now obviated by the power of endurance afforded by ample relief funds and the confidence that results from a well-reasoned judgment of the conditions to be dealt with. In a word, the strike of to-day differs from that of the past in that it is an intellectual rather than a physical contest.

Under these circumstances, the use of force is unjustifiable by any theory of law, while, at the same time, it is precluded not only by every conception of justice, but also, and more effectually, by the patent danger ever attendant upon such method, that once invoked there may be no laying the power of arms short of a convulsion in which other issues may arise to obscure and entrap the final verdict. A body of men numbering, it may be, in the hundreds of thousands may quit work and by so doing may affect materially the interests of countless other persons; but so long as the right of personal liberty, of which the right to quit work is merely a concrete expression, is recognized as a principle of the social compact, no Governor or President can use the forces at his command in such manner as practically to abrogate that right without arousing a



public temper which, although in some cases expending itself in verbal protest, is at all times pregnant with possibilities of much graver consequences.

Thus, both the extent and the conditions of the modern strike combine to form an issue in the study of which the profoundest minds have found their ingenuity at fault. That strikes recur, if not with increasing frequency, at least with increasing force; that the difficulties in the way of settling, that is, of suppressing, them increase in proportion to the numbers involved; that the public are becoming more and more involuntary sufferers, while their means of relief through existing agencies are as surely becoming futile and obsolete; that, in a word, the public intelligence and the public conscience stand accused and helpless, bound to a creed of industrialism, the tenets of which are fast being superseded by the facts of progress — such are the conditions that await solution at the hands of some Perseus of constructive statesmanship.

At the present moment, the attention of publicists and economists is focused upon compulsory arbitration as the most promising method of superseding the strike. As most commonly understood, the plan of compulsory arbitration contemplates the establishment of industrial courts having powers analogous to those of the ordinary tribunals of law, but with the essential difference that their decisions shall be non-appealable. Upon request of either party to a disagreement, the opposing party, although desirous of contesting the issue upon its own resources, may be forced into court under the usual penalties of default. Thus, compulsion is two-fold: it compels arbitration in the first instance, and it compels obedience to the findings of the arbitrators in the end.

In general, the conditions attending recourse to these industrial courts are:

1. Individual employés cannot invoke arbitration.
2. Employés can secure legal standing only through a trade-union. This, however, is a merely nominal stipulation, as a few men may organize for that purpose, irrespective of any previously existing organization among the greater number of employés in the same trade.
3. Trade-unions must be incorporated and registered for the purposes of the law.
4. The decisions of the arbitration courts are final and binding for specified periods, under penalty of fines upon the employés, collectively or individually.
5. No strike or lockout can be declared for the purpose of defeating a contemplated recourse to arbitration by either party.
6. When a strike or lockout occurs, the arbitration court may, at the request of either party and within a given time, order a return to work pending a formal trial of the dispute.
7. Employés cannot leave their unions during arbitration, or while a de-

cision is in force, for the purpose of evading its terms, except upon giving three months' notice.

8. Employés may be discharged at any time for any reason other than that of defeating an award.

9. Rulings of the courts upon hours, wages, employment of trade-unionists, and other conditions of trade, although rendered at the instance of a single body, may be declared applicable to all employés within any given area.

10. Legal counsel is not allowable, except by consent of both parties.

11. The court of arbitration, at any time during the life of an award, reserves the right to adjudge obnoxious thereto any act of either party, although such act may not be expressly inhibited by the award, and may punish it by the usual proceedings of committal or attachment.

12. The awards of the courts cannot be set aside for any informality, or challenged, appealed against, reviewed, quashed, or called in question by any court of judicature on any account whatever.

13. The court of arbitration consists of three members, appointed by the Governor, one of whom shall be recommended by the employers and one by the employés, while the third shall be a Judge of the Supreme Court, who shall be the presiding officer.

Such are the salient features of the New Zealand Compulsory Arbitration Law, the model which is most generally referred to the consideration of American trade-unionists and legislators. It is claimed on behalf of this measure, which became law in 1895, that it has practically eliminated the strike from the industrial phenomena of that section of the antipodes; that its results have been uniformly favorable to the employé class; that it has minimized the evils of competition among employers; and that it has inaugurated a new régime in the relations between employer and employé, banishing distrust and discord, and inducing a recognition of mutual interest and a spirit of mutual confidence. To all of this the employers subscribe; and, although confessedly the losers in most of the cases decided, they join with their employés in acclaiming the Compulsory Arbitration Law the most beneficent enactment ever made in the field of economics.

It will be noted that the basis of this system is not the settlement, but the prevention, of the strike, the compulsory submission of grievances to arbitration, the award of which may be enforced by such penalties as the arbitrators may deem appropriate — specifically by fines, or generally by commitment for contempt. To the objection that this would, in event that the award were utterly repugnant to the employés, amount to involuntary servitude, the advocates of the New Zealand law reply that such contingency may be obviated by the refusal of the employés to organize and register under the act. In a word, to remain free the workers must remain unorganized. It thus appears that, tested by the right of personal liberty — the right to quit work — compulsory arbitration is inconsistent



with and, in fact, fatal to trade-unionism. But the case presented is not one that relates merely to the question as to which of these fundamental rights shall be surrendered. The right to organize and the right to quit work are correlative. One of them cannot exist in practical force and effect without the other. Consequently, the establishment of compulsory arbitration would work a virtual negation of all the real liberties now possessed by the individual.

Possibly, this statement of the problem when presented to a mind trained to conceptions of a political state in which no account is taken of human liberty — in which the basis of government consists in the assumption by one class of proprietary rights in the labor of another and the recognition by the latter of the obligation of servitude — may seem somewhat irrelevant. To the working class accustomed to this view of men's relations, the right of personal liberty suggests nothing more than an abstraction, at best. Consequently, the preservation of that right, even where it exists in practice and by virtue of usage, cannot be expected to weigh against the advantages to be secured by any system which, in however small degree, lessens the burden of a lot otherwise without amelioration. Where no right of refusal to work is claimed by a people as inherent in the governmental system, there can be no sacrifice of principle, though there may be a serious misjudgment of policy in the adoption of compulsory arbitration. In such case the effect would be simply to give definite expression to an established theory of the relation between master and servant.

It is not without interest, if only as a deductive proof of the reasoning upon which alone compulsory arbitration can be justified, that the birthplace of that system is, of all English-speaking countries, precisely the one in which the force of circumstances — location, inherited institutions, and the predominating characteristics of its inhabitants — naturally limits sentiment on the labor question within lines of regulation in the highest degree liberal, but yet essentially restrictive of individual liberty. The same rule is observable in the character of the objections raised in certain quarters, as, for instance, in Great Britain, where much stress is laid upon the composition of the arbitration courts and other purely incidental features of the system.

The organization of the workers in trade-unions is, in reality, not merely a means of securing those material objects in which for the time it may seem to be absorbed, but rather an ethical movement

coördinate with those other forces of nature and adaptation which make for the advancement of society as a whole. In view of those who best appreciate the spirit of the movement, the trade-union is the germ from which alone a just and rational system of national association can be possibly evolved. As the fittest, and, in fact, the only adequate, means of giving expression to the claims of labor, more especially as the great moral element in the growth of the race, the existence of the trade-union is an indispensable condition to the establishment of a system of government which shall rest, practically as well as theoretically, upon the rights and duties of labor, rather than upon the assumptions of caste and wealth. In this view of the trade-union's function it is of the utmost importance that no step be taken which, even though it may promise temporary advantage to the immediate objects of the workers, would destroy or vitiate a preëxisting right necessary to the attainment of the ultimate ends of organization.

To the average American mind at all conversant with the genius and history of the United States Government, a mere statement of the potentialities inherent in the right of personal liberty may seem a needless insistence upon self-evident fact. Nevertheless, it is in the American trade-union councils that we must seek the broadest understanding and the most practical application of this right. Here we find the right of personal liberty defined as the "right to quit work." That this definition meets all the requirements of the term, that it is really the only definition that expresses the practical essence of the thought, will be seen at a glance. Man's labor power being his only natural means of subsistence, it follows that any interference with the exercise of that power must correspondingly militate against his chances of living. In principle it makes no difference whether such interference consists in the denial or the enforcement of labor, since both are equally an interference with the free operation of a function coëxistent with life itself. The man who is forced to labor against his will is no whit more free, in respect of his capacity for self-government, than he who is forced to accept employment upon any terms as a necessity to mere existence. In both cases the negation of personal liberty is consummated in the loss of freedom in the exercise of that power which is necessary to life, and, consequently, to the purposes of living.

Upon this understanding of the principles involved in the practice of compulsory arbitration, the American Federation of Labor has,



on different occasions, formally declared against that method as inimical to the purposes of the trade-union and inconsistent with free government. The British Trade-Union Congress, held in September of the past year, and representing nearly a million and a quarter organized workers, declared against compulsory arbitration by a vote of nearly four to one.

Speaking particularly of the American attitude on this question, it is held that any plan which prohibits recourse to the strike, when all other efforts at adjustment fail, must by that fact destroy the power necessary to the efficiency of the trade-union. Organization among the workers, while tending to lessen the number of strikes by preventing or remedying those grievances which inevitably induce strikes, is possible only where the power to strike is held in reserve. Indeed, compulsory arbitration as practised in New Zealand makes the trade-union superfluous for all real good. Under that law, any seven men or women workers, organized and registered in the prescribed manner, can accomplish as much, in the final event, as any greater number. An organization of a thousand workers exercises a proportionate influence upon the conditions of their calling, provided always that they retain the power to enforce their demands by refusing to work until these are granted. The power of united numbers, consisting as it does in the power correspondingly to affect production, becomes nil when the power to cease producing is lost.

Two important conclusions seem clearly established upon these grounds: First, that compulsory arbitration and trade-unionism are irreconcilable, for the reason that, while both are ostensibly designed to accomplish the same purpose, they conflict in method; the former premising upon the power and authority of the State, and the latter upon the power and prerogative of the individual. Secondly, that as concerns personal liberty these institutions stand in opposite bearing, the one as superseding, the other as conserving and enlarging, that principle of government. In the judgment of the American trade-unionists, therefore, there can be no choice between compulsory arbitration, which, by enforcing peace in all circumstances, would undoubtedly suppress progress in certain events; and trade-unionism, which, although perhaps less potent in preventing open strife, is still a great instrument of peace and, at the same time, a safeguard in the untrammelled use of those functions upon which the workers depend for ultimate advancement in social and political, as well as in industrial, affairs.

It is hardly necessary to say that the opposition of the American and British trade-unions to compulsory arbitration by no means argues a disposition on their part to deny the importance of peaceable methods in the settlement of disputes. Arbitration, in its proper sense, as the mutual submission to a disinterested party, is, perhaps, the most frequently invoked of all the media by which the trade-union seeks to achieve its ends. The evidence of this is to be found in the numerous conciliation and arbitration boards existing in Great Britain and the United States. Practically, the affairs of such industries as mining, engineering, boot and shoe making, iron working, tin-plate making, and glass blowing, in both countries, are now adjusted by the representatives of employer and employé, meeting at stated periods, or whenever occasion requires. While the number of such boards is smaller in the United States than in Great Britain, the tendency in our own country to adopt the plan of formal recognition and agreement is no less general. The initiative thus taken by the private interests involved finds its reflex in the establishment by the State legislatures of public boards of arbitration, and the passage of acts providing for the appointment of arbitrators in special cases. Within the last fifteen years twenty-two States of the Union have adopted such measures.

Looking abroad, we find the same sentiment crystallized in the labor laws of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and Austria. As between the public and private systems of arbitration, and between the systems of the respective countries, important differences in the composition of the boards and their methods of procedure will, of course, appear. But, as far as classification is possible in a matter so obviously liable to be affected by the conditions prevailing in each locality, it may be said that the private arbitration system of Great Britain and that of the United States differ mainly in that the former stipulates a monetary penalty for violation of the findings, while the latter stipulates for no more than a pledge of honor. As regards the public boards in these countries, both are composed of men from civil life, to the exclusion of judges and other members of the government personnel. The distinguishing feature of the arbitration courts of continental Europe is their analogy to the ordinary courts of law; the civil arbitrators being presided over by a judge, and the cases heard being mainly concerned with questions of law, such as the relations of master and servant, sanitation, employer's liability, etc.



In neither of these measures is the feature of compulsion stipulated in the matter of those acts of the parties concerning which the general law itself provides no restraint, such as the act of an employer in locking out his employés, or the act of the latter in walking out. Curiously enough, the only instance in which compulsory service is required as a condition of arbitration is contained in the United States law, enacted in 1898, providing for arbitration in disputes between railroad companies and their employés. This measure requires that employés shall not, by reason of dissatisfaction with the award of the arbitrators, leave the service of the road within three months from the date of the decision, without giving thirty days' notice of their intention to quit. This condition is, in the opinion of many men widely experienced in the operation of labor laws, equivalent to the enforcement of involuntary servitude for that term.

In deference to the agitation that took place prior to the passage of this law, and the implacable opposition manifested toward its spirit and intent by the labor organizations of the country, certain modifications were made in the original bill, which, in appearance, preclude the specific enforcement of contracts to labor.<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding this, it is believed that the measure may be still invoked to frustrate any movement of the railroad men for better conditions, by forcing them to remain at work, if only temporarily, under the old.

In this brief glance at the workings of arbitration, as it is now carried on by the trade-unions, there appears good ground for the assertion that the present need is not of laws to compel resort to that method, but of sentiment that will lead to its voluntary adoption; and there can be little doubt as to which side of the ordinary labor trouble stands most in need of such enlargement of mental and moral capacity.

It is the employer who most frequently takes the position that "there is nothing to arbitrate." The employé, through his organization, has something to arbitrate in every grievance, great or small. To the latter, arbitration is at once law, principle, and nature. He arbitrates wherever possible, because his organization requires it, because he believes in it, and because in actual conflict he must endure

<sup>1</sup> The railroad arbitration bill was originally designed to embrace the seamen of the country. Owing to the opposition of the seamen's representatives in the American Federation of Labor, based upon their experience under the compulsory servitude features of the maritime law, that class of transportation workers was specifically excepted in the bill. The opposition of the Federation was then withdrawn, at the request of the railroad brotherhoods, the sole supporters of the bill in the ranks of labor, and the measure became law.

physical suffering. He consults with his employer, gives and takes, and, when met in a spirit of fairness, usually secures all that conditions warrant. But, whatever the immediate result, he gains in proportion as his demeanor, intelligence, and fairness compel the respect and confidence of his opponents and the public. The success of these negotiations depends upon an understanding, by both sides, that there is a point at which concession and submission must stop; that, in a word, when either side is so reduced that to concede further would be to sacrifice honor, hope, and manhood itself, the loser in the contest may sever all relations. Arbitration conducted in this manner can accomplish all that can be, or ought to be, expected of any such process.

Briefly, arbitration may fail to maintain peace where either party considers the terms of the other unbearable; but it can never compel peace in the same circumstances without becoming a mere instrument of despotism immeasurably more harmful in the end than the transient evil which it displaces. In arbitration between nations it is freely granted that the right of dissent is always reserved in certain contingencies. Why, then, should it be denied in the scheme of arbitration between the parties to an industrial dispute? In the final analysis the elements that rule in the acceptance or rejection of the arbitrament are honor and necessity. In what essentials, then, do these elements differ in a nation and in the respective classes of individuals that compose it, so as to dictate an opposite course of conduct in each? If in certain circumstances resistance is the only course compatible with the moral and material integrity of a nation, why in similar circumstances should submission be the duty enjoined by the code of the individual?

The assumption that in disputes between labor and capital, if in no other, the rule of peace at any price should prevail is but one of numerous lapses of reason which appear in most of the statements favoring compulsory arbitration. A very common error in these views is the attempt to draw a parallel between the ordinary courts of law and the proposed courts of arbitration. It is declared that the principle upon which disputes involving individual interests only are referred to judge and jury applies with proportionately greater force to disputes which affect a large body of the public, as in the case of a strike. Yet there can be no doubt that these supposed cases rest upon radically different bases; the former being concerned with proprietary rights in some form of material things, and the



latter with the ownership of men's bodies, in which there can be no property rights, in any sense. Neither can there be any doubt that an award, the terms of which shall forbid men to quit work within a specified period, as contemplated by compulsory arbitration, would be tantamount to a grant of property rights in the persons of such men. Again, it is asserted that, inasmuch as the public is inconvenienced by the suspension of industry, it is thereby justified in interfering to prohibit such suspension, or to force the renewal of work where a tie-up has taken place.

Leaving aside the obvious objection that specific personal rights cannot become subject to restraint because exercised by a number of persons, whether acting as a combination or otherwise, it is clear that such interference by the public would be to assume authority while evading that responsibility which should precede any claim to directing influence. Logically, the suggestion of public interference to regulate wages can only be supported upon the promise of public responsibility for the revenues with which to pay them — in other words, upon the premise of public ownership. As limited by the advocates of compulsory arbitration, the claim of public rights is undeniably a proposal to submit the issue to an interested party, and one, moreover, who in all the probabilities would be helpless to serve the public's cause, except by a decision against the workers. The necessary association of public ownership with any plan of public interference is recognized in the railroad arbitration law of Kansas, which provides that in the event of an award to increase wages being violated by a railroad company, the road shall be taken over by the State and operated under the usual rules of receivership.

It is apparent that the confidence expressed by many writers on this subject is inspired by a preconceived notion that the boards of arbitration, although constituted in much the same way as the ordinary courts, and invested with similar powers, will differ from them in spirit; that, in fact, their decisions will, of necessity, favor the workers, as a rule. Whatever foundation may exist for this belief in the presumption that justice is most frequently on the side of the workers, there is little ground for it in the known facts of court procedure. In this connection, much stress has been laid upon the results of the New Zealand law; most of the findings rendered under that law having been favorable to labor.

But, without being hypercritical, it may also be noted that the principles laid down in at least one or two of the decisions given

against the trade-unions seem destined to have a far-reaching effect which will more than offset the temporary advantages gained in other instances. At any rate, it is important to remember that the New Zealand system has been in vogue but five years, during all of which period the tendency of labor conditions has been upward; that, in short, the model so confidently and persistently urged upon the American public has been tried, and that but briefly, in only one of the periods that constantly recur in all industrial and commercial life. Until the New Zealand law has been tried in one of those periods of depression which, in other countries, have frequently exhausted the united efforts of the workers themselves to form an effectual barrier to the reduction of wages below the point of rational subsistence, it must remain, as its authors confess it to be, an experiment, precarious or promising, according as it is approached in reason or enthusiasm.

What, then, it may be asked, is the trade-union's remedy for the strike? Candidly, the trade-union offers none. In the scheme of labor organization there is no arbitrary process for the prevention of labor troubles, for the sufficient reason that there are no means of compelling men of different interests and opposite points of view to agree upon a common ground of settlement. The trade-union has no hope for the beatification of the industrial forces. It may serve to clarify the subject, if we assume that the right to strike is in itself a necessity to the practical freedom, political as well as economic, of the workers; that the exercise of that right will be necessary at times as long as the desire of one class runs counter to the disposition of the other; and, consequently, that to destroy that right would be to lay the axe at the very roots of progress.

It should be borne in mind that the strike is primarily an effect, not a cause, of the hardships associated with the industrial strife — a means in, not an end of, the movement for the redress of these ills. So long as the causes of the strike reside in the nature of the conditions under which industry is carried on, and, indeed, in the nature of man himself, it is to be feared that any attempt arbitrarily to suppress that phenomenon would but aggravate the complaint and induce a train of evils much more acute.

In the opposition of the American trade-unions to compulsory arbitration there is nothing of the spirit of stagnation; nothing of fear to take new hold on old problems. Conservatism there is; but it is conservatism in those principles, fundamental and unvarying,



which, having all the force of natural law, cannot be ignored without incurring the rightful penalty of contumacy. It is retrogression, not progress, that the trade-unions fear. It is retrogression, not progress, that is implied by compulsory arbitration. The adoption of that plan would turn back the spirit of labor legislation to the era of the Statute of Laborers and the Quarter Sessions, the history of which, beginning in the fourteenth century, and continuing until the first part of the nineteenth century, presents a continuous record of failure in the effort to fix wages by law.

The failure of compulsion in the relations of employer and employé is inevitable as long as men are actuated by the spirit of individual liberty, which finds its first and last expression in the power to move freely from place to place, to work at will, to quit at will, and to remain quit. It is this spirit, however dimly discernible, that has animated the movements of the workers since Spartacus led his slave legions against the Roman prætors; since Tyler and Cade led their men of Kent against the kings of England. It is this spirit that to-day animates the trade-unionists of America in resisting the specious devices of the dilettante, which would deprive them of the greatest blessing inherited from the past, and set them on the certain road to villeinage.

If the trade-unions have no empirical remedy for the strike, they offer in themselves the best possible corrective of it. The actual strikes participated in by these organizations may be, of course, readily computed; but the number of potential strikes prevented by the same means is beyond estimate. That the trade-unions tend to prevent open rupture of the peace between employer and employé is a necessary inference in the circumstances. Even if the facts in this connection were less apparent than they are, there exists in the fact of organization itself an influence for peace that is obvious to common reason. The trade-union combines with the power of resisting injustice the responsibility for committing it. And, as a rule, it is more likely to err in forbearance of wrong done to its own members than in resentment against the wrongdoer.

It is sometimes contended that the trade-union develops a spirit of unreasonableness with the growth of its numbers. The opposite of this is true. In its acts, the trade-union reflects, more clearly, perhaps, than any other form of voluntary association, those traits in the morality of individual man which are essentially natural to him, as distinguished from those which are superimposed upon him

by environment. Among these the most conspicuous is the sentiment of justice, or fair play. However warped or stultified that sentiment may be, however degraded in the service of a cause in itself unjust, however varying its rules, there still remains, as between man and man, a distinct recognition of certain obligations in the conduct of all transactions the infraction of which involves certain outlawry. Under the American rules of fair play, it is required that the strong shall give to, rather than take from, the weak. In obedience to this rule, we invariably find the trade-unions giving the advantage to their opponents wherever there is any danger that injustice may result from a strict enforcement of their own powers.

In the growth of organization among the workers, and in the development of a spirit of amity, rather than of enmity, in the organizations of the employers, lie the only reasonable hope that the strike may ultimately be abolished, except in so far as it may be a necessity in particular circumstances. To this end, public opinion and legislation may lend valuable assistance, provided they are directed with the view of encouraging those factors necessary to the attainment of the object sought. Any movement that tends to hinder or destroy the development of these factors can only retard the final settlement.

After all, there is something gained in the experience that teaches the futility of any proposed step. Next to knowing what to do, it is important to know what not to do. This common observation applies with particular force to everything savoring of the cure-all in industrial affairs. The literature of sociology and the statute-books of the country are crowded with suggestions and plans for the redress of this and that defect in existing conditions. Under the pressure of these allurements, even the trade-unions, in some cases, have surrendered their judgment to their desires. And yet many of the most important of these measures, when put in operation, have been proved not only valueless, but positively harmful. Such, at least, has been the experience of the workers under inter-State commerce and anti-trust laws, designed, in part, to benefit labor by restraining the aggressiveness of large employers.

Some readers may say that in compulsory arbitration there can be no real danger of involuntary servitude, in the face of the Constitutional inhibition. But it should be remembered that the Constitution is largely a matter of construction; that it has always been



construed in the light of precedent facts, never in anticipation of future conditions. As an instance of this, it may be of interest to note the construction placed upon the Thirteenth Amendment by the United States Supreme Court only three years ago. In the "Arago" case,<sup>1</sup> it was claimed by the appellants that the then existing statute of the maritime law, under which seamen might be held to service until the expiration of their contract, was in contravention of the Thirteenth Amendment. The majority decision of the court held otherwise, and declared that the Thirteenth Amendment was not intended to introduce any novel doctrine of law, but was limited in its application to the negro, the Chinese coolie, and the Mexican peon. The significance of this ruling was very clearly set forth in the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Harlan, who took the ground that under the majority decision the States could legislate to enforce involuntary servitude upon any class of citizens. Thus, it appears that the only real inhibition of involuntary servitude consists in the public opinion against that institution.

That public opinion must be alert to the danger of sanctioning, if only by silence, any measure which would in the slightest degree affect the right of personal liberty must be apparent to any one who notes the tendency of the legislatures to enact loose laws, and of the judiciary to enlarge its powers beyond all safe and reasonable bounds. In the present formative period of our national existence, when national principles and ideals are being tested in the heat of new conditions, it is encouraging to know that in the trade-union movement there is at least one element of public opinion that may be depended upon to remain faithful to the basic principle of all true progress. *Personal liberty must be preserved!*

W. MACARTHUR.

<sup>1</sup>"Robert Robertson et als. vs. Barry Baldwin (165 U. S. Reporter)."

## THE DARK IN LITERATURE.

THOSE who are sensitive to literature at all turn to it for various reasons; for rest, pleasure, comfort, instruction, uplift. To forget its power to make this manifold appeal were sadly to restrict its influence. Literature follows the gospel injunction: it is many things to many men. This, indeed, is only a roundabout way of saying that it is a great force in the world; for how otherwise could it get a wide hearing?

Nevertheless, I am persuaded that the larger number of readers still look, as they have always looked, to poem and essay, play and story — to belles lettres, in short — for what may be called pleasure. Of old, this was overwhelmingly true; it is somewhat less apparent now, when both author and reader have come to take their literature seriously, and duty at times crowds delight to the wall. However, the wayfaring man continues to insist, in good set terms, on an agreeable time when he opens a book; and if you are fain to instruct him you must do it cautiously without overmuch announcement of your laudable purpose. Unless the pill be sugar-coated he will have none of it; homœopathy is the school he favors.

Critics who overlook this natural human tendency are letting themselves get professional and out of touch with their fellow mortals. I believe that, while our conception of the use of literature may well be a broader one, this pathetic desire of average humanity to be pleased is a wholesome notification to critic and creator, to special student and him of the inner circle, that the main business of letters is to furnish joy to the children of men. Especially is this thought pertinent to-day, when the other obligations of literature are underscored.

It is as well to remember that unhappiness is not an end in itself. The assumption, by the way, that a book must either please or instruct, as if the two demands were mutually exclusive, is absurd — an example of false logic. Rather may it be said, as Stevenson has it, that “to please is to serve; and so far from its being difficult to



instruct while you amuse, it is difficult to do the one thoroughly without the other.”

But no honest person can go far in the fruitful study of the masterpieces of thought and expression without coming face to face with the need of extending this pleasure-giving concept of literature, or, at any rate, of using the word pleasure in a fuller significance. He finds that it is very much with literature as it is with the weather. All sorts are encountered, the stormy with the bland; and even in the presumably serene climate of the so-called immortals, halcyon days by no means run the year round. He is confronted, sooner or later, with the questions: How broad may I make my definition of this elusive term *pleasure*? What is the proper proportion of light and shade in these pictures of life painted with words instead of colors? Has the dark — meaning thereby the sombre and sad, the terrible, brutal, and abnormal elements of life reflected in books — any justification, and where are the bounds to be set? Upon the answers depend the whole attitude toward literature and the amount of substantive enrichment received from it. I know of no more important moment in personal literary culture than this; and it was with a sense of this importance that my theme was chosen.

Few even of those who are unfriendly to the dark in literature, will deny that the sad has some right there, or that pleasure may co-exist with sadness. To shut out the imaginative presentation of the tragic would result in a woful weakening and crippling of literature — would, indeed, decapitate masterpiece after masterpiece. From the time that Aristotle pointed out the noble function of tragedy in purging our souls through terror and pity, the major creators in literature have steadily illustrated his position. And, in truth, long before the great Greek critic, the Hebrew rhapsodists shook their time, and after-time, with the very thunders of Sinai. It might also be said that the precious places, the mighty effects, in world-literature, are just those where the grave things of life are set before us surcharged with passion, but touched with beauty, set to consoling music, and illumined by imperishable hopes. Job, superbly alone and afflicted on his ash-heap; Antigone, going smiling to her tomb; Chaucer's Griselda, patient and amazed at her ill treatment, and exclaiming, as the thought of her husband's earlier love for her overwhelmed her mind:

“Oh, God, how kind and good was his visage  
The day that makèd was our marriage!”

Lear appealing to the stormy heavens, since they were old like him; Dante listening to Francesca's piteous tale of love, strong though in hell; Gretchen in the Garden, conscious of her guilt, yet crying with that infinitely pathetic child-cry:

"Yet, everything that led me here  
Was oh, so good, was oh, so dear;"

Beatrice Cenci, talking of her hair just before she goes out to the block; Mildred, in Browning's "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," with those wonderful girlish words of hers:

"I — I was so young!  
Beside, I loved him, Thorold — and I had  
No mother; God forgot me: so I fell" —

these, I say, are the scenes that to the lover of literature rise up in memory like southern stars in the night heavens, stars whose sombre setting is the very condition of the splendor of their shining. Give us this kind of sadness, by all means, for by it our souls grow and we are made to feel the sacred majesty of humankind. It is not so much sadness, strictly speaking, that we experience in looking at these moving life dramas, as a sort of sober joy. Our sense of *homo sapiens* is enlarged as to his essential dignity and worth. This is sadness, not for its own sake, but for humanity's.

Nor should we forget that, besides this proper acceptance of what I may term the legitimate and wholesome sad in literature, many folk have a morbid love of sadness for its own sake. There is no hypochondriac like your young person in the storm and stress period of his or her career. Fears are his food and tears his daily portion. In youth we like to take our pleasures sadly; while in the years that bring the philosophic mind we try to take our pains with a smiling mouth. A type of spinster exists which affects funerals as the chief of worldly joys. This pleasure in the lugubrious is certainly a trait to be found at least sporadically in the world. Perhaps it existed in the past more frequently than it does now — I hope so. Judge Sewall has this entry in his diary: "Spent the morning in the vault rearranging the family coffins. It was a pleasant but awful treat." This zest for the melancholy is quite another thing, of course, from the response to that beautiful, close harmony, which, though it sound like a discord, is yet so suggestive of the perfect harmony (the ideal) as to make us tremble with delight. I only wish to make the point that there is in human nature some response to a



less admirable phase of the dark in life and literature—a kind of ghoulish joy in the grave. The mock-romantic cult in fiction, in the time of Horace Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe, gives another example. Recall that delicious bit of dialogue in Jane Austen's "Northanger Abbey," where she satirizes the tendency:

"But, my dearest Catherine, what have you been doing with yourself all this morning? Have you gone on with Udolpho?"

"Yes, I have been reading it ever since I woke; and I am got to the black veil."

"Are you, indeed? How delightful! Oh! I would not tell you what is behind the black veil for the world! Are you not wild to know?"

"Oh! yes, quite; what can it be? But do not tell me: I would not be told upon any account. I know it must be a skeleton; I am sure it is Laurentina's skeleton. Oh! I am delighted with the book! I should like to spend my whole life in reading it, I assure you; if it had not been to meet you, I would not have come away from it for all the world."

"Dear creature! how much I am obliged to you; and when you have finished Udolpho, we will read the Italian together; and I have made out a list of ten or twelve more of the same kind for you."

"Have you, indeed! How glad I am! What are they all?"

"I will read you their names directly; here they are in my pocketbook: "Castle of Wolfenbach," "Clermont," "Mysterious Warnings," "Necromancer of the Black Forest," "Midnight Bell," "Orphan of the Rhine," and "Horrid Mysteries." Those will last us some time."

"Yes; pretty well; but are they all horrid? Are you sure they are all horrid?"

"Yes, quite sure; for a particular friend of mine, a Miss Andrews, a sweet girl, one of the sweetest creatures in the world, has read every one of them."

Some rather cynical theories of human nature go even further than this. A distinguished French dramatic critic of our day, in a recent work on the ancient and modern drama, takes the position that our interest in tragedy is at bottom simply the survival of the old savage instinct of cruelty—the enjoyment of suffering. He builds up a whole superstructure of theory upon this foundation. I believe myself that he does great wrong to human psychology in this ingenious assumption, which, however, is interesting as offering one explanation of certain familiar tendencies in modern literature. But one hardly needs to say that all this morbid affecting of the sad is clearly to be distinguished from its proper use in books.

But not the pathetic alone, the awful too is common in literature—elements that not so much move us to tenderness as freeze us with fear or humble us with a feeling of our own littleness in the face of the Sublime. This influence again, when not out of proportion, can be easily accepted; in fact, the term *pleasure* may be possibly so enlarged in its meaning as to include this idea. Irving, in his "Conquest of Granada," speaks of the "pleasing terror" begotten in him by the sight of a shaggy Andalusian bull encountered among the mountains of his native wilds. The expression puts before us, epi-

grammatically, a psychological truth. There is a stern, lofty grandeur in the works of creative genius which constitutes their head-mark of merit. Literature would be poor, indeed, without its Michael Angelos and its Beethovens, its Wagners and its Vereschagins. These works may not soften, but they strengthen our sinews for the fight. And as we go on in life we gradually come to care more for and to get more from, these austere, great performances. A young man or woman at twenty-one might be inclined to refuse to the terrible a place in literature; the same person at forty might be deriving from that source the most precious part of his or her experience.

Man's attitude toward the awe-inspiring has rapidly changed during the last one hundred and fifty years. English literature registers this fact. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century Alpine scenery was viewed in its horrific, repellent aspects; and when, a few years later, the poet Gray described it as fit stimulus for æsthetic appreciation, he struck a new and, as it then seemed, a bizarre note. Yet, less than a hundred years thereafter, we find Ruskin at his finest of music and majesty in hymning the glories of those Swiss mountains. Awe has widened the hitherto arbitrarily narrow notion of beauty, and the Plutonian forces of Nature are made to minister to spiritual ends. Fear — like unto that fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom — is as beneficent as joy herself.

But literature, and modern literature in special, makes room for other aspects of life besides the appealingly pathetic and the awe-inspiring. The ugly, and the brutal, and the foul are there in crowded cohorts and sickening display. The night side of Nature and the devil side of human nature, these are portrayed at full length. In the literature of the past twenty-five years fiction has a bad preëminence in this respect, though it may be said that the drama has not been very far behind. One's attitude toward the unlovely is naturally of much consequence to oneself and one's fellow men. Has the handling of the degenerate and abnormal — manifestations of which are indubitably to be found in this third planet from the sun — any justification? Is Zola's *Nana* or Daudet's *Sapho* a type instructive enough to make her acquaintance worth while? Is Hardy's *Jude* the obscure, not to say obscene, a man who can teach us by his wretched failures some life-lesson of value? At a time when some of the very greatest writers alive find a natural expression of their power in such scenes and characters as are suggested by these names, it is imperative for the world of thoughtful, educated readers to take



a stand and have an intelligent opinion upon this burning question; condemning with a sweet reasonableness or approving with a like show of sense. We cannot dodge the duty, for the last decade has intensified the danger and made the problem more intricate.

Now, let me say with candor that I think even here we must not be too sweeping, and cry: "Let the ugly be anathema; it is an evil blot on the fair fame of literature." This sort of remark is always popular with the gallery, but it is a careless generalization. Beyond peradventure the ugly — I mean the morally as well as materially ugly — has a use in literature. There are two ways of presenting ethical ideals, of making a spiritual impression: one by showing types of virtue, the other by showing types of vice. In the former, we are made to love the good by direct example; in the latter, to hate the bad, and hence to desire the good. The methods are respectively positive and negative; the aim is the same, or may be.

I recall no great English writer who better illustrates the union of these two methods than Robert Browning. Nobody in his senses disputes the splendid ethical sanity of this robust seer-singer. Yet in poem after poem he paints the ravages of sin in the persons of men and women who possess a kind of shuddering fascination for the sensitive admirer of Browning — "Subtlest assertor of the Soul in Song." Think of the "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister," with its hideous old monk, his heart full of envy and hate; of such other churchly figures as the Bishop who orders his tomb; of Porphyria's lover, strangling his sweetheart with her golden hair; of that other woman with golden hair, the maiden of Pornic, with her horrible greed for money even in the grave; of many another light creature with the skin-deep beauty that lures men on to hell; of the frank fleshliness of the loves of Ottima and Sebald in "Pippa Passes"; of the loathsome landscape Childe Roland was forced to look upon; of the searching cynicism of a brief lyric like "Adam, Lilith and Eve"; and of the frank approval of active sin, rather than the half-hearted willing of sin, in "The Statue and Bust."

Think of these and plenty of other Browning poems, and realize that this man insisted on the dramatic representation of all that is human, whether for good or ill. And yet, who does more to brace us for the spiritual battle-field? No, the test must go deeper than the matter of material or theme; it is the character of the literary creator — his aim and ideal — that settles the thing. Given the right kind of worker behind the work, and no subject, no matter

how repulsive, is inadmissible to art — at least in the moral view. *Æsthetic* considerations there may be which put up the bars against this or that; but the moral result lies in the intention.

When, as not seldom happens, a namby-pamby conventionality sets up to be sole arbiter of such questions, it must be promptly rebuked. I have had this truth impressed upon me in reading of late the newest product of two living writers of international standing: Tolstoy's novel, "Resurrection," and Ibsen's play, "When We Dead Awaken." In the Russian story the protagonists are a harlot on trial for murder and her aristocratic betrayer. One is asked to spend a large part of the time in the government prisons amidst the offscouring of the earth. The realism is insistent, suppressing nothing, telling everything. In this respect the book is most inartistic; it neglects selection, a cardinal virtue in all art.

I may add, in passing, that Tolstoy's technique has always lacked in this respect; his fellow-countryman, Turguenoff, was his superior here. But "Resurrection," in spite of all this, seizes upon me — what can we do but make confession of our personal experiences in such a case? — as one of the noblest and most beautiful works ever put forth; hardly a masterpiece, because of its defects, but a deeply moving presentment of man's tragi-comedy of the years; a wonderful study of a soul that returns to the good; that "comes to itself," in the matchless words of the Bible; and a potent and eloquent plea for fair dealing between men and women and for loving kindness even to criminals. Tolstoy is a man with the daring *naïveté* to try to imitate Christ in his daily life; and both his life and work exhale an aroma of righteousness. All his malodorous realism cannot taint those airs that blow from God. His purpose shines through it like a light through a sunless cavern.

In Ibsen's drama — a strange, maddeningly mystic deliverance it is, like most of his work for the ten years past — the conventions are played fast and loose with, as usual, and to some the piece will do little but preach the setting aside of marriage vows in the case of elective affinities. Indeed, one might almost say of this play that it is Goethe come again, with an austere mountain setting and a stern suppression of sentimental gush. And yet, as I sat rather dazed for some ten minutes after closing the volume, and let the message have its way with me — one of those fractions of time which really count in one's intellectual life — I felt that there was at least one lesson there for one reader. The sculptor who used his beautiful



model as a model and never loved her as a woman, though she had given him her soul, had never truly lived. They had both made loveless marriages since; but when they come together again after long years they are as the dead, and only awaken when they realize what has been lost. In brief, it is an idealist's statement of love, a mystic sublimation thereof. The play is scarcely healthy, but it possesses a tremendous suggestion touching the world's master-passion.

Caution, then, is the watch-word in judging a great man's handling of the seamy side of life in literature. This applies to many a so-called purpose novel and problem play of our time, in which a daring theme is boldly set forth and a degree of frankness is reached disagreeable to those who would have their literary path "roses, roses all the way." Such swinging of the axe may clear the social trail for a more enlightened civilization. Fiction like "The Manxman," drama like "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," has a place, I dare avouch, within the broad demesne of art. There is danger of becoming lax of fibre and limited in thought-range when they are forbidden. In the broadest sense, the pleasure got from literature is in an exhibition of life — an inclusive definition of literature being that it is a representation of life in terms of power and beauty. "Memory," says Balzac in a letter to Madame Hanska, "only registers thoroughly that which is pain. In this sense it recalls great joy, for pleasure comes very near to being pain" — a remark in which the modern psychologist will heartily agree with the French master. The languid, lackadaisical appreciation of the sweetly pretty in art is, therefore, a pitiable impoverishment of the possibilities of literature. Much of the so-called realistic writing of to-day — not all of it — can be welcomed as having a genuine mission for men, if only we will extend our conception of its function.

The dark we have plead may be a foil to the light, which seems to be God's own use of it; it may spur us on to better things by a graphic picture of things less excellent. Even if it leave us hopelessly sad — as in the quiet, sardonic pessimism of a fatalist like Hardy, or in a soured reformer like Ibsen, wrapping himself round in the protective robes of a baffling mysticism — it may still be of service in enlarging the sense of life's ultimate meaning. It can make us weep tears that have a sweet issue in altruistic endeavor, or awe us so that never again we break into the "laugh mistimed in tragic presences."

In the last analysis, perhaps, the only insufferable use of the

dark is that which fouls, poisons, panders to the base, and often this is not sombre at all, but rather speciously glittering and seductive: the gaiety of the "Contes Drolatique," the alluring voluptuousness of "Mademoiselle de Maupin." In current literature we have, God knows, enough of this and to spare. But let us not be hasty to condemn that which in its earnest under purpose and grim largeness belongs to quite another category. As in life, so in literature, aim and ideal are everything. If they be sane and high, it follows, as the night the day, that the author "cannot then be false to any man."

I would thus defend a generous use of the dark in literature. We must be athletic enough to enjoy it, and thoughtful enough to learn its lessons, no more flinching them than we do the lessons of life itself. For literature is not merely an escape from life, though in some of its idyllic moments it may do us minor service of this kind. It is also a criticism of life, in Arnold's phrase, or better, an interpretation of our days and deeds, so that symbol explains fact, and we see not through a glass darkly, but, for the nonce, face to face. And, with a proper placing of the shadows in the background, how lovely is the sunlight, the bird-song, the breath of the cheerful open!

Moral health demands both sides. Burroughs gives good advice when he tells the dyspeptic-inclined to get a taste of something bitter in the woods. A stalwart idealism — which is the only sort wanted — must recognize the divine in and through the dark; else is our light not light, but darkness visible. He who with Merlin follows the gleam shall not win to the Delectable Mountain, save by many a Via Dolorosa, crowded thick with sorry men and women, through the Bad Lands of doubt, agony, sin, and seeming death. It is the price paid for coming at the heights; neither life nor literature can yield their rich rewards by any other bargain.

RICHARD BURTON.



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